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For the Study of the Church History of the United States

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The Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME III

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NUMBER 1

ROSATTI'S ELECTION TO THE COADJUTORSHIP OF NEW ORLEANS

In a letter to Father Colucci, dated St. Louis, Mo., April 27, 1818, Father De Andreis expressed his judgment about Father Joseph Rosati in the following terms: "Great are my anticipations concerning Father Rosati. Young, robust, very pious, absolutely devoid of self-seeking, full of zeal and of talent, he has bewildered the most experienced missionaries by his English preaching, and I have heard some exclaim: 'Never did man speak like this man.' All who know him are fascinated by the piety and cheerful geniality of his conversation. I have not the slightest doubt that before long they will want to make him a bishop: well, God's will be done!"

That this anticipation was due to a gleam of prophetic light may be more than the words of the saintly missionary permit us to assert; but it is safe to say that the mental caliber and the sterling sacerdotal qualities of Father Rosati were of the kind which would unconsciously possess an attraction for all those who knew him, his superiors especially. It is certain also that no one was ever further from the thought of the mitre than the humble, simple, unassuming superior of the Seminary and College, then just begun at the "Barrens." After performing his exercises of piety and teaching the many classes he was conducting, he had no thought but for trees to be felled, improvements to be made, mortar, and the constant, difficult problem of supplying "daily bread" for his charges. So alien were his aspirations to whatever might be termed ambition, that all his letters to the Vicar General of his Congregation in Rome bemoaned his woeful lack of anything like administrative ability. He considered himself a dismal failure and earnestly begged and

urged, so far as obedience allowed him to do so, that someone else be appointed in his place, who would not spoil the work of God.

Yet Divine Providence had decreed that he should be the first bishop consecrated in the large territory west of the Mississippi river, which had been acquired twenty years before by the United States.

Even after the erection of the Sees of Boston, New York, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) and Bardstown, on April 8, 1808,¹ the jurisdiction of Baltimore extended to Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, the two Carolinas, Alabama and Mississippi. Moreover, by a decree from Rome, dated October 1, 1805, the Ordinary of Baltimore had been entrusted with the administration of the Church in Louisiana and Florida, widowed at that time of its spiritual head by the departure of Bishop Luis Peñalver y Cardenas in 1801.² To this was added, in 1811, the spiritual care of some of the Danish and Dutch West Indies.

Of the large territory then united into this immense Diocese, Louisiana was the farthest away from the archiepiscopal city. New Orleans had been erected into an Episcopal See in 1793, and it was natural that its autonomy should be restored as soon as the troublous circumstances which had disturbed the Church of that city should improve. Accordingly, by virtue of special faculties granted to him by Propaganda, Archbishop Carroll appointed, in 1812, Father William Du Bourg, Vicar Apostolic of Louisiana and Florida;³ this title was changed, in 1815, into that of Bishop of Louisiana (New Orleans). The new Diocese covered practically the whole territory known as the Louisiana Purchase, and embraced, besides, an undetermined territory along the Gulf coast (Southwestern Louisiana and South Texas), bounded by the Dioceses of Linares and Durango in Mexico;⁴ juridically the two Floridas also continued to be annexed to it.

¹ *Archivio di Prop. Fide, Atti.* (1814), ff. 166-183.

² When Bishop Peñalver was promoted to the See of Guatemala, on July 20, 1801, a successor was appointed for the See of New Orleans; but the transfer of Louisiana from the crown of Spain to France, and again to the United States likewise caused the transfer of the appointee to another Diocese in the Spanish Dependencies.

³ Florida, which first belonged to the Diocese of Santiago de Cuba, had been by Consistorial Decree of September 10, 1787, placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Havana, Cuba; by Apostolic Letters of April 25, 1793, it was annexed to the Diocese of New Orleans. Brief of January, 1823, to Father Rosati.

⁴ *SHEA*, Vol. ii, p. 570.

While Bishop Du Bourg was in Europe, trying his utmost to secure priests for his large Diocese,⁵ rumors were circulated in America touching the establishment of an Episcopal See in Upper Louisiana. The prelate, before leaving America, had, indeed, expressed "his intention to propose to the Holy See the 'dismemberment' of Upper Louisiana from the See of New Orleans, and the placing of that territory under the jurisdiction of Bishop Flaget (of Bardstown). The latter endorses on the back of the letter that he considers this plan very feasible and proper." This is in no way surprising, since he appears to have been the originator of it.⁶ The proposition was received quite favorably by Cardinal Litta, Prefect of Propaganda, who, however, sought the opinion of Archbishop Carroll before submitting any definite plan to the Holy Father.⁷ The reports received from Rome were of such a nature that Bishop Flaget sent the following *Circular*⁸ to be communicated to the priests of Upper Louisiana and Illinois by Father Donatian Olivier, pastor of the Church at Prairie du Rocher, Illinois:

March 3, 1816.

Very Venerable Brother:

Without further preamble, I must tell you, that, probably before the close of the year, you will have a resident bishop at St. Louis or St. Genevieve, whose bishopric, if I mistake not, will embrace the territories of Missouri and Illinois; those of Indiana and Michigan are to be added, till other orders. This arrangement will not take place until all the inhabitants of that country agree to reverence the bishop and his lawful successors and establish a fund sufficient to support a seminary. This news is official, and I beg you to make it known to all the parishes on this and the other side of the Mississippi. And in order that this affair might proceed with all possible prudence, I thought it advisable that each parish should hold a general meeting for the election of a deputy; that all the deputies should, at a certain specified time, meet at St. Louis to deliberate: 1st. Concerning what annual revenue they can allow

⁵ The Diocese of New Orleans, before Bishop Du Bourg's departure for Europe, numbered only ten priests, most of them rather old (letter of Father Rosati to Father Baccari, May, 4 1821). Cf. SPALDING, *Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of Bishop Flaget*, p. 91. Louisville, 1852.

⁶ SPALDING, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-67.

⁷ Cardinal Litta's letter to the Archbishop of Baltimore was dated December 23, 1815, twenty days after the death of the Archbishop.

⁸ An original French copy of this *Circular* is preserved in the church of St. Genevieve, Mo. The present partial translation is that given in the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xxi (1904), pp. 158-60.

their bishop. 2nd. Concerning the means for securing the revenue; and it ought to be a ready means and free from entanglements. 3rd. Concerning his house and furniture and a servant. 4th. Concerning a site for a seminary which ought to be near the church and the bishop's residence, and on land which some day might yield enough to support and educate a good number of young men destined for the ecclesiastical state. 5th. Concerning a sum sufficient to defray the expenses which the bishop would incur in going thither and in procuring the vestments needed. They might also discuss whether it would be of greater advantage to that country to have the episcopal see at St. Louis or at St. Genevieve. These deliberations having been made and committed to writing, they will be submitted to Monseigneur, the Bishop of New Orleans, and to me for examination. Whatever observations we intend to make will be communicated to you, and as soon as all the parties are agreed, the results will be as quickly as possible forwarded to the Roman Curia, where they await but this to expedite the bulls.

The great temporal sacrifices, which the inhabitants will have to make in this matter, will be amply recompensed by the spiritual advantages, which will be permanently secured to them. I myself am convinced that in a few years the population will increase so rapidly by emigration from other States, that in less than ten years property will be worth twice or three times its present value. They would then be deplorably blind to their own interests and the interests of their posterity, if out of mere temporary considerations they should reject the favors offered them and sacrifice, perhaps forever, the hope of an episcopal see. Since the location of the see chiefly depends on the choice to be made by DuBourg or myself, I am fully determined to oppose with all my might its being at St. Louis, if it is true, what they write to me, that there is a theatre there which would make useless all the efforts of the most zealous and holy bishop. Indeed, what use would it be for a prelate to wage war on vanity, luxury and deceit while the stage-players, in principle and practice, were sanctioning deceit, luxury and vanity; this would be trying to make companions of light and darkness, of truth and falsehood, of Belial and the God of Israel; now this I cannot consent to. I hope that the citizens of St. Louis will come to their senses and they will not cast aside, out of love for vanity and falsehood, the incalculable benefits which will infallibly result from the presence of a bishop in their city and from the various institutions which he will be able to found there. Induce the people of that country to enter within themselves, to weep over their sins and purify their consciences, in order that by fervent and continual prayer they may be able to obtain from God, a holy bishop inflamed with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Give orders that in all the parishes where there is a priest the *Veni Creator* and prayer to the Holy Ghost be chanted for this purpose, before or after Mass, and if there be no choir let them say a chaplet of the beads for the same intention. I desire that the priests, at least once

a month say the Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost for the same object, since their welfare as well as that of the people depends in good measure upon the choice our Holy Father the Pope will make. As all the inhabitants of that country are well known and very dear to me, assure them I shall join in their prayers. For no one in the world desires more than I do their happiness in time and eternity.

I am with all the friendship possible,

Your very devoted servant,

✠Benoit J., *Bishop of Bardstown.*

The question of the incumbent of the projected See had likewise begun to be discussed. Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Flaget were of the opinion that a Frenchman would best suit the new See, and the former put forward the name of his friend of Bardstown. He did not deem the proposition in the least incongruous, for "according to the plan," as he explained, "the new See of St. Louis was to remain under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See" until the erection of a new Archbishopric in the West, to which St. Louis would be attached.⁹ Cardinal Litta seems to have approved this choice.¹⁰ Bishop Flaget himself was not, at first, averse to the change, as we learn from his letter early in 1815, to Mr. Gratiot, of St. Louis. Later on, however, he modified his attitude, as is evident from the following letter he wrote on June 26, 1816, to Archbishop Neale:¹¹

Most Rev'd Father:

It is a great pity that the people who ought to afford us nothing but relief and consolation, are precisely those that give us more trouble. Thus, indeed, was our divine Master treated by his very disciples; we his Servants are not to expect a better treatment, and we are to rejoice that we are found worthy to suffer for him.

According to your request I candidly pass my opinion about the erection of a new See at St. Louis. I firmly believe that the place is of the utmost importance for the good of religion, not only on account of the many Catholics that live there now, of those that will immediately emigrate thither, as soon as they hear that there is a Catholic Bishop, but much more so on account of the many nations of Indians that have never heard of the Christian faith. The Bishop that is to be sent thither must be accompanied by a good number of priests and zealous

⁹ SPALDING, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

¹⁰ Letter to Archbishop Carroll, December 23, 1815.

¹¹ The original is in the Archives of Baltimore. Cf. *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xix (1902), p. 108. The text as given there is faulty and betrays the copyist's unfamiliarity with archival sources.

ones, because the country is almost destitute of them. A seminary and College must be erected in order to give to the Catholic religion a superiority over all the other sects that are moving every stone to pull down our faith and build their errors on its ruins. The R.R.¹² Jesuits are certainly those that would suit the best in those quarters, for sixty years ago they carried on almost all the work at the missions both among the French people and the Indians, and their names there¹³ yet in the greatest veneration. If the Holy Father was to send a Jesuit as a Bishop and give five or six companions, I do not entertain the least doubt, but in less than twenty years it would be the most flourishing diocese of all those that are in the United States. But if the Pope sends thither a Bishop by himself or with one or two priests only, nothing good will result from his missions; he will work as a zealous missionary, but he will do nothing as a Bishop.

As to my translation to that See, if ever it takes place, it will be attended by a great many inconveniences in Kentucky. I have erected a Seminary where there are now seven young men studying divinity and five others more or less advanced in their studies according to the time of their coming. The Monasteries for public schools in which there are about thirty girls that have taken their vows, or are ready to take them, their success in teaching and instructing their pupils of every denomination has far surpassed our expectations. All these establishments, if ever I am ordered to go, are threatened with immediate ruin, because all the priests that attend them will follow me. Besides the building of my cathedral in Bardstown which is going on with good speed will be stopped all at once, if the people hear that I am going to move with Messrs. David, Chabat¹⁴ to¹⁵ Scheiffer and for it this building is so much encouraged. It is on account of the great esteem and affections which both Catholics and Protestants entertain for us. Louisiana, on another hand, will not gain much by my translation, for though I would take along with me Messrs. David, Chabat¹⁶ etc., we wouldn't be strong enough to carry on the business properly and very little good would result from our operations. Besides until now St. Sulpicius has not acknowledged my seminary as a Seminary belonging to the Company and every day I am threatened with losing¹⁷ Messrs. David and Chabat,¹⁸ which would cut off all hope of success.

The R.R. Mr. Durhenny¹⁹ informed me that the Court of Rome has a notion to send Mr. Gallitzin in my place. If ever he comes alone, he may be sure he will count his days by his trials and tribulations: for either he must blindly submit to the old priests that will remain here, or he will be at war with them, without any hope of obtaining victory.

¹² Probably *FF.* (Fathers).

¹³ *are* to be supplied.

¹⁴ Chabat.

¹⁵ Read *and*.

¹⁶ Chabat.

¹⁷ Read *losing*.

¹⁸ Chabat.

¹⁹ Read *Dubourg*.

Quod experientia constat. But if Mr. Gallatzin²⁰ can come with three or four priests, addicted to his cause and capable to support his measures, then he will succeed and Kentucky will gain by his translation.

The difficulty will be for the Court of Rome, to supply the Bishop with as many Priests as mentioned. Then it will be better not to appoint any, for a Bishop without priests may be compared to an excellent general who could pretend to gain victories without an army. Before I close my letter I beg of you to inform me who is the executor of the Most Rd. Dr. Carroll's will for I have been told he has bequeathed something to me, but the intelligence did not come officially. If you write to the Cardinal perfect²¹ of the Propaganda be so good as to make him sensible of the great inconveniences that would result from my translation, and you will serve the cause of religion in Kentucky and oblige in a particular manner

Your most humble and obed. Servt.

✠Benedict Joseph, Bishop of Bardstown.

The plan, however, never matured. Archbishop M. J. Spalding attributes its failure to "the bad spirit manifested by a party in New Orleans"²² opposed to Bishop Du Bourg. This view is well founded. On account of this "bad spirit," it had been decided that Bishop Du Bourg would settle in St. Louis; the erection of a See and the appointment of a Bishop there were consequently, for the time being at least, out of question. Meanwhile, he had been quite successful in securing from Italy and France priests for his mission, and both Upper and Lower Louisiana would be taken care of and the hope of better days entertained. On August 8, 1816, Bishop Flaget received definite intelligence that he was not to be transferred to St. Louis. This did not mean the absolute abandonment of the plan, but merely its being left in abeyance. It was taken up again in 1819, in a slightly modified form at least, by the Bishops of New Orleans and of Bardstown. There was talk at that time of erecting a new Episcopal See at Cincinnati. Bishop Du Bourg thought that, consequent upon its establishment, an Archbishopric should be created in the West and located either at Bardstown or at St. Louis. But Rome was then apparently arranging other plans for the United States. Whatever may have been the whole project entertained, one of its features was

²⁰ Gallitzin.

²¹ Read *Prefect*.

²² SPALDING, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

the appointment of a Coadjutor to the Bishop of Louisiana; and for this office the Cardinal Prefect proposed—on whose recommendation we know not—Father Rossetti, a secular priest, a native of Milan, and one of Bishop Du Bourg's recruits for the Louisiana mission. Father Rossetti had come to America in 1818, reaching the "Barrens" on January 5, 1819. Some months later he begged admission into the Congregation of the Mission and commenced his novitiate; but shortly afterwards he left "on account of a certain malady," as Father Rosati charitably puts it in a letter to Father Baccari, on June 23, 1821.

How Bishop Du Bourg received the proposal of a Coadjutor is not known; but he saw clearly that Propaganda had been imposed upon in the matter of the candidate, and he was quite outspoken about it (October 1, 1821):

"Quod D. Rossetti Mediolanensem iterata jam vice mihi ad Episcopatum proposuerit Sacra Congregatio, satis arguit minus notum fuisse hunc sacerdotem. Praeterquam enim ita corpore deformis est ut ipsius aspectus risum Americanis moveret, profunda tum humaniorum tum divinatorum incititia laborat, Gallici et Angli idiomatum aequae rudis, sed quod pejus est, jam duobus retro annis summo omnium nostrum dolore et molestia in vesaniam penitus actus est. . . . Tandem post annum integrum in hoc deplorabili statu exactum, mente partim recuperata in patriam regredi voluit, ubi eum incolumem apulisse confido."

Some time later, when Bishop Du Bourg had settled in New Orleans, he wrote again to Rome, to urge the resumption of the former plan. After the Rossetti incident, there is a touch of the *piquant* in his insistence upon "the appointment of such persons only, for Bishops in the United States, as were already fully acquainted with our missions, and as would be properly recommended by the American prelates." For the new Diocese of St. Louis, he proposed Father Bruté as the first, and Father Rosati as the second, on the list; and he suggested that the new Diocese should embrace Missouri, Illinois, and that portion of Arkansas north of the river bearing the same name. Once more the scheme failed, but this time because Rome had already taken steps in another direction, as can be seen from the Brief sent to Father Rosati on August 13, 1822.

Archbishop Maréchal had no sooner taken charge of the then

exceedingly large Diocese of Baltimore (1817), than he petitioned the Holy See to erect a new bishopric, to be formed out of the remotest States and Territories under his care. "The good of religion," he said in his Report to Propaganda, October 16, 1818, "demands that a bishop should be created directly in the Southern States, who could sow, nurture and water the seed of Catholic faith, before Protestant ministers have a chance to spread their false doctrines. Accordingly, I most humbly and earnestly beg the Sacred Congregation to obtain from the Holy Father the erection of an Episcopal See at Charleston, S. C., and that as quickly as possible."²³ Archbishop Maréchal proposed that the new Diocese include the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, and the Territory of Mississippi. Other influences, however, were active in Rome, of which the Metropolitan of Baltimore was not unaware; and despite his opposition, two new Sees—those of Richmond (Virginia) and Charleston (North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia) were created on July 1 and 12, 1820. Clearly, Cardinal Fontana's knowledge of American Geography was deficient, as by this decision the Archdiocese was split into two sections a thousand miles apart: the one, including Maryland and the District of Columbia, and the other, Mississippi and Northern Alabama, with the two new Dioceses between.²⁴

Later events manifested the impracticability of this scheme. The See of Charleston, although deprived of the Western Territories which Archbishop Maréchal wished to be incorporated thereto, proved to be permanent; whereas the Diocese of Richmond, after two years of a precarious existence, was placed again under the jurisdiction of Baltimore, its Bishop (Bishop Patrick Kelly) being transferred to the See of Lismore and Waterford, in Ireland.

The awkward condition created by the decrees of July, 1820, as regards the Territory of Mississippi called loudly for redress. There was, it is true, an agreement between the Archbishop of Baltimore and the Bishop of New Orleans, according to which the latter prelate administered the western half of the Baltimore

²³ Cf. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i (1915-16), pp. 450-1.

²⁴ The southern part of Alabama remained in the Diocese of New Orleans.

Diocese as Vicar General of its lawful Ordinary.²⁵ This arrangement, however, was deemed unsatisfactory, owing particularly to the fact that Bishop Du Bourg, on his return from Europe (1817-1818), on account of troubled condition in the Church of Louisiana, had fixed his residence in St. Louis, which was nearly as far from the Territory of Mississippi as Baltimore itself. However, on November 19, 1820, he set out to visit Lower Louisiana, where such an enthusiastic welcome was everywhere tendered him that he remained.²⁶ But the Prefect of Propaganda apparently had not yet been apprized of this change;²⁷ hence, on August 13, 1822, the Sacred Congregation decided to erect the two Territories of Mississippi and Alabama into a Vicariate Apostolic, and to appoint thereto Father Rosati, who was nominated Bishop of Tenagra *i. p. i.*

Shea tells us that, since Northern Alabama and Mississippi belonged to the Diocese of Baltimore, the action taken by Propaganda "seems to have elicited a protest from Archbishop Maréchal."²⁸ Such a protest would suppose that the dismemberment was made without the consent, and perhaps without the knowledge, of that prelate—a disregard of the usual procedure which is hardly credible. As a matter of fact, Archbishop Maréchal, who had set out for Rome at the end of 1821, was

²⁵ "Cumque territoria duo Mississippi et Alabamæ, in foederatis Americæ provinciis, quorum spirituale regimen pertinebat ad Baltimoreensem Archiepiscopatum, a Metropolitana Sede tam dissita sint, ut cum Archiepiscopus eorum curam gerere non posset, ea Neo-Aurelianensi Episcopo tanquam Vicario Sui Generali committere cogeretur. . . ." *Apost. Letter*, August 13, 1822.

²⁶ "Soprattutto si è veduto la mano di Dio nella mutazione successa ne' cuori degli avversarii del Vescovo, nella riconciliazione sincera e perfetta del P. Antonio, il quale presentemente è forse la persona che vi sia in Diocesi più attaccata al Vescovo. Quel buon prelado ha avuta la consolazione di vedere da vicino quanto Le ho accennato nella visita che ha fatta di tutte le parrocchie della Bassa Luigiana; mi scrive che tutto è andato al di là de' suoi desiderii. Da per tutto è stato accolto come in trionfo. . . . Non meno de' popoli, Monsie., ho avuto motivo di esser contento de' Parrochi; ha tenuto il Sinodo Diocesano alla Na. Orleans, ed ha ammirato il zelo di tutti i Curati." (Fr. Rosati to Fr. Baccari. May 4, 1821.)

²⁷ "Cum Episcopus Novæ Aureliæ ob translatam suam residentiam in civitate S. Ludovici in Luisiana Superiori quæ leucas circiter quingentas ab iisdem territoriis" (Miss. and Ala.) "distat eorum curam amplius exercere non possit." (Brief, August 13, 1822.) Bishop Du Bourg's change of residence was still unknown in Rome in January, 1823, for the Brief issued on the twenty-first of that month recites the same statement.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 73.

in Rome when the erection of the Vicariate was decided upon, had brought back to America the Brief sent by Propaganda to Father Rosati, and was to forward the same to his address.²⁹ It is hard to believe that Propaganda confided to the prelate documents of such importance without acquainting him with their contents; and if he was privy to the transaction, as appears quite probable, then there can be little doubt that his consent had been obtained, or at least his objections overruled, and therefore there was no longer occasion for a protest. A manuscript *Life* of Bishop Rosati, written in Italian about 1847, and kept in the *Archives* of the Roman Procurators of the Congregation of the Mission,³⁰ thus recites the proceedings:

Archbishop Maréchal explained all this ³¹ at Rome; and the necessity of new divisions and of the creation of new Sees once known and approved, *he succeeded in obtaining at least* this much, that out of the two territories of Mississippi and Alabama, taken away from the jurisdiction of Baltimore, a Vicariate Apostolic was formed, to which Father Joseph Rosati was appointed with the title and dignity of Bishop. A Pontifical Brief which settled these matters was issued on August 13, 1822; the Archbishop took it along with him when he went back to America, and on reaching home sent it at once to Father Rosati.

But we have something still better as a source of authentic information, namely, the Brief of July 14, 1823, referred to by Shea. In this document it is explicitly stated, contrary to the assertion of the learned historian, that the creation of the Vicariate in 1822 was consequent on the fact that "*Baltimorensis Archiepiscopus a spirituali eorumdem territoriorum regimine SE SPONTE DIMISERIT.*"

However this may be, the Brief of August 13, 1822, together with other documents from Propaganda, dated September 7 and 13, and a copy of the Faculties, both ordinary and extraordinary, granted to the American Bishops, signed on September 8,³² and, moreover, certain letters sent him from Monte-Citorio reached the Seminary at the "Barrens" on January 23, 1823. We can obtain a fair idea of what Father Rosati's feelings then

²⁹ Letter of Father Rosati to Father Baccari, January 24, 1823, cited below.

³⁰ *America*. P. ii, Monsig. Rosati, p. 31.

³¹ That is, the unsatisfactory conditions then existing; he, too, was ignorant of Bishop Du Bourg's change of residence, which had taken place after his departure from America.

³² *Diary* of Bishop Rosati.

were from the following letter written the very next day to Father Baccari, Vicar General of the Congregation of the Mission at Rome:²³

Yesterday evening I received your letters sent me through the Archbishop of Baltimore. The joy and delight first experienced in reading them have given place to the greatest affliction, which assailed me on unfolding a document from the S. C. of Propaganda despatched to me through the same channel, notifying me that I have been appointed Bishop in *partibus*, and Vicar Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama. That was truly for me a thunderbolt. I did not hesitate for a moment to resolve to refuse a burden which is beyond my strength in every regard. To this end I warmly recommend myself to you, in order that you may obtain that the Holy Father and His Eminence Card. Consalvi grant me the favor of accepting my refusal. I am devoid of everything that is required for such a tremendous office: virtue, enlightenment, experience, etc. You know how many times I have begged you to take away from me the burden, which someone else could carry better than I. Do me, therefore, the favor to interpose in my behalf, and have prayers addressed to our Holy Founder for me, that I may not be denied the grace of continuing to live among his sons; of this I am unworthy, I know; but still more unworthy am I of so high a position in the Church of God; and if I have the misfortune to see my prayers unheard, then it behooves me to say that I am of the number of those who, by the just judgment of God, *in altum tolluntur ut lapsu graviore ruant*. I trust it will not be so. I am writing to you with tears in my eyes, and scarce know what I am writing.

One month later his feelings were still the same, and his determination to refuse the honor and burden proffered, more firmly set than ever. Here is what he confided to his brother on the whole affair on February 24:²⁴

An event which I will consider as the most calamitous of all those which have ever broken the peace and tranquillity of my life has lately been for me the cause of the greatest affliction. The Holy Father has appointed and elected me Bishop. Card. Consalvi has forwarded to me the Apostolic Briefs containing this appointment, and enjoining me to be consecrated as soon as possible. The mere sight of those letters was for me a thunderbolt striking me most unexpectedly. I did not hesitate for a moment to decide that, as the Episcopal dignity and burden are beyond my strength, it was my duty to refuse. I wrote so much to Card. Consalvi, to our Vicar General and to some others. I hope the Lord

²³ *Archives of the Procurators General C.M., Rome, America*, p. ii. Monsig. Rosati, pp. 21-32. The letter is in Italian.

²⁴ *Id.* Letters to Nicola Rosati, at Sora. The original is in Italian.

will grant me the grace to deliver me from such a burden. Nothing can induce me to take it upon my shoulders, outside of the force of obedience. I shall deem myself happy if I am allowed to work in the lowest rank of the laborers who tend the Lord's vineyard, without running the risks to which those who occupy the highest positions are exposed. I am waiting most anxiously the answers from Rome, and I shall not recover my composure until I see my wishes fulfilled.

These candid and straightforward expressions of Father Rosati's humility ring true. He was thoroughly in earnest, and indeed left no means unemployed to ward off what he considered the severest blow that had ever fallen upon him. He had written "a warm, nay, even a fiery"²⁵ letter to Cardinal Consalvi, Prefect of Propaganda; another "warm letter" he wrote to Msgr. Caprano, Secretary of the same Congregation,²⁶ yet others to Father Baccari;²⁷ Bishop Flaget and Bishop Du Bourg he persuaded to plead his cause.²⁸ The latter prelate, whom this appointment threatened to deprive of a most active co-laborer, at once wrote to Rome, grounding his plea upon three arguments: first, the uselessness of the recently created Vicariate, for the Catholics were few in the Territories allotted to it; secondly, the inopportuneness of the erection, as these few Catholics were unable to support a Bishop; and thirdly and foremost, Father Rosati's departure would surely mean the ruin of the establishment of the Mission, which was the object of his care and solicitude, and on which so much money had been spent. It would consequently be an irretrievable loss to the cause of religion.

Meanwhile, before the first Pontifical letters of August and September, 1822, had been delivered to Father Rosati, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda had taken another step, and had joined, temporarily, the two Floridas to the Vicariate. The Brief of January 21, 1823, informing the Vicar Apostolic-

²⁵ MS. *Life* cited above, p. 22: "Vires meas tanto oneri impares sentiens ad Sac. Congregationem respondi ut alium eligere dignaretur." Bishop Rosati's *Diary*.

²⁶ MS. *Life*, l. c.

²⁷ L. c.; *Diary*.

²⁸ "Illmum D. Guillelmum Du Bourg, Episcopum Neo-Aurelianensem, et Illmum D. B. J. Flaget Epum Bardensem impense rogavi ut me ab hac dignitate accipienda officiosis apud Summum Pontificem precibus liberarent." *Diary*.

elect of the new arrangement, recites the facts and motives as follows:”

Whereas, according to the report made to Us, the two Floridas, Eastern and Western, in North America, which were first under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Santiago of Cuba, then were placed, by Consistorial Decree dated September 10, 1787, under that of the Bishop of St. Christopher of Havana, and finally were by Apostolic Letters of April 25, 1793, annexed to the Diocese of New Orleans under the Metropolitan jurisdiction of the Archbishop of San Domingo, are so far away from the City of St. Louis in Upper Louisiana where the Bishop of New Orleans has established his residence, that he is absolutely unable to take care of them, and therefore has resigned his right over them; lest the faithful residing in the Floridas should be deprived of spiritual help, We, by the advice of our Ven. Brethren the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda, have resolved to dismember from the Diocese of New Orleans the two Floridas and to unite and annex them provisionally to the recently created Vicariate Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama; and finally it being our wish that our Ven. Brother Joseph Rosati, recently elected Vicar Apostolic with Episcopal dignity and title of the two Territories of Mississippi and Alabama, should have care and jurisdiction over the two Floridas as well, with all the Faculties enjoyed by the other Bishops of the United States; so, in virtue of our Apostolic authority by the tenor of the present letter We decree, this to stand until other provision shall be made by this Holy See.

This Brief—so we learn from Bishop Rosati’s *Diary*—never reached its address.

For months the soul of Father Rosati chafed under the worry caused by this appointment. Finally, he resolved to take a radical step, bolder, indeed, than all the respectful remonstrances sent to Rome by his alarmed friends. One of the Italian priests of his Community, Father Philip Borgna, on account of persistent ill-health, was obliged to leave America and to return to his native land. Through him Father Rosati sent the Pontifical

”Quum sicut Nobis relatum est duae Floridarum provinciae Orientalis nimirum et Occidentalis in America Septentrionali, quae primum Archiepiscopo S. Jacobi de Cuba deinde per Consistoriale Decretum die 10 Septbris 1787 Episcopi S. Christophori de Avana in spiritualibus subjectae fuerunt, demum per litteras Apostolicas datas die 25 Aplis 1793 Neo-Aurelianensi Ecclesiae sub metropolitico Jure Archiepiscopi S. Dominici tam longe distent a civitate S. Ludovici in Luisiana Superiori, ubi Novae Aureliae Episcopus sedem statuit suam, ut ipsam Floridarum curam gerere nullo modo possit, eamque propterea sponte dimiserit, Nos ne fideles qui in Floridis versantur spiritualibus careant auxiliis, de Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S.R.E.

documents back to Propaganda, requesting him, moreover, to spare no effort to obtain the annulment of his appointment.⁴⁰ Such was also, no doubt, the object of a letter sent to the Sacred Congregation, mentioned in his *Diary* under the date of April 2, 1823. Communications in those times were slow between America and Europe, and even between the various parts of America, and the affair remained in the *statu quo* for several months.⁴¹

Archbishop Maréchal, Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Flaget had, meanwhile, carefully reviewed and sifted the whole matter, and their reports were unanimously against the erection of the new Vicariate Apostolic. These reports placed Propaganda in a rather embarrassing situation. The opinion of the American prelates was founded on a first-hand acquaintance with the conditions and needs of the country, and showed that the step had been taken somewhat too hastily. What had been done could naturally be undone, but what if Father Rosati had already received episcopal consecration? True, he had begged to have his appointment canceled; but he might quite possibly have been prevailed upon to submit.⁴² Here was a Bishop, a Vicar Apostolic with a shadowy, impossible Vicariate—a very delicate and embarrassing situation indeed.

A happy *combinazione*, exhibiting once more the wonderful

Cardinalium Propagandae fidei praepositorum consilio ambas Floridarum provincias a Novae Aureliae Dioecesi distrahere easque per modum provisorium unire et adjungere Apostolico Vicariatus nuper erecto duorum confinium territoriorum Mississippi et Alabamae novissime volentes spirituales curam et jurisdictionem Venerabili Fratri Josepho Rosati tamquam Vicario Apostolico non minus duorum Territoriorum Mississippi et Alabamae novissime electo cum caractere et titulo Episcopali quam utriusque Floridarum Provinciae cum facultatibus, quibus ceteri foederatarum Provinciarum Episcopi potiuntur, auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium constituimus donec tamen per hanc S. Sedem aliter provideatur."

⁴⁰ He left America on April 10, 1823, and returned in March, 1825.

⁴¹ It took usually about one month for letters to cover the distance between New Orleans and the "Barrens," and the same time was the minimum time between Baltimore and Missouri.

⁴² The situation here described is that which existed in the spring of 1823: the Briefs had been expedited and received. Propaganda was in possession of Father Rosati's refusal and of the objections made by the American Bishops; but as Father Borgna arrived in Rome only in November, there was no certainty that Father Rosati had not changed his mind and received the consecration, as he was bidden to receive it, "as soon as possible."

resourcefulness of Roman diplomacy, was hit upon. Suppressing the impossible Vicariate, Propaganda fell back upon the old idea of dividing Louisiana; but, taught by experience, it carefully postponed taking definite measures for a period of three years, meantime appointing the Bishop-elect of Tenagra Coadjutor to the Bishop of New Orleans. The Brief sent to Father Rosati on July 14, 1823, by Pope Pius VII, is worth giving here:

To our Beloved Son Joseph Rosati, Priest of the Cong. of the Mission,
Bishop elect of Tenagra, POPE PIUS VII, Health and Apostolic Blessing.

Beloved Son,

Last year, by the report of the Secretary of the Congregation of our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals deputed to the Propagation of the faith, We were made cognizant of the fact that the two Territories of Mississippi and Alabama located in the United States of America, the spiritual care of which devolved upon the Archbishop of Baltimore, are so far distant from the Metropolitan See that the said Archbishop was not able to take care of them either by himself, or by our Ven. Brother Louis Bishop of New Orleans as his Vicar General, on account of the latter's residing in St. Louis in Upper Louisiana, that is, some five hundred leagues from the afore-mentioned Territories; and for this reason the Archbishop of Baltimore of his own accord resigned the spiritual administration of these Territories; whereupon We deemed it a duty of our Pastoral office to provide for the necessity of the faithful of those parts, and accordingly appointed you, by Apostolic Brief dated August 13, 1822, Vicar Apostolic with the dignity and title of Bishop of Tenagra for the two above-mentioned Territories; finally, as the aforesaid Bishop of New Orleans, owing likewise to distances, could not in any way take care of the Floridas, and in consequence resigned of his own accord this charge, We, dismembering these two provinces from the Diocese of New Orleans, joined them temporarily and until other provision should be made by this Holy See to the aforesaid Vicariate Apostolic by another Brief dated January 21 of the present year.

But now a recent report of the Secretary of the same Congregation based upon a letter of the Bishop of New Orleans has apprized Us of the fact that the establishment of the above-mentioned Vicariate and the union thereto of the Floridas made later, as well as your designation for that Vicariate are not only purposeless, owing to the small numbers of Catholics in the countries forming it, not only inopportune because these countries are utterly unable to support a Bishop, but also your very appointment will be a calamity for the cause of Religion in all Louisiana, for your departure from Louisiana will strike the death-blow, it is asserted, and to the house of the Congregation of the Mission recently erected and working so usefully in Louisiana, and to the Ecclesiastical

Seminary, and finally to the College founded for the education of young men in Religion and in the liberal Arts, as you are the only person, on account of the scarcity and youth of the sacred ministers residing in those parts, who can usefully be at the head of these establishments.

After mature consideration of all the above, and by the advice of our Ven. Brethren the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda, for the greater good of Religion and of the faithful, We deem it advisable to change our decision.

Therefore, the afore-mentioned Apostolic Letters whereby We made you Vicar Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama in the United States, and added to it the Floridas dismembered from the Diocese of New Orleans, and elected you Vicar Apostolic, We, in virtue of the Apostolic authority, by the tenor of these presents cancel and abrogate; and thus, as We had elected you Bishop of Tenagra as per our former Apostolic letter of August 13, 1822, and as you now have possibly received already Episcopal Consecration, cancelling likewise your appointment as Vicar Apostolic, We designate you to aid the Bishop of New Orleans in the administration of his Diocese in quality of his Coadjutor; the following, however, being understood both by you and by that Bishop: Louisiana shall be divided into two Episcopal Sees within three years; if, which may God avert! the Bishop of New Orleans should depart this life before the division be made, you shall at first take the administration of the whole of Louisiana; then, when the division will be made, you shall have the government of only one of these two Sees, and the other shall be turned over to the person designated by the Apostolic See.

If, on the other hand, the division of Louisiana is carried to execution during the life-time of the Bishop of New Orleans, which We heartily beg of the Lord, then our wish is that you, resigning at once your office of Coadjutor, should be by Apostolic letters then to be written created Bishop of that one of the two Sees which the Bishop of New Orleans will not take for himself.

We ordain, moreover, in the name of holy obedience, to all and every one whom it may now or eventually concern, that they receive you in quality of Coadjutor, and if the division of Louisiana is not consummated during the life-time of the Bishop of New Orleans, then immediately after his demise in quality of spiritual head of the whole Louisiana, according to the tenor of these presents; and that they be subject to you and obey you and receive your salutary advice and your commands reverently and fulfill them effectually; otherwise every sentence and penalty which you will decree lawfully against the contumacious We shall uphold, and shall inviolably procure its execution by the authority communicated to Us by the Lord, until condign satisfaction be obtained.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major, under the seal of the Fisherman, on July 14, 1823.

H. Card. Consalvi.

This third Brief reached the "Barrens" on December 4. It did not come altogether unexpected, for both Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Flaget, when acquainting Father Rosati with the purport of their letters to Rome, observed that they expected little success; and they made it clear to him that it was his duty to resist no longer. From Rome, Father Baccari had insisted to the same effect. Two days later, on December 6, the Bishop-elect wrote to Propaganda that he had now resigned himself to the inevitable, and accordingly would receive episcopal consecration as directed, as soon as possible.⁴³ The promptness of his answer was no sign that he penned this letter with a light heart: it was the promptness of obedience, regardless of the cost. The following extract from a letter to his brother, written on the same day, speaks for itself:⁴⁴

Concerning myself I shall tell you, that, to my great displeasure, I received the day before yesterday certain letters of the S. C. of Propaganda, with a Pontifical Brief, containing my appointment as Coadjutor to the Right Rev. Bishop of Louisiana. I wrote to you some time ago that last year I had been elected Vicar Apostolic and Bishop of Tenagra (*in partibus*); I refused to accept. My refusal has been taken into consideration in so far as the Vicariate Apostolic is concerned; but instead I have been elected Coadjutor to Bishop Du Bourg. I confess to you that that burden affrights me. But I find myself in the necessity of refusing no longer, as this was made to me a grave duty of conscience by our Bishop and by others whom I consulted. I must therefore submit.

It would seem that after sending the Brief of July 14, 1823, Rome still entertained some misgivings as to whether Father Rosati would really submit this time. Father Borgna reached Rome in the first days of November. Since leaving America on April 10, he had had ample time to make reflections, and he had come to the conclusion that the good of religion in America imposed upon him the duty of disregarding the wishes of his Superior, and of urging strongly Father Rosati's appointment.

⁴³ "Summi Pontificis Sacraeque Congregationis voluntati, ex nostri Vicarii Generalis, et Illorum ac Rmorum Neo-Aurelianensis ac Bardensis Episcoporum consilio resistere non audens, eidem S. C., litteris diei 6 Decembris 1823 meum assensum significavi, una cum proposito consecrationem Episcopalem quam citius recipiendi." *Diary*.

⁴⁴ *Archives of the Proc. Gen. C. M., Rome*. Letters to Nicola Rosati, December 6, 1823.

Accordingly he allowed himself no rest until he was sure he had won his point. In November, 1823, Propaganda sent back to Father Rosati the Brief of August 13, 1822, brought by Father Borgna, and accompanied it with a letter appealing to the appointee's sense of obedience.⁴⁵ This appeal was now purposeless, as has been seen: so prompt had been the obedience of Father Rosati that he allowed no time to elapse before corresponding with Bishop Du Bourg in regard to the time and place most suitable for the Consecration.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C.M.,
Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis.

(To be continued)

⁴⁵ "Cum Apostolicas litteras diei 13 Augusti 1822 Romam remissem Sacra Congregatio eas ad me secundo transmisit una cum novis litteris datis die 22. Novembris 1823, commendans ut Sedis Apostolicae voluntati parerem." *Diary*.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN THE UNITED STATES'

IX. THE PROVINCE OF PHILADELPHIA (1808-1875)

When the Diocese of Philadelphia was erected, April 8, 1808, it embraced the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware and that part of New Jersey once known as West Jersey. The Second Provincial Council, in 1833, described this territory as being the counties named: Hunterdon, Warren, Burlington, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May. New Jersey was detached in 1853 to become a part of the Diocese of Newark, and Delaware in 1868 to be a part of the Diocese of Wilmington. By successive divisions, the Diocese of Pittsburgh, 1843; Erie, 1853; Harrisburg and Scranton, 1868; and Altoona, 1901, have been erected, and the Diocese of Philadelphia has been restricted to a few counties in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania with an area of 5,043 miles. According to the *Laité's Directory* of 1822, there were in Philadelphia "four churches: St. Mary's, which is called the Cathedral, St. Augustine's, Holy Trinity for the Germans, and St. Joseph's." In the rest of the Diocese were eleven churches at Lancaster, Conewago, Reading, Carlisle, Chambersburg, Loretto, Greenburgh, Pittsburgh and Goshenhoppen in Pennsylvania and at Wilmington in Delaware and Trenton in New Jersey. It is now one of the largest and strongest Dioceses in the country with 726 priests, 328 churches, 145 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 700,000. The Province was erected by Pope Pius IX, February 12, 1875, and embraces the State of Pennsylvania.²

1. PHILADELPHIA (1808)

1. The first Bishop of Philadelphia was the Right Rev. Michael Egan. He was born and educated in Ireland, joined the Franciscan Order, and was at one time Guardian of the Franciscan Convent of St. Isidore in Rome. He came to the United States in 1802 and was stationed in Philadelphia when he was made Bishop. Although appointed in 1808, his Bulls did not arrive until 1810, and he was consecrated, October 28 of that year. He died, July 22, 1814.

2. The Diocese of Philadelphia was administered by the Very Rev. Louis De Barth from the death of Bishop Egan until 1820, when the Right Rev.

¹ V. CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 367-390; Vol. ii, pp. 127-146, 283-302.

² The statistics have been taken in this article from the *Catholic Directory* of 1917

Henry Conwell, who was already seventy-three years old, was made the second Bishop. He was consecrated in London, England, August 24, 1820. His troubles are a sad part of the history of the Diocese. He died, April 22, 1842, aged 94 years.

3. In the meantime the Holy See relieved Bishop Conwell of the administration of the Diocese, which was placed in the hands of the Very Rev. William Matthews as Vicar General Apostolic, until the appointment of the Right Rev. **Francis Patrick Kenrick** as Coadjutor and Administrator. He was born December 3, 1796; was ordained at Rome, April 7, 1821; was consecrated titular Bishop of Arath, June 6, 1830; became Bishop of Philadelphia, April 22, 1843, and Archbishop of Baltimore, August 19, 1851. He died, July 8, 1863.

4. The Venerable **John Nepomucene Neumann** was born in Bohemia, March 20, 1811, and was ordained at New York by Bishop Dubois, June 25, 1836. He associated himself with the Redemptorists in 1840 and was professed in 1842. He was pastor of St. Alphonsus Church in Baltimore when appointed Bishop of Philadelphia, and was consecrated there, March 20, 1852. He died suddenly on the street, January 5, 1860. The Holy See has permitted the introduction of the process of his canonization. Hence his title of Venerable.

5. The Most Rev. **James Frederick Wood**, fifth Bishop and first Archbishop of Philadelphia, was born in that city, April 27, 1813. He became a Catholic in 1838 and was ordained at the Propaganda in Rome, March 25, 1844. He was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Neumann and consecrated titular Bishop of Antigone, April 26, 1857; became Bishop of Philadelphia, January 5, 1860, and Archbishop, February 12, 1875. He died, June 20, 1883.

6. The Most Rev. **Patrick John Ryan** was born at Thurles, County Tipperary, Ireland, February 20, 1831. He came to the United States in 1852 and was ordained at St. Louis, September 8, 1853. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Tricomia and Coadjutor of St. Louis, February 14, 1872, was made titular Archbishop of Salamis, January 6, 1884, and transferred to Philadelphia, June 8, 1884. He died, February 11, 1911, being within a few days of 80 years of age.

7. The present Archbishop is the Most Rev. **Edmond F. Prendergast**, born at Clonmel, Ireland, May 3, 1843, and ordained, November 17, 1865. He was made titular Bishop of Scillio, November 27, 1896, and Auxiliary of Philadelphia and was consecrated, February 24, 1897. He became Archbishop of Philadelphia, May 9, 1911.

The Right Rev. **John J. McCort**, born at Philadelphia, February 16, 1860, was appointed titular Bishop of Azotus and Auxiliary, June 28, 1912, and was consecrated, September 17, 1912.

2. PITTSBURGH (1843)

The great pioneer in missionary work in western Pennsylvania was the Rev. **Demetrius Gallitzin**, whom Bishop Conwell designated as his Vicar General in that region. Later on Bishop Kenrick urged the erection of a Diocese at Pittsburgh and

offered himself to undertake the organization of it. He sent the Rev. Michael O'Connor as Vicar General to prepare the way, and finally, at the earnest request of the bishops of the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, Pope Gregory XVI erected the Diocese, August 8, 1843, as a Suffragan of Baltimore. It embraced the whole of western Pennsylvania until the Diocese of Erie was erected in 1853. At present it comprises ten counties of the State with an area of 7,238 square miles and has 552 priests, 352 churches, 87 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 550,000.

1. The Right Rev. Michael O'Connor was made the first bishop. He was born in County Cork, Ireland, September 27, 1810. Entering the Propaganda College, he was ordained at Rome, June 1, 1833. He was consecrated Bishop of Pittsburgh, August 15, 1843. When the Diocese of Erie was erected in 1853, Bishop O'Connor was transferred to the new see. This arrangement was not permanent and he was sent back to Pittsburgh. His resignation was finally accepted, May 23, 1860, and he became a Jesuit in fulfilment of a desire of many years, retired to Woodstock, Maryland, the Jesuit House of Studies, and died there, October 18, 1872.

The *Metropolitan* in June, 1857, announced the appointment of Rev. John B. Byrne, Pastor of St. Matthew's Church, Washington, D. C., as Coadjutor of Pittsburgh. Dr. Byrne was presented by Bishop O'Connor to the congregation of the Pittsburgh Cathedral on Sunday, October 11, 1857, and preached on the occasion. He was, however, never consecrated.

2. The second Bishop of Pittsburgh was the Right Rev. Michael Domenec, a Lazarist, born in Spain, December 27, 1816. He came to the United States in 1838 and was ordained at St. Louis, June 29, 1839. He was consecrated Bishop of Pittsburgh, December 9, 1860. In 1876 the Diocese was divided and a new Diocese was erected at Allegheny, to which Bishop Domenec was transferred. This Diocese he resigned, July 27, 1877, and returned to Spain, where he died, January 7, 1878.

3. The Right Rev. John Tuigg, born in County Cork, Ireland, February 19, 1821, and ordained May 14, 1850, was consecrated Bishop of Pittsburgh, March 19, 1876. After the resignation of Bishop Domenec, the administration of the Diocese of Allegheny was committed to Bishop Tuigg. He died, December 7, 1889.

4. The Right Rev. Richard Phelan was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Tuigg, May 15, 1885. He was born in County Kilkenny, Ireland, January 1, 1823, and was ordained, May 4, 1854. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Cibra, August 2, 1885. By a Bull of July 1, 1889, the See of Allegheny was suppressed and when Bishop Tuigg died, December 7, 1889, Bishop Phelan became Bishop of Pittsburgh, which was declared to embrace all the territory of the two Dioceses, as if no division had been made. He died, December 20, 1904.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. J. F. Regis Canevin, born in

1853. He was appointed titular Bishop of Sabrata, and Coadjutor, December 24, 1902, and was consecrated, February 24, 1903. He became Bishop of Pittsburgh, December 20, 1904.

3. ERIE (1853)

The Diocese of Erie was erected, July 29, 1853, and to it were assigned thirteen counties of northwestern Pennsylvania, an area of 9,936 square miles. Bishop O'Connor, of Pittsburgh, was transferred to the new Diocese, but as the Right Rev. J. M. Young absolutely declined to accept Pittsburgh, Bishop O'Connor was, after five months, sent back, and the

1. Right Rev. Josue M. Young was made second Bishop of Erie. He was born in Maine, October 28, 1808, became a Catholic in 1828 and was ordained, April 1, 1838. He was consecrated, April 23, 1854, and died, September 18, 1866.

2. His successor was the Right Rev. Tobias Mullen, born in County Tyrone, Ireland, March 4, 1818, and ordained at Pittsburgh, September 1, 1844. He was consecrated, August 2, 1868. He resigned, August 10, 1899, and was made titular Bishop of Germanicopolis. He died, April 22, 1900.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John E. Fitzmaurice, born in Ireland, January 8, 1837, and ordained, December 21, 1862. He was made titular Bishop of Amisus, December 8, 1897, and Coadjutor of Erie. He was consecrated, February 24, 1898, and became Bishop of Erie, September 18, 1899.

The Diocese at the present time has 179 priests, 160 churches, 39 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 125,000.

4. HARRISBURG (1868)

The Diocese of Harrisburg was erected by Pope Pius IX, March 3, 1868. It originally comprised fifteen counties in the southern part of Pennsylvania. Two of these counties were cut off when Altoona was made a Diocese in 1910. The present area is 8,000 square miles. It has, in 1917, 113 priests, 86 churches and missions and a Catholic population of 85,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Jeremiah F. Shanahan, born in Pennsylvania, July 13, 1834, and ordained, July 3, 1859. He was President of the Philadelphia Preparatory Seminary when appointed Bishop of Harrisburg. He was consecrated, July 12, 1868, and died, September 24, 1886.

2. His successor was the Right Rev. Thomas McGovern, born in County Cavan, Ireland, in 1832, and ordained, December 27, 1861. He was consecrated, March 11, 1888, and died, July 25, 1898.

3. The third bishop was the Right Rev. John W. Shanahan, a brother of

the first bishop. He was born, January 3, 1846, and ordained, January 2, 1869. He was appointed, January 2, 1899, and was consecrated, May 1, 1899. He died, January 19, 1916.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Philip R. McDevitt, born at Philadelphia, July 12, 1858, and ordained also at Philadelphia, July 14, 1885. He was Superintendent of the Catholic Schools of the Archdiocese when he was appointed, July 10, 1916, Bishop of Harrisburg. He was consecrated, September 21, 1916.

5. SCRANTON (1868)

The Diocese of Scranton was erected, March 3, 1868. It comprises eleven counties of northeastern Pennsylvania, with an area of 8,487 square miles, and has 277 priests, 231 churches, 17 stations and a Catholic population of 278,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. William O'Hara, born in Ireland, April 14, 1816, and ordained at Rome, December 21, 1842. He was consecrated, July 12, 1868, together with Bishop Shanahan, of Harrisburg. He died, February 3, 1899.

2. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Michael John Hoban, born in New Jersey, June 6, 1853, and ordained at Rome, May 22, 1880. He was made titular Bishop of Alalis and Coadjutor of Scranton, February 1, 1896, and was consecrated, March 22, 1896. He became Bishop of Scranton, February 3, 1899.

6. ALTOONA (1901)

The Diocese of Altoona was erected by Pope Leo XIII, May 30, 1901. It comprises eight counties of central Pennsylvania, detached from the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Harrisburg, with an area of 6,710 square miles. It has 129 priests, 108 churches, 42 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 127,000.

1. The first and present bishop is the Right Rev. Eugene A. Garvey, born at Carbondale, Pennsylvania, October 6, 1845, and ordained, September 22, 1869. He was appointed, May 31, 1901, and was consecrated, September 8, 1901.

X. THE PROVINCE OF MILWAUKEE (1843-1875)

The missionaries, who labored in the region now embraced by the Province of Milwaukee, were subject to the Bishop of Quebec. After the final adjustment of boundaries between Canada and the United States it came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore. It was afterwards successively under the care of the Bishops of Bardstown, Cincinnati and Detroit, until November 28, 1843, when Pope Gregory XVI erected the Diocese of Milwaukee, assigning as its limits the region now

included in the State of Wisconsin and the part of Minnesota which lies east of the Mississippi, which was at that time known as Wisconsin Territory. At present it is limited to seventeen counties in the southeastern part of Wisconsin, an area of 9,321 square miles, and has 427 priests, 297 churches and 41 chapels, and a Catholic population of 265,000. Milwaukee was made an Archdiocese by Pope Pius IX, July 12, 1875, and its Province embraces the State of Wisconsin and the northern peninsula of Michigan with the Sees of Green Bay, La Crosse and Superior, in Wisconsin, and Marquette in Michigan.²

1. MILWAUKEE (1843)

1. The first Bishop of Milwaukee was the Most Rev. John Martin Henmi, who was born in Switzerland, June 13, 1805. He came to America in 1828 and was ordained at Cincinnati, February 2, 1829. He was consecrated Bishop of Milwaukee, March 19, 1844, became the first Archbishop in 1875 and died, September 7, 1881.

2. The Most Rev. Michael Heiss was born in Bavaria, April 12, 1818, and was ordained, October 18, 1840. He was consecrated Bishop of La Crosse, September 6, 1868, became titular Archbishop of Adrianople and Coadjutor of Milwaukee, March 14, 1880, Archbishop of Milwaukee, September 7, 1881, and died, March 26, 1890.

3. The Most Rev. Frederick Xavier Katzer was born in Austria, February 7, 1844. He came to America in 1864 and was ordained, December 21, 1866. He was consecrated Bishop of Green Bay, September 21, 1866, became Archbishop of Milwaukee, January 30, 1891, and died, July 20, 1903.

4. The present Archbishop is the Most Rev. Sebastian Gebhard Messmer, born in Switzerland, August 29, 1847. He was ordained at Innsbruck, July 23, 1871, and came to America the same year. He was Professor of Canon Law in the Catholic University of America when he was appointed Bishop of Green Bay, December 14, 1891. He was consecrated, March 27, 1892, and became Archbishop of Milwaukee, November 28, 1903.

The Right Rev. Edward Kozlowski, ordained June 29, 1887, was appointed titular Bishop of Germe and Auxiliary of Milwaukee, January 14, 1914. He died August 7, 1915.

2. SAULT SAINTE MARIE AND MARQUETTE (1853-1857)

The history of the Diocese of Marquette leads back to the missionary work of the early Jesuits in 1641. Originally in the

² The *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, Vol. 2 (June, 1843), p. 381, has the following statement about Milwaukee: "Milwaukie (sic), Wisconsin Territory, which will probably be in some future time an Episcopal see, now contains nearly four thousand inhabitants and was increased by 250 dwellings last year, while 350 to 400 will go up this year. Eight years ago the first frame house was erected there. During 1842 there were 250 arrivals of steamboats and 1,250 of sailing vessels."

jurisdiction of Quebec, the region came under the care of Archbishop Carroll when the English finally turned it over to the United States. It was successively a part of the Dioceses of Bardstown, of Cincinnati and of Detroit, until in 1852 the bishops of the First National Council recommended that Upper Michigan should be made a Vicariate Apostolic. By a brief of July 29, 1853, Pope Pius IX separated the territory from the Diocese of Detroit and appointed as the Vicar Apostolic:

1. The Right Rev. **Frederic Baraga**, born in Austria, June 29, 1798. He was ordained, September 21, 1823, and came to America in 1831. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Amyzonia, November 1, 1853. The Vicariate was erected into the Diocese of Sault Sainte Marie, January 9, 1857. Later, in 1865, the Bishop was permitted to change his residence to Marquette and the Diocese is now known as the Diocese of Marquette. Bishop Baraga died, January 19, 1868, and was succeeded by

2. The Right Rev. **Ignatius Mrak**, also an Austrian, born October 17, 1810, and ordained, July 31, 1837, who was consecrated, February 7, 1869. He resigned in 1878 and was made titular Bishop of Antinoe and died, January 2, 1901.

3. The third bishop was the Right Rev. **John Vertin**, born in Austria, February 17, 1844, and ordained at Marquette, August 31, 1866. He was consecrated, September 14, 1879, and died, February 26, 1899.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Frederick Els**. He was born in Germany, January 20, 1843, came to America in 1855 and was ordained, October 30, 1870. He was appointed, June 7, 1899, and was consecrated August 24, 1899.

Marquette has, in 1906, 100 priests, 129 churches, 83 stations and chapels, with a Catholic population of 97,000.

3. GREEN BAY (1868)

The Diocese of Green Bay was erected March 3, 1868, by a division of the Diocese of Milwaukee. It comprises sixteen counties of Wisconsin with an area of 11,583 square miles and has, in 1917, 228 priests, 230 churches, and a Catholic population of 149,299.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. **Joseph Melcher**, born at Vienna, Austria, March 19, 1806, and ordained, March 12, 1830. He was consecrated, July 12, 1868, and died, December 20, 1873, aged 68 years.

2. The Right Rev. **Francis Xavier Krauthauer**, born January 12, 1824, and ordained, July 16, 1850, was the second bishop. He was consecrated, June 29, 1875, and died, December 17, 1885.

3. The third bishop, the Right Rev. **Frederick Xavier Katzer**, was translated, January 30, 1891, to Milwaukee.

4. The fourth bishop, the Right Rev. **Sebastian Gebhard Messmer**, is the present Archbishop of Milwaukee.

5. The Right Rev. Joseph John Fox, born in Green Bay, August 2, 1855, and ordained, June 7, 1879, was appointed Bishop, May 16, 1904. He resigned, December 4, 1914, and was made titular Bishop of Jonopolis. He died, a few months afterwards, March 14, 1915.

6. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Paul L. Rhode, born at Węgorowo (Neustadt), Prussian Poland, September 18, 1871, and ordained June 17, 1894. He was appointed titular Bishop of Barca and Auxiliary of Chicago, May 22, 1908, and was consecrated, July 29, 1908. He became Bishop of Green Bay, July 5, 1915.

4. LA CROSSE (1868)

The Diocese of La Crosse was erected, March 3, 1868, at the same time as Green Bay and originally included that part of Wisconsin north and west of the Wisconsin River. Since the erection of the Diocese of Superior in 1905, it comprises twenty-two counties of the State, with an area of 17,299 square miles. It has, in 1917, 216 priests, 228 churches, 23 chapels and a Catholic population of 118,500.

1. The first bishop, the Right Rev. Michael Heiss, became the second Archbishop of Milwaukee.

2. The second bishop, the Right Rev. Kilian Caspar Flasch, was born in Bavaria, July 16, 1837. He came to America when 10 years of age and was ordained, September 16, 1859. He was consecrated, August 24, 1881, and died, August 3, 1891.

3. The present bishop, the Right Rev. James Schwebach, was born in Luxemburg, August 15, 1847, came to America in 1864 and was ordained, June 16, 1870. He was appointed, December 14, 1891, and was consecrated, February 25, 1892.

5. SUPERIOR (1905)

The Diocese of Superior was erected by Pope Pius X, May 3, 1905, by a division of the Dioceses of Green Bay and La Crosse. It comprises sixteen counties in the northern part of Wisconsin with an area of 15,715 square miles, and has, in 1917, 93 priests, 136 churches, 25 chapels and stations, and a Catholic population of 54,058, of which 3,058 are Indians.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Augustine Francis Schinner, born in Milwaukee, May 1, 1863, and ordained, March 7, 1886. He was appointed, May 13, 1905, and was consecrated, July 25, 1905. He resigned, January 15, 1913, and was appointed Bishop of Spokane, March 18, 1914.

2. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Joseph M. Koudelka, born in Ohio, December 8, 1852, and ordained, October 8, 1875. He was appointed titular Bishop of Germanicopolis and Auxiliary of Cleveland, November 29, 1907, and was consecrated, February 25, 1908. He became Auxiliary of Milwaukee, September 4, 1911, and was appointed Bishop of Superior, August 6, 1913.

XI. THE PROVINCE OF SANTA FE (1850-1875)

"When the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo added to the United States New Mexico and California, the American Hierarchy felt the necessity urgent for some action on the part of the Holy See, to preserve religion in those parts. Nothing was known of the zeal and efforts of Bishop Zubiria (of Durango, Mexico), so that no plan was concerted with him. The Holy See erected New Mexico into a Vicariate Apostolic and appointed to the task the Rev. John B. Lamy, an able and laborious priest of the Diocese of Cincinnati." As the Diocese of Durango in Mexico to which the territory up to that time belonged had not been canonically divided, the clergy were not disposed to acknowledge the authority of Bishop Lamy. He "to adjust this point set out on horseback with a guide for Durango. Bishop Zubiria received him in holy friendship and resigned to him all jurisdiction over the American portion of his Diocese."⁴

The Vicariate of New Mexico, as thus established in 1850, comprised the whole of what is now New Mexico and Arizona and Colorado. At present, the Diocese of Santa Fe comprises the State of New Mexico with the exception of a few counties, which belonged to the Diocese of Tucson until 1914, when they were included in the new Diocese of El Paso. Its area is 104,168 square miles and in 1917 it has 87 priests, 45 churches with resident priests, 300 missions with churches, 126 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 140,573, of which 20,573 are Pueblo Indians. The Province includes the States of New Mexico, Colorado and Arizona and a part of Texas. The Suffragans are Denver, Tucson and El Paso.

1. SANTA FE (1850)

1. The Most Rev. John B. Lamy, Vicar Apostolic of New Mexico and first Bishop and Archbishop of Santa Fe, was born in France, October 11, 1814. He was ordained, December 22, 1838, and came to America with Bishop Purcell in 1839. He was consecrated, November 24, 1850. The Holy See, July 29, 1853, made a formal division of the Diocese of Durango, and erected the Vicariate of New Mexico into the Diocese of Santa Fe, and Bishop Lamy became its first bishop. He became Archbishop of Santa Fe in 1875, resigned July 18, 1885, was made titular Archbishop of Cyzicus and died, February 13, 1888.

2. The second Archbishop was the Most Rev. John B. Salpointe, consecrated titular Bishop of Dorylaeum and Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, June 20, 1869. He was made Coadjutor of Santa Fe, April 22, 1884, was

⁴ For a sketch of the early history of the Church in New Mexico, see *SHEA*, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv, p. 293.

promoted to the titular Archbishopric of Anazarba, October 11, 1884, and became Archbishop of Santa Fe, July 18, 1885. He resigned, January 7, 1894, and was made titular Archbishop of Tomi. He died, July 15, 1898.

3. The third Archbishop was the Most Rev. Placidus L. Chapelle, who became Archbishop of New Orleans in 1897 and was succeeded by

4. The Most Rev. Peter Bourgade, who was consecrated titular Bishop of Thaumacum and Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, May 1, 1885, became Bishop of Tucson, May 8, 1897, and was transferred to Santa Fe, January 7, 1899. He died, May 17, 1908.

5. The present Archbishop, the Most Rev. John Baptist Pitaval, was born in France, February 10, 1858, and was ordained, December 24, 1881. He was appointed titular Bishop of Sora and Auxiliary of Santa Fe, May 15, 1902, and was consecrated, July 25, 1902. He became Archbishop of Santa Fe, January 3, 1909.

2. DENVER (1868-1887)

The Diocese of Denver comprises the State of Colorado, an area of 103,645 square miles. The first civilized settlement within its borders was made in 1852 and the first church was built in 1858. The territory was originally included in the jurisdiction of Bishop Miede of Indian Territory, who secured the transfer of these distant missions to the Diocese of Santa Fe. In 1860 Bishop Lamy sent the Very Rev. Joseph Machebeuf to Colorado as Vicar General. In 1868, upon the recommendation of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, Pope Pius IX erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Colorado and Utah,

1. And the Right Rev. Joseph Projectus Machebeuf was appointed Vicar Apostolic and was consecrated titular Bishop of Epiphania, August 16, 1868. He was born in France, August 11, 1812, and was ordained, December 21, 1836. The Diocese of Denver was erected, August 16, 1887, and he became its first bishop. He died, July 10, 1889.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. Nicholas Chrysostom Matz, born in Lorraine, France, April 6, 1850, and ordained at Denver, May 31, 1874. He was appointed titular Bishop of Telmesso and Coadjutor, August 19, 1887, and was consecrated, October 28, 1887. He became Bishop of Denver, July 10, 1889.

The Diocese, in 1917, has 174 priests, 221 churches and a Catholic population of 110,987.

3. TUCSON (1868)

The region now included in the Diocese of Tucson was a part of the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States in

1848 and 1853. Before the cession it belonged to the Mexican Diocese of Durango and afterwards to the Vicariate Apostolic of New Mexico and the Diocese of Santa Fe. The Territory of Arizona was organized in 1863, and it was detached from Santa Fe and made a Vicariate Apostolic by Pope Pius IX, March 3, 1868, and was erected into the Diocese of Tucson by Pope Leo XIII, May 8, 1897. It originally covered the State of Arizona and a part of New Mexico. The New Mexico counties were made a part of the new Diocese of El Paso in 1914. The Diocese is now coterminous with the State, an area of 133,058 square miles. It has, in 1917, 61 priests, 76 churches, 80 stations and a Catholic population of 45,000.

1. The first Vicar Apostolic was the Most Rev. John B. Salpointe, consecrated titular Bishop of Dorylaeum, June 20, 1869. He became Archbishop of Santa Fe in 1884 and died, July 15, 1898. (*See Santa Fe.*)

2. The Most Rev. Peter Bourgade was consecrated, May 1, 1885, titular Bishop of Thaumacum and Vicar Apostolic of Arizona, became first Bishop of Tucson, May 8, 1897, and Archbishop of Santa Fe, January 7, 1899. (*See Santa Fe.*)

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Henry Granjon, born in France, June 15, 1863, and ordained, December 17, 1887. He was consecrated, June 17, 1900.

4. EL PASO (1914)

The Diocese of El Paso was erected by Pope Pius X, March 3, 1914. It comprises fifteen counties of Texas and five counties and part of a sixth in New Mexico. The New Mexico part was cut off from the Diocese of Tucson, the Texan portion from the Dioceses of San Antonio and Dallas. It has been made Suffragan to Santa Fe. The *Catholic Directory* of 1917 gives it 47 priests, 78 churches, 35 stations, and a Catholic population of 81,290.

1. The Holy See at first chose the Rev. John J. Brown, S.J., to preside over the Diocese, but he was allowed to decline and the Right Rev. Anthony J. Schuler, S.J., born, September 20, 1869, and ordained, June 27, 1901, was appointed first bishop of El Paso, June 17, 1915. He was consecrated, October 28, 1915.

RIGHT REVEREND OWEN B. CORRIGAN, D.D.,
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore.

(To be continued)

NEGRO CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES

Numerous books are constantly being issued from the press dealing with the history and the present and future condition of the Negro. Some of these have been written by negro scholars; others, in a more or less impartial manner, by whites; while others still, writing in an unfriendly spirit, place the black race in an unfavorable light. A recent French book by an American writer purports to give a review of the conditions surrounding the negro race in America; and in considering his religious state, the author gives some space to the work done by Catholics for the colored people.¹ From a perusal of the writer's reflections, it becomes apparent that he has hardly grasped the full extent of the subject and of the work done. He seems rather unfamiliar with the problems and difficulties of Catholic Mission work among the colored people. Furthermore, he does an injustice to the missionaries and religious communities now in the field in claiming that their work has been a failure and that certain ones among them are gradually withdrawing from the work. Any impartial investigation of the subject will prove that the facts are almost wholly different.

The Negro has been a factor in American history from the very beginning. Spaniards were the earliest explorers and colonists of what is now the southern portion of the United States. In their expeditions they were accompanied by Negroes in the capacity of servants and slaves, since at that time Negro slavery was permitted by the law of nations. The earliest Spanish colonies of what is now the United States were not successful, and the advent of the Negroes was therefore only transient. They either returned to Spanish America or perished in the failure of the colonies. St. Augustine, Florida, was an exception. African slaves were with the expedition of Hernando de Soto. Probably the first Negroes to set foot on the soil of the United States were those who landed with the Spanish settlers at Chicora, in 1526, on what is now the coast of South Carolina. Negroes accompanied the colonizing expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon at the founding of the settlement at Guandape,

¹ WARRINGTON DAWSON, *Le Nègre aux Etats-Unis*. Paris, 1912.

in 1526, near the site where eighty-one years later the English built Jamestown. The unfortunate expedition, led by Panfilo de Narvaez, in 1528, had with it the Negro slave Estevan or Stephen. Narvaez perished in the waters of the lower Mississippi; and Stephen with three other survivors, after years of suffering and wandering across what is now the southeastern part of the United States, reached Petatlan in Sinaloa in 1536.² Stephen's later adventures and death at the hands of Zuni Indians form an interesting episode in the early history of what is now Arizona and New Mexico. In 1539, Father Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan Friar, set out from San Miguel de Culucan in Mexico, on a missionary journey to the northward in order to visit and to labor for the conversion of the tribes, the members of which, he had been informed, "dwelt in many large towns and were clothed in cotton dresses and had vessels of gold." The missionary was accompanied by the Negro Stephen and some Indians. They tarried at Vacapa to spend Holy Week. There Father Marcos sent Stephen to the north with instructions that if he found any important place, he was to send back a cross by the Indians, its size to be in proportion to the greatness of the town he might discover. In a few days, messengers came from Stephen announcing that, thirty days' march beyond the point he had reached, there was a province called Cibola, in which were seven large cities under one great lord. The houses were of stone, three and four stories in height; the people were well clothed and rich in turquoises. After waiting for the return of his Indian messengers and receiving confirmation of the seven cities, Father Marcos left Vacapa on Tuesday of Easter week, being urged by fresh messengers from Stephen to come with all speed. He travelled for many days, meeting Indians constantly. Encouraged by tidings from Stephen, he came to a desert which was fifteen days march from Cibola. Accompanied by many Indians, he began to cross the desert on May ninth, and travelled on till the twenty-first, when a messenger came in terror and spent with fatigue, bear-

² JOHN GILMARY SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 110. New York, 1886. The Southern Historical Publication Society: *The South in the Building of the Nation*, Vol. ii, pp. 1-2. Richmond, Va., 1909. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, *The Story of the Negro*, Vol. i, p. 88, New York, 1909, citing the Spanish historian Oviedo.

ing a tale of disaster. Stephen, when within a day's march of Cibola, had sent the chief some tokens of his coming, but the Indians refused to receive them, and threatened to kill him if he came. Stephen persisted and reached Cibola. He was not allowed to enter but was placed in a house without the town, and the next day he and his Indian companions were put to death. Father Marcos, though in great danger, resolved to push on, at least to see the town, hoping to rescue any survivors. He declared that he came in sight of Cibola, and planted a cross to take possession of the country. He then returned and made a report of the expedition to the viceroy, who transmitted it to the king.³ It seems, therefore, that the Negro Stephen was the first member of the Spanish exploring companies to traverse the territory of the present States of Arizona and New Mexico.

The number of Negroes in the United States, previous to the beginning of the seventeenth century, was comparatively small. The real growth of the Negro population in the colonies began with the slave trade. Negro slavery had long existed in the Old World and took its rise in the States when, in 1619, a Dutch slave ship landed twenty Negroes at the new settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia. From this time an increasing number of Negro slaves was brought from Africa to the various colonies on the Atlantic sea-board from Massachusetts to Louisiana. It is especially in the eighteenth century, when there was a demand for laborers, that an impetus was given to the importation of slaves. In the latter part of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth, a remarkable series of mechanical inventions revolutionized the methods of making cloth from cotton fiber. This created a demand for slave labor on the plantations of the Southern States. To supply slaves from Africa, colonial vessels, chiefly owned in New England and New York, were engaged in the traffic. Some slaves were used in the North, chiefly as servants, but it was especially in the Southern States that large numbers were employed.

At the time of the Revolution, the Negro population was about one-sixth of the whole. There was both a slavery and anti-slavery sentiment in the colonies. It is interesting to study the

³ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O.F.M., *The Franciscans in Arizona*, pp. 12-13. Harbor Springs, Mich., 1899.

attitude of the framers of the Declaration of Independence, when they said that "All men are created equal." They had in mind those who had a share in the government, but some Negroes had the requisite property qualifications, and were voters in States both North and South.⁴ After the Revolution, abolition societies were formed in various northern communities and laws were enacted to promote the freedom of the slaves. Congress and Federal government took action against slavery. There began then a struggle between the slavery and anti-slavery forces which lasted ninety years and which ended only when Lincoln signed the Proclamation of Emancipation on January 1, 1863.

During the period of slavery, the religious and moral development of the American Negro was slow and naturally attended with difficulties. After being brought from his native Africa, the slave in time relinquished his former paganism and absorbed the religion, or irreligion, of his master. The master was often incapable of giving a religious training, and, in many cases, was opposed to anyone imparting a knowledge of Christian precepts to his slaves. The vast majority of the slaves were held in the Protestant sections of the South. Of the 4,000,000 slaves in the United States in 1863, probably not more than 5 per cent, certainly less than 10 per cent, had Catholic masters. The early Southern Catholics were nearly all residents of Maryland and Louisiana. The sentiment among a large proportion of slave holders throughout the States concerning the need of instruction or education for slaves, underwent a change at various times. In early days it was deemed necessary for the religious welfare of the Negro that he learn to read. Later prohibitive legislation was enacted, beginning in South Carolina in 1740, and extending over a century in a number of States. Not only was the general education of Negroes discountenanced, but also religious instruction was largely made impossible. Private and public teachers were prohibited from assisting Negroes to acquire knowledge in any manner whatsoever. The impression gained ground that the Negro would become discontented and rebellious, and so be less useful as a laborer, if his mind were enlightened. It was not

⁴ ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, *Slavery in the United States*. New York, 1904-1906.

uncommon, however, for earnest Christians boldly to defy such laws by instructing the Negroes of their communities. Especially did the Catholics and Quakers favor the education and Christian instruction of the slaves.

A recent authority points out that the Spanish and French missionaries, the first to face the Negro problem, set an example which has influenced the education of the Negroes throughout America.⁵ The instruction and education of the Negroes was facilitated among the French and Spanish by their liberal attitude toward their slaves. Woodson, in his *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, tells us that evidence of a general interest in the improvement of Negroes appear in the *Code Noir*, which made it incumbent upon masters to enlighten their slaves that they might grasp the principles of the Christian religion. The *Code Noir* obliged every planter to have his Negroes instructed and baptized. It allowed the slave time for instruction, worship, and rest, not only every Sunday, but every festival, usually observed by the Roman Catholic Church. It did not permit any market to be held on Sundays or holidays. It prohibited under severe penalties all masters and managers from corrupting their female slaves. It did not allow the Negro husband, wife or infant children to be sold separately. It forbade them the use of torture, or immoderate and inhuman punishments. It obliged the owners to maintain their old and decrepit slaves. If the Negroes were not fed and clothed as the law prescribed, or if they were in any way cruelly treated, they might apply to the *Procureur*, who was obliged by his office to protect them.⁶ It was not until the French provided that masters should take their slaves to church and have them indoctrinated in the Catholic faith, that the proposition was seriously considered by many of the Puritans. Like the

⁵ CARTER GODWIN WOODSON, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, pp. 8-8-9. New York, 1915. The author argues that whatever bad traits the American negro developed, resulted not from an instinct common to the natives of Africa, but from the adverse institutions and circumstances with which he had to contend and from the actual teaching of the slaves to be low and depraved that they might never develop sufficient strength to become a powerful element in society. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 200.

⁶ *Code Noir*, p. 88-100. Paris, 1743. An English version of the Black Code is found in *Historical Collections of Louisiana* by B. F. French, Vol. iii, pp. 89-95. New York, 1851.

Anglicans, they felt sufficient compunction of conscience to take steps to Christianize the slaves, lest the Catholics, whom they considered as undesirable churchmen, should put the Protestants to shame. The publication of the *Code Noir* probably influenced the instructions sent out from England to his Majesty's governors, requiring them with the assistance of our counsel to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion. Shamed somewhat by the good example of the Catholics, the English colonists had to find a way to overcome the objections of those who, granting that the enlightenment of the slaves might not lead to servile insurrection, nevertheless feared that their conversion might work manumission. To meet this exigency the colonists secured, through legislation by their assemblies and formal declarations of the Bishop of London, the abrogation of the law that a Christian could not be held as a slave. Then, allowed access to the bondmen, the missionaries of the Church of England—undertook to educate the slaves for the purpose of extensive proselyting.⁷

Under Lord Baltimore's government in Maryland, the Catholic Proprietary himself tells us in his answer to the Lords in 1676:

"Whereas in many other parts of America, they refuse (out of covetousness) to permit their Negroes and mulattoes to be baptized out of an opinion that baptism is a manumission from their services, and consequently the same thing as to the damage of the masters and owners as if their servants were actually dead—and this opinion to take place in this Province, a law was made to encourage the baptizing of them—and there have been found good effects from this law, all masters generally, since making of this law, having been willing to instruct those kinds of servants in the faith of Christ, and to bring them to desire and receive baptism!"

Again we read:

"Whereas, several of the good people of this Province have been discouraged to import or purchase any Negroes or other slaves, and such as have imported or purchased any, such have to the great displeasure of Almighty God and the prejudice of the souls of those poor people, neglected to instruct them in the Christian faith, or to endure or permit them to receive the holy sacrament of Baptism for the remission of their sins, upon a mistaken and ungrounded apprehension that by becoming

⁷ WOODSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4, 42.

Christians they and the issue of their bodies are actually manumitted, and made free and discharged from their servitude and bondage, be it enacted—that where any Negro or Negro slave being in bondage—shall become Christian—and shall receive the sacrament of Baptism—the same shall not be—construed into a manumission—”etc.”¹

It should be stated here that in more recent years, when adverse legislation to the Negroes was proposed in Maryland and it was question of enacting new segregation and restricted suffrage laws, His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons and the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte courageously defended the rights and interests of the colored people.

Besides the Catholics already named, there were other eminent members of the faith, in colonial times, who took an active interest in the education of the enslaved Negro. Woodson tells us that none of the revolutionary leaders were more moved with compassion for the colored people than the Polish general, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. He saw in education the powerful leverage which would place them in position to enjoy the newly won rights of man. While assisting us in gaining our independence, Kosciuszko acquired here valuable property which he endeavored to devote to the enlightenment of the slaves. He authorized Thomas Jefferson, his executor, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes and liberating them in the name of Kosciuszko, in giving them an education in trades or otherwise, and in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality. The instructors were to provide for them such training as would make them “good neighbors, good mothers or fathers, good husbands or wives; teaching them the duties of citizenship; teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and country, and of the good order of society, and whatsoever might make them useful and happy.” The clear directions of the testator were never carried out, so far as is known. General Lafayette, a promoter of the emancipation and improvement of the colored people, and a member of the New York Manumission Society, visited the “African Free Schools” of New York in 1824, on his return to the United States. He was bidden welcome by an eleven year old pupil in well-chosen and significant words. After

¹ WILLIAM T. RUSSELL, *Maryland, The Land of Sanctuary*, pp. 268-69. Baltimore, 1907.

spending the afternoon inspecting the schools, the General pronounced them the "best disciplined and the most interesting schools of children" he had ever seen.⁹

Catholic solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the Negro was actively seen in the work of the American Colonization Society to found the Republic of Liberia in Africa—a place to which free Negroes and persons of African descent might return from the United States. A recent writer on this important problem says that the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, was at one time president of this Colonization Society, which sent out its first colony to Africa on February 6, 1820. Numerous Catholics from Maryland and the adjoining States were among these pioneer settlers. Bishop England, of Charleston, S. C., called Propaganda's attention to this neglected field of Catholic activity, and at the request of the Congregation of Propaganda, and in answer to reports received at Rome, the second Plenary Council of Baltimore undertook to provide for their spiritual needs. The Rev. John Kelly, of New York (brother of Eugene Kelly, the banker), and the Rev. Edward Barron, of Philadelphia, volunteered for this mission and sailed from Baltimore for Africa, on December 21, 1841. A year later Father Barron found the work of the mission greater than was expected and came back for more help. On January 22, 1842, Father Barron was nominated Vicar-Apostolic of the Two Guineas. With Father Kelly he remained in Africa two years, and then wasted by fever, they were both forced to return to the United States. He died of yellow fever while ministering to the sick during an epidemic at Savannah, Ga., September 12, 1854. Father Kelly, after a long pastorate, died at St. Peter's, Jersey City, N. J., on April 28, 1866. The mission they founded in Africa still continues. The Fathers of the Holy Ghost took it up when Bishop Barron and Father Kelly were forced to leave, and since 1906 it has been under the care of the Priests of the African Missions, whose headquarters are at Lyons, France.¹⁰

During the anti-slavery agitation of the Civil War era, the

⁹ Cf. WOODSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-99 *passim*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Mission Work among Colored Catholics*, article by T. F. MEEHAN, in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. vii (1915), p. 121.

colored people had staunch advocates in New York in Orestes A. Brownson, the famous philosopher and publicist;¹¹ the Rev. Dr. J. W. Cummings, rector of St. Stephen's Church; the Rev. Thomas Farrell, rector of St. Joseph's, Sixth Avenue and Washington Place; the Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, and Rev. Dr. Richard Lalor Burtzell, the last two then young priests. Many colored people lived in the vicinity of St. Joseph's Church, and Father Farrell was regarded as the special and enthusiastic champion of their race. During the earlier period of our history, namely, in the eighteenth century, when the large importation of slaves was in progress, the activity of the Catholic Church was limited to the few Catholic colonies that existed. There was lack of priests and lack of means, while in most of the southern communities Catholics and others were denied access to the Negroes, even when they volunteered to work as missionaries among the colored people, and in several Southern States special laws were enacted to prevent the influx of these Christian workers.¹² Furthermore, in some sections the anti-Catholic penal laws in force rendered it impossible to do any effective missionary work. It is a curious phenomenon that during this period, in several instances, prejudice against Catholics was associated with prejudice against Negroes. According to the laws of Virginia in 1705: "Popish recusants, convicts, Negroes, Mulattoes and Indian servants, and others not being Christians shall be deemed and taken to be persons incapable in law to be witnesses in any cases whatsoever."¹³ In New York City, in 1741, occurred the so-called Negro Plot. A panic seized the inhabitants and officials, after an accidental fire had occurred in the fort, and a report was spread that Spanish Negro slaves had formed a plan to destroy the city. Wild excitement prevailed, partly due to a foolish letter of General Oglethorpe of Georgia "warning the northern government against Spanish spies, chiefly priests, who were to burn the principal towns." On the false testimony of degraded informers during this outburst of cruelty, one hundred

¹¹ Brownson's views on the Negro Problem and on slavery (written before and during the Civil War) are found chiefly in his *Works*, Vol. xvii. Detroit, 1885.

¹² Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹³ Cf. William Waller Hening, *Statutes of Virginia*, Vol. iii, p. 298. Philadelphia, 1823.

and fifty-four Negroes were imprisoned. Of these thirteen were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy-one transported. Several of these Negroes, who were probably Catholic sailors from the West Indies, died with crucifixes in their hands. Twenty-one white persons were also arrested, of whom four were hanged. Among them was the Rev. John Ury, said to have been an Episcopal clergyman, who lived by teaching. He was an in-offensive man, but taken to be a Catholic priest and accused of being the leader of the plot. Though there was no evidence to convict him, he was condemned and hanged.¹⁴ One hundred years later, in 1845, in Philadelphia, after the anti-Catholic riots and the burning of Catholic Churches and other buildings by the mob, the Augustinians sought damages for the burned church of St. Augustine from the county. Objections were put forward by the council, and in order to envelop the missionaries in the prejudice against the Negroes, and so array the jury against them, it was stated that the Augustinians had been founded by an African Negro.¹⁵ A more recent instance of unreasonable animosity to Catholics combined with prejudice against Negroes was the summoning into court on Easter Monday, 1916, of three Sisters of St. Joseph for teaching colored children at St. Augustine, Florida. Three years previously a law had been passed forbidding whites to teach the colored in colored schools. When the law was placed on the statute books of Florida, it was held to be unconstitutional by the best legal talent in the State. For three years it remained a dead letter and the State itself violated the law in its Blind Institute in St. Augustine. It was then that white members of an anti-Catholic secret society urged six ignorant Negroes to petition the government to enforce the unjust law against the Catholic Sisters. Thereupon Governor

¹⁴ Cf. SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 399; and JAMES GRANT WILSON, *The Memorial History of the City of New York*, Vol. ii, pp. 252-255; Vol. iv, p. 636. New York, 1892. These authorities hold that Ury was an Episcopal minister, but Archbishop Bayley contends that he was probably a Catholic priest: "Whether he was really a Catholic priest or not, he was certainly condemned and hung as such. The most conclusive fact in favor of his being a priest is founded upon the circumstance, that when arraigned as a priest, tried as a priest, and condemned as a priest, he never formally denied it, nor exhibited any evidence of his being ordained in the Church of England." Cf. *Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 706. Chicago, 1901.

¹⁵ Cf. *Trials and Triumphs of the Catholic Church in America*, p. 662.

Park Trammell ordered the Sheriff of St. John's County to arrest the Sisters. Judge Gibbs of the Circuit Court of Florida, who tried the case, declared that the courts are and always should be jealous in guarding the liberty of individuals as guaranteed under the State and Federal Constitutions. The law under which the Sisters were brought to the courts by the sheriff and their schools closed was declared to be null and void as to private schools. The judge ruled that the law applied only to public schools. Judge Gibbs ordered the Sisters discharged and put the costs on the county; he gave an extended opinion of the case as also on the right to pursue a lawful calling.¹⁶

The story of the Negro's progress in education and religion is a record of persistent strivings, a long drawn out effort and struggle on the part of members of the race itself, as also on the part of their friends. In spite of obstacles and opposition, Catholics from early times have always been active on Colored Mission Work in those sections where they had liberty. Among the first Catholic schools for colored were those of Georgetown in the District of Columbia, and in Baltimore, Md. In Georgetown, able and devout Catholic colored women did splendid work about 1830. With the assistance of Father Vanlomen, the benevolent pastor then in charge of the Holy Trinity Church, Maria Becraft, one of the most capable colored woman in the District of Columbia at that time, established there the first seminary for the education of colored girls. She had begun to teach in a less desirable section, but impressed with the character of this girl, Father Vanlomen had her school transferred to a larger building on Fayette Street, where she taught until 1831. She then turned over her seminary to girls she had trained, and became a teacher in a convent at Baltimore, as an Oblate Sister of Providence. Other noted colored women who accomplished excellent work in schools at that time, received their training at St. Frances Academy at Baltimore. Catholics admitted the colored people to their churches on an equal footing. Furthermore, they continued to admit them to their parochial schools. The Sisters of Georgetown trained colored girls, and the parochial school of St. Aloysius Church, Washington, D. C., at one time had as

¹⁶ Cf. *Truth*, for June and July, 1916.

many as two hundred and fifty pupils of color. Many of the first colored teachers of the District of Columbia obtained their education in these schools.¹⁷

The coming of the refugees and French priests from San Domingo to Baltimore to escape the revolution marked an epoch in the intellectual progress of the colored people of that city. Thereafter their intellectual class had access to an increasing black population, anxious to be enlightened. Given this better working basis, they secured from the ranks of the Catholics additional catechists and teachers to give a larger number of illiterates the fundamentals of education. Their untiring co-worker in furnishing these facilities was the Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 to 1828. These schools were such an improvement over those formerly opened to Negroes that colored youths of other towns and cities thereafter came to Baltimore for higher training. The coming of the refugees from Santo Domingo to Baltimore had a direct bearing on the education of colored girls. Their condition excited the sympathy of the immigrating colored women. These ladies had been educated both in the Island of San Domingo and in Paris. At once interested in the uplift of this sex, they soon constituted the nucleus of the society which finally formed the St. Frances Academy for Girls in connection with the Oblate Sisters of Providence Convent in Baltimore, June 5, 1829. This step was sanctioned by the Most Rev. James Whitefield, the successor of Archbishop Maréchal, and was later approved by the Holy See. The institution was located on Richmond Street in a building which on account of the rapid growth of the school soon gave way to larger quarters. The aim of the institution was to train girls, all of whom "would become mothers or household servants, in such solid virtues and religious and moral principles as modesty, honesty and integrity."¹⁸ The Oblate Sisters of Providence were founded in 1829 under the guidance of the Rev. Jacques Hector Nicholas Joubert de la Muraille, a French refugee. With the approval of the Archbishop of Baltimore, a novitiate was opened on July 2, 1829. The first four Sisters,

¹⁷ Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-135. This author refers to, and quotes largely from, the *Special Report of U. S. Comm. of Education* (1871), pp. 204, 218.

¹⁸ Cf. WOODSON, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

Elizabeth Lang, of Santiago, Cuba; Mary Rosine Boegues, of San Domingo; Mary Frances Balas, of San Domingo; Mary Theresa Duchemin, of Baltimore, made their vows on this occasion.

It was only after the emancipation of the Negroes in 1863 that the Catholic Church was enabled to extend its work for the race. Soon after the Civil War, the American hierarchy and the bishops of the various dioceses began to take action in promoting the conversion of the colored people. The Second and the Third Plenary Councils of Baltimore pleaded with great earnestness the cause of the needy and lately emancipated Negro. The Second Plenary Council says: "By the bowels of the mercy of God, we beg and implore priests as far as they can, to consecrate their thoughts, their time, and themselves wholly and entirely, if possible, to the service of the colored people." The Third Plenary Council, going a step further, urged on the superiors of seminaries to foster vocations for this mission, and often to set before their seminarians that promise of our Lord, which applies most especially to this apostolate.¹⁹

Heretofore, the usual practice had been for white and black to attend the same churches. This may be necessary and satisfactory where there are but few Negroes, but where the colored population is more numerous, it has been found that separate churches are needed. Some of the diocesan priests are doing excellent work by devoting themselves entirely to the care of the colored people.

Mr. Warrington Dawson, after charging that past efforts of the missionaries have given little results, favors the idea that the evangelization of the Negro had better be left to the discretion of the priests of the different parishes. The common experience is that better results can be expected and attained where there are separate churches, at which the priests give all their efforts

¹⁹ *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii*, Tit. VIII, No. 239: "Quum vero maximus adhuc numerus Nigrorum extra Christi ovile versetur, oportet ut Ordinarii operarios zelo animarum succensos quaerant, quos mittant in hanc partem messis Domini. Sciant etiam seminariorum moderatores, omnium juribus sancte servatis, officii esse sui hujusmodi vocationem sedulo in animis alumnorum sanctuarii excolere, saepius illis proponendo Christi promissum quod in isto ministerio maxime valet: 'Nemo est qui reliquerit domum—qui non accipiat centies tantum nunc in tempore hoc—et in saeculo futuro vitam aeternam.'"

to the welfare of the colored race. Usually where white and black are together, the priest may be zealous and fair-minded, and may desire to treat the blacks with all charity in accordance with the spirit of the Church and of her Divine Founder, but there is likely to be a class of people in the congregation, who may resent what they deem to be the intrusion of the Negro, and then prejudice and discrimination may arise. The Negro, like other races, is sensitive of the treatment accorded members of his race. As a rule when he perceives that he is not welcome, he is not apt to venture where he feels he is not wanted.

The Third Plenary Council urged missionary communities or congregations to devote themselves to the conversion of the Negroes. There are now laboring in this field besides the *Josephite Fathers*, the *Fathers of the Holy Ghost*, the *Society of the African Missions* and the *Fathers of the Society of the Divine Word*. But in a special manner is the *Society of St. Joseph*, or the *Josephites* as they are usually called, given to this work. The members of this congregation began their task back in 1871. Father Herbert Vaughan, later Cardinal Vaughan, began the Society in 1866, at Mill Hill, near London, England. In order to secure funds for his new work, Dr. Vaughan travelled for several years in North and South America. On these journeys he endured many trials and sufferings, which he described on his return to England in 1865. With the encouragement of Archbishop Manning, a start was made on March 1, 1866. There was one professor, Father Vaughan himself, and one student, and all was committed to the honor and care of St. Joseph. The ideal of the missionary as held by Herbert Vaughan was an exalted one, and he sought to impart the ideal in the new College. In the models he early set before himself, his biographer tells us that St. Peter Claver held a dominating influence. The thought of this seventeenth century saint, who vowed himself for life to be the "slave of slaves," who were then being brought in shiploads from the coasts of Africa to the great market in Carthage, directed his thoughts and plans. After some years of strenuous labor, Father Vaughan began to see the fruits of his efforts. In the autumn of 1871, St. Joseph's College had assigned to it by the Holy See, its first sphere of work. Early in the year, Dr. Vaughan, having four priests ordained, went to Rome, and there

at the feet of Pius IX, offered his little band to whatever mission His Holiness might assign to them. Shortly before that time, the decrees of the Second Council of Baltimore had been approved by Rome. The Council spoke in most moving terms of the Negroes, and appealed for priests to devote themselves exclusively to that neglected race. By command of Pius IX, Dr. Vaughan communicated with Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore. The result was that in November, 1871, Father Vaughan, with Revs. Cornelius Dowling, James Noonan, Joseph Gore and Charles Vigeront, sailed from Southampton for Baltimore. Father Vaughan would do these missionaries, the first to go out after his long labors, one final service: he would go out with them to America and see them settled in their new home in Baltimore. The little party met with a very friendly reception in Maryland, and the Archbishop of Baltimore placed at their disposal St. Francis Xavier's Church. This church had been used for Protestant service in 1863, and had a notable local history as a political assembly hall for political conventions. The building was purchased in 1863 by the zealous and distinguished Jesuit, Dr. O'Connor, formerly Bishop of Pittsburgh, for the exclusive use of colored Catholics.²⁰ Here the Fathers labored and built up a large congregation among the 40,000 Negroes in the city. Where there was then but one church, there are now four churches with Negro congregations. At St. Francis' rectory on Courtland Street also was published for many years *The St. Joseph's Advocate* in the interests of the missions, by the Rev. John H. Greene, who has only recently passed away. Before returning to England, Father Vaughan made a tour through the Southern States to study the condition of the Negro. The spiritual desolation which he found filled him with pity and compassion. He saw the advantage of having separate churches for the blacks and thought it an arrangement as much in the interests of the colored people as of the whites. The Fathers of the Society set to work at the great task before them. They began to establish missions, churches and schools in various dioceses. Missions were soon opened in Louisville, Ky. (1872), Charleston, S. C. (1875), Washington, D. C. (1881), Richmond, Va. (1884).

²⁰ SNEAD-COX, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, Vol. i, p. 154. London, 1910. SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 412. Cf. also, *Our Africa*, St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, 1895.

It was soon found that more workers were needed and that it was expedient to secure vocations for the work in this country. The time came when it was deemed proper to educate the aspirants for the Negro Missions of the Society on the American side of the Atlantic. Hence in 1887, by the joint action of Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Vaughan, then Superior-General of the missionaries, it was resolved to open a Seminary at Baltimore. By the kindness of the Sulpitian Fathers in charge of St. Mary's Seminary, permission was granted to the students of the proposed Seminary to attend their course of lectures. Because of this advantage, the old Western Maryland Hotel at Pennsylvania Avenue and St. Mary's Street, was purchased, fitted up, and opened in September, 1888, with four seminarians. The following year, a building, which had formerly been the Highland Park Hotel, at Walbrook, a suburb of Baltimore, was secured and this was opened in 1889 as *Epiphany Apostolic College*, with thirty-five young men who came to master Latin and other collegiate branches, preparatory to entering St. Joseph's Seminary. Both institutions have prospered. Epiphany College has now (1917) fifty-two students. St. Joseph's Seminary, for which it was necessary to erect a more spacious building in 1893, has now thirty seminarians.

With the approbation of Cardinal Vaughan, then Bishop of Salford, some of the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society, in 1892, separated from the parent Society in England and formed an independent organization here in America. As far back as 1879, Cardinal Vaughan proposed this; he began to see the need of a special community for the Negro work in America, which would draw vocations from this country. In March, 1891, a memorial was drawn with the knowledge of Cardinal Gibbons, and sent to Cardinal Vaughan, praying that the proposals so often made by the latter should be carried into effect and that the American Society be constituted an independent organization. In January, 1892, Cardinal Vaughan wrote officially to every priest on the Negro Missions, granting leave to each one to enter the new Society, or join the diocesan clergy, or continue allied to England. The confrères of the new Society met in the Epiphany College in July of that year, passed a week in Retreat, and drafted a body of rules for their government. They are the same as they had

lived under heretofore, no change being made, not even in the name of the Society, save that of designating the center of authority in Baltimore instead of Mill Hill, London. The Society has grown with the blessing of Divine Providence. It has had its trials, as all good works have. At present there are sixty-two priests in the American Society, scattered in fourteen Dioceses. Among the earlier Superiors distinguished for their labors in the Society were the Revs. A. B. Leeson, J. R. Slattery, and Thos. B. Donovan, who died in 1908. The present Superior of the American Community is the Very Rev. Justin McCarthy, S.S.J.

The evolution of the Negro Missions has been healthy and there is gradual and steady progress. Within the last few years work has been begun in various new dioceses. In opening new Missions, usually a Catholic school for the colored children is one of the first requisites. This is the case in wholly non-Catholic communities as well as in places where there are many colored Catholics, as on the Gulf Coast. The substantial aid given by the bishops, clergy and Catholic people, through annual collections, and through the *Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People*, headed by Msgr. Burke, of New York, has made the opening of new Missions and schools possible. Among the various agencies which assist the missionaries and contribute in a great degree to the success of their work are especially a number of the Sisterhoods who are teaching with much labor and zeal in the schools. There are several white Sisterhoods, as also two colored communities engaged in this work. The colored are: the Oblate Sisters of Providence, already mentioned, whose mother-house is in Baltimore; and the Holy Family Sisters, of New Orleans. A community of white Sisters which has especially given an impetus to the work on many missions is the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, founded in 1891 by Mother Katherine Drexel. The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament have had a remarkable growth, having now about two hundred Sisters. Within a few years they have established convents and schools for Negro children in a number of cities, including Philadelphia, New York, Boston, St. Louis, Chicago, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Columbus, Ohio; Nashville, Tenn.; Atlanta, Savannah; and Rock Castle, Va. In 1881, Franciscan Sisters of St. Mary's Abbey, Mill Hill, London, began work for destitute Negro children in

Baltimore. Although few in number and pressed by poverty and difficulties, they have in these years done excellent work in Baltimore, in Virginia and North Carolina. At St. Elizabeth's Home, Baltimore, there are usually over three hundred orphans, including an infant asylum for colored. The Sisters have now an American novitiate for their community in Baltimore.

The future progress of Catholicism among our colored population, which now numbers over 10,000,000 souls, will, no doubt, keep pace with the growth of the Church among the white population. The spread of the Faith among the Negroes will equal the measure of zealous work done in their behalf; done with the spirit and charity of Christ. Wherever a good Catholic example and environment exist, the success is more marked. In the last few years, notable progress has been made. Well established churches and missions report from twenty to sixty converts annually. Two or three of the Josephite Fathers are usually kept preaching missions to colored Catholics and non-Catholics. Among them is Rev. John H. Dorsey, a colored priest, who has been very successful. The experience of the missionaries and pastors of the colored congregations is that where there are at least some good priests of their own race laboring among them, it helps to strengthen confidence in the Church. The Negroes are, as a rule, well disposed and often eager to enter the Church. But, on the other hand, there are also serious difficulties to be encountered. Among them are the lack of means for the support of schools, both primary and higher schools, especially industrial, to cope with the large number of well-equipped non-Catholic institutions of various kinds. These schools very often make no pretense of teaching religion or morals. Their policy is largely utilitarian and materialistic, and sometimes anti-Catholic.²¹ Since the emancipation of the slaves in 1863, enormous sums have been spent for the education of the races, and although the proportion is much smaller for the Negroes of the South than that of the total spent yet, not including public state funds, it is roughly estimated that Protestant missionary societies and philanthropists have contributed since 1865 for Negro education, \$57,000,000. The investments in Negro Colleges, Normal and

²¹ *The Negro and Catholicism*, article in *America* for March 28, 1914.

industrial schools now amount to \$20,000,000, with endowments of \$6,000,000.²² Another obstacle to missionary work is the prejudice and opposition of whites to any new Catholic work, especially in Protestant communities of the South. In some cases there are loud and violent protests to the existence of a new church or school. White and black Protestant ministers start an agitation. However, in time this may disappear, and with the help of Divine Providence and the cooperation of Catholics throughout the country, the work will steadily advance.

The following computation of Catholic work for Negroes in the United States is based on the *Annual Reports* of the Commissioners of the Negro and Indian Mission Fund:

Year	1890	1900	1910	1917
PRIESTS	30	45	59	105
CHURCHES	25	40	75	101
SCHOOLS	98	81	134	141
PUPILS	6,093	6,201	9,060	14,997
CHILDREN BAPTIZED	4,907	5,198	4,735	6,110
ADULT CONVERTS	853	797	1,079	1,640

JOSEPH BUTSCH, S.S.J.,
St. Joseph's Seminary,
Baltimore, Md.

²² MONROE N. WORK, *Negro Year Book*, p. 235. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1914.

EARLY IRISH SCHOOLMASTERS IN NEW ENGLAND

In these days of enquiry into the history of the Irish pioneers in America, there is no feature of this subject more appropriate for research, yet none so much neglected, as that of Ireland's contribution to early American education. While the part played by the "Exiles from Erin" during the period of the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars is now being related with more or less precision and particularity,¹ as yet no friendly hand had garnered the memorials of the Irish Schoolmasters of colonial times who helped to lay the foundation of our system of public education. It is much to be regretted that some competent historian did not undertake this task many years ago, for in the lapse of time and in the neglect of opportunity, events which should have been preserved can now hardly be given with historical confidence, hardly even as tradition. But, though much has perished, many sources of information still remain; and in this hitherto unexplored mine of historical facts the writer has occasionally delved for those "golden nuggets" which have so long been hidden from the knowledge of the general reading public.

The history of the Irish Schoolmasters in the American colonies is one that is filled with special interest, and, from my knowledge of the subject, I believe it is one that should take the place of primary importance in reviewing the story of Irish achievement in this country. In that land of misfortune and travail, where, "crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge or stretched on mountain fern, the teacher and his pupils met, *feloniously to learn*," it is not to be wondered at that the schoolmaster became a wanderer and an outlaw, and the marvel of it all is that so many of them survived to join in after years that apostleship of teachers who trained the youth of the American colonies to understand better the blessings of Liberty and Independence.

It is related that on one occasion, when a member of the English House of Lords tauntingly referred to the Irish peasants as "rude and ignorant," Lord Byron promptly answered, and

¹ In recent years, several books have been published on this subject, and the publications of the American Irish Historical Society also contain much valuable and interesting data relating to the early Irish settlers.

with all the bitter sarcasm for which he was noted: "Aye, well may you call them ignorant, my Lord, when you burn the school house and hang the schoolmaster!" That pithy reply from a generous Englishman was the quintessence of the story of the Irish Schoolmaster in his own country during the time of the Penal Laws—a piece of legislation described by Edmund Burke as "one of the most frightful engines of oppression that the perverted ingenuity of man could conceive!" In connection with the Irish schoolmasters in America, therefore, it is necessary to take into account their civil status in their own country during the early years of the eighteenth century. The Penal Laws rendered it treasonable to encourage education in Ireland, to build a school house or even to send children to be taught in a neighbor's house. A reward was placed upon the head of any schoolmaster found guilty of following his profession, and the penalty was transportation as a "convict" to the West Indies or to the plantations of Virginia. Under laws of this nature, many of the Irish schoolmasters fled the country, and the people of the next generation suffered in a great measure, and learning declined. The schoolmaster had no alternative but to leave his native land, and thus it came about that what was Ireland's loss was gain to the American colonies. In many of the shipping lists containing the names, occupations and places of nativity of the *redemptioners*, who came to the colonies during the eighteenth century, frequent references to Irish schoolmasters are found, and it is a sad commentary on the educational conditions of the period that the "time" of a common laborer, in many instances, brought as high a price as that of the teacher. Evidence is abundant from authentic records of the enlightened character and competency of those Irish teachers, and that so many of them are to be found in America is a significant factor in the emigrations from Ireland during the Colonial Period. Among original sources of information the *Town Books* and the Land and Church Records are the most trustworthy, and in these early Records as well as in the Colonial newspapers, town and county histories, genealogical works, the collections of historical societies, and other such dependable sources, may be found numerous references to the Irish teachers who conducted private or "select" schools, where the youth of the colonies learned their first letters and in

many cases were prepared for entry into the more advanced schools or colleges of the country.²

The number of teachers who were graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, is remarkable. They were generally the sons of merchants and of the "well-to-do," who probably being unable to find an opening at home, crossed the seas to try their fortune in the new country. As a competent authority describes them, they were—

"the younger sons of wealthy families, being deprived of an inheritance in the ancestral estates, and were presented with the alternative of entering the learned professions or of purchasing a commission in the British Army, the idea of which, to many Irishmen, was revolting. Many of these scions of Irish families were highly educated and were graduates of Trinity College, Dublin. Emigration to America seemed a hopeful solution to the question how to obtain a livelihood, and since the younger sons of Irish families were unused to toil, and, therefore, unfitted to enter the various avocations of labor, they consequently sought the congenial employment of teaching, for which there was a demand in the various American communities. For years this business was monopolized by these younger sons, and their profession was later known as that of the early Irish Schoolmasters."³

It is an historic fact that in some parts of the Colonies, especially in Pennsylvania and Maryland, the youth of the settlements had to depend almost exclusively for their education upon immigrant Irish Schoolmasters, some of whom were refugees from government persecutions. Acrelius, the historian of *New Sweden*,⁴ in referring to the widespread ignorance among the settlers of that region about the middle of the eighteenth century says: "Forty years back our people scarcely knew what a school was, until there came over from Ireland some Presbyterians and Roman Catholics who commenced with school-keeping." Not a few of the eminent men of American history learned their letters from Irish schoolmasters and it is known that several of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence were taught by Irish immigrant tutors. For example, the historian, Lossing, in referring to Dr. Francis Allison of Donegal, Ireland, "one of the

² The writer has made a large collection of names of Irish Schoolmasters from New York, Philadelphia and other newspapers, as early as 1794 and down to and beyond the Revolutionary period.

³ Houston, in *Proceedings of the Lancaster County, Pa., Historical Society*, Vol. ii, No. 2.

⁴ The three "Lower Counties" of Pennsylvania—now Delaware.

foremost scholars of his time in America," who conducted a classical school at New London, Pa.,¹ says: "Allison's chief fame to honor among men is that he was the tutor of a large number of Americans who were conspicuous actors in the events of the Revolution that accomplished the independence of the United States." Among his pupils were James Smith, Thomas McKean, and George Read, all Signers, and Charles Thomson, "the perennial Secretary of the Continental Congress." It is a singular fact, also, that the biographers of John Dickinson, celebrated as "the Penman of the Revolution," admit that he caught his argumentative and convincing style from his Irish tutor, William Killen, and the celebrated Roger Brooke Taney declares in his *Memoirs* that one of his first teachers was "an Irishman, a ripe scholar and an amiable and accomplished man."

Beginning about 1774, there is a noticeable dearth of entries in the records relating to schools and schoolmasters. The shadow of the Revolution was over the land, and no community, however small, was free from the fast gathering clouds of war. The teachers of the country were beginning to understand that a conflict with British power and arrogance was inevitable and preparations were made accordingly. In many places, the teacher turned his attention to the more pressing need of the hour and either taught his pupils to shoot and drill, or acted as clerk or adjutant to the local military company. During the decade of years between 1774 and 1784, many rural communities were entirely without the services of a tutor, for the "Master" had dropped the ferule for the rifle and marched forth with his neighbors to fight in the cause of Independence, and henceforward, it is on the rosters of the patriot forces that one must look for their names. Ample proof of this assertion may be found in the rosters of the military companies,² where the occupations of the enlisted men were taken down. In the Land, Probate and other records of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland and the Carolinas, mention is made of many schoolmasters of Irish name and race who mingled their

¹ *The Archives of Delaware*, Vol. i, contain the names of several Irish schoolmasters who joined the military companies organized in that section. Also the *Mustor Rolls of the New York Provincial Troops*, as published in the *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, volume for 1897. See also *N. Y. in the Revolution*, the *Archives of New Jersey*, and *Penna. Archives*, published by authority of the State Legislatures.

teaching of the rudiments of learning with a sound American patriotism, and many of whom joined the patriot forces and after the war quietly resumed the practice of their profession. In New England, Irish schoolmasters are found teaching the children of the Puritans long before the days of the Revolution, and one of the leading authorities on the early history of that section wrote more than sixty years ago: "Many aged people of the present day in New Hampshire well remember the stories told by their fathers of the old Irish schoolmasters. Those schoolmasters were almost always of good families at home and were well educated and men of enterprise. Of this class was John Sullivan, of whom it was said that he could speak Latin and French with ease and fluency when he was 100 years old."⁶ This noted New England educator was a native of Limerick and was a descendant of the Lords of Beare Haven, an ancient Irish family of the Counties of Cork and Kerry. He taught classical schools in Maine and New Hampshire for more than half a century⁷ and it is related that on his arrival here in the year 1723, in order to show that he was competent to teach, "he wrote his application for employment in seven languages."⁸ He is first mentioned as a teacher in the Minutes of the Meeting of the Selectmen of the Town of Dover, N. H., under date of May 20, 1723, where his name is recorded by the Town Clerk as "Master Sullefund." He is referred to as a man of great natural abilities and mental cultivation and as the instructor for many successive generations of his neighbors he acquired much influence over them as they grew to manhood.⁹ As an instance of his versatility, it is said that he was called upon to draw up all the wills, deeds and other legal papers in the simple, rural community about him and was their confidant and counsellor in all cases of trouble and difficulty.¹⁰ An obituary notice of his death said: "This respected and extraordinary character was employed till he was 90 years of age in teaching

⁶ Cf. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*: volume for 1853.

⁷ Portsmouth, N. H., *Oracle of the Day*, June 22, 1796. See also various sketches of his career in the *Journals of the American Irish Historical Society*, and *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

⁸ *Records of Scotland Parish, Me.*, kept by Rev. Dr. Moody. See also *The Ancestors of General John Sullivan*, by Bernard Coll, in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xviii, No. 2.

⁹ T. C. AMORY, *Life of James Sullivan, Governor of Massachusetts*. Boston, 1859.

¹⁰ T. C. AMORY. *Life of James Sullivan*. Boston, 1859.

public and private schools and perhaps few persons ever diffused so much useful learning.”¹¹

This Irish American teacher stands out as a splendid type of “the early Irish schoolmaster” and, with all propriety, he surely may be ranked among the Fathers of the Republic. As an historical writer has so pithily expressed it: “He was the father of a Governor of New Hampshire, and of a Governor of Massachusetts, of an Attorney-General of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, of New Hampshire’s only Major-General in the Continental Army, of the first Judge appointed by Washington in New Hampshire and of four sons who were officers in the Continental Army. He was grandfather of an Attorney-General of New Hampshire, of a Governor of Maine and of a United States Senator from Maine. He was great-grandfather of an Attorney-General of New Hampshire and great-great-grandfather of an officer in the Thirteenth New Hampshire Regiment in the Civil War.”¹² Such was the Irish schoolmaster, John Sullivan, from the city of the Broken Treaty. Banned in his native country and driven across the seas by English oppression, he lighted the torch of learning in the Western Continent and thus forged a link in the chain which binds America to Ireland in an unbroken bond of sympathy.

The first teacher to appear in New England records was John Higginson who set up a school at Hartford, Conn., in 1637. He was a native of England, yet his name suggests a probable Irish origin, for there were many Higginsons in New England descended from Irish people named Higgins, whose ancestors first settled in England from where members of the family emigrated to the Colonies. Indeed, Higgins is but a modern form or literal translation of MacHiggin, a name derived from the Irish word *Uigin*, meaning “knowledge.” Several of the “Mac” families in Ireland translated their names in the same manner, such as the MacDonnells who became Donnellson, the MacNeills who became Neilson, and so one. We find an example of the change from Higgins to Higginson in the genealogy of the descendants of Richard Higgins, who came to Eastham, Mass., in 1644, where he became a prominent man and was the ancestor of numerous families named Higginson scattered through the Eastern States. The local town historian informs us that he found the name on the town records as “Higginson” and that the original ancestor of the people of that name was “Richard

¹¹ In Portsmouth, N. H., *Oracle of the Day*, June 22, 1796.

¹² John C. Linehan, in *Journals of the American Irish Historical Society*.

Higgins, of Celtic origin."¹³ Another of the family, Fergus Higgins, came direct from Ireland to Scarboro, Me. Some of his New England descendants claim their ancestors "came from England," but a Maine historian asks: "Did they come from Belfast, Dublin or Cork, *via* Liverpool, and is this the way they came from England?"¹⁴

William Collins who came to New Haven in the year 1640, with a number of Irish refugees from Barbadoes, is referred to in the *Journal* of John Winthrop, Colonial Governor of Connecticut, as "a young scholar full of zeal." He established and taught school at Hartford as can be seen from a sketch of the pioneer in Felt's *Ecclesiastical History of New England*. The period of his service as a teacher is unknown, but it could not have been very long for we are told that he and his wife, Bridget Collins, were murdered by Indians in the year 1643 in the vicinity of what is now New Rochelle, N. Y., and it is said that some of those who accompanied Collins from Barbadoes returned to Ireland. This is the only authority for including his name in this list of early Irish schoolmasters in New England.

The earliest female teacher in New England, of whom we have any authentic history, was Margaret Healy. It is difficult to determine whether she was of the Irish race. The town records of Cambridge, Mass., contain an entry reading: "In March, 1680, for English our school dame was good wife Healy." No other reference can be found to the "good" Mistress Healy, who taught the children of that famous University town so long ago, but she is mentioned in the records as "the wife of Willyam Healy," an Irishman, who was an inhabitant of the town as early as 1664.¹⁵

Several members of the Irish family of FitzGerald taught schools in Massachusetts in early Colonial days. The select men of the town of Long Meadow, surely indicated the need of the schoolmaster when, on September 30, 1714, they "Voated to Gitt or have a Schoole master to Teach or Learn our Children to Read and rite,"¹⁶ and the only man they could find for the place was an Irishman named James Gerrald or FitzGerald. In 1717 he seems to have removed to Springfield, for in that year "James Gerrald" received "the approbation of the Selectmen for permission to open a Schoole."¹⁷ In 1718 an Irish colony located at Worcester and here their leader, a Presbyterian clergyman named Edward Fitzgerald, established a school for the benefit of the children of this and the neighboring settlements. The records of the ancient town of Scituate, Mass., show that "Richard Fitzgerald, a veteran Latin schoolmaster" was teaching a classical school there in 1729, and on May 14, 1734, he was chosen to teach the children of the neighboring settlement of Hanover. On the church records of that town it is stated

¹³ FREEMAN, *Annals of Eastham, Mass.*

¹⁴ GIDEON T. RIDLON, *Saco Valley Settlements and Families*. Portland, Me., 1866.

¹⁵ *Records of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay*, of August 17, 1664.

¹⁶ Town Books of Long Meadow, Mass.

¹⁷ Town Books of Springfield, Mass.

that "Fitzgerald was the schoolmaster of the town for nearly twenty years."¹⁸ He is described by local historians as "a man of talent, well skilled in the languages, especially Latin, and under his judicious training many were reared who afterwards became distinguished in the town and State."¹⁹ One of his pupils was William Cushing, afterwards to become famous as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.²⁰

In 1737, Peter Pelham, an Irishman, made application to the Selectmen to open a school at Boston.²¹ He was one of the charter members of the Charitable Irish Society, founded at Boston on St. Patrick's Day, 1737, and is described by New England historians as "the father of fine arts in New England" and as "one of the Irish nation residing in Boston." At a meeting of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston on October 15, 1740, there was read "the Petition of Mr. Cornelius Lynch, Praying that Liberty may be Granted him to Open a School in this Town for the teaching of Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, Navigation," etc., and on November 19, the Town "voted that the said Lynch be and hereby is approved of so long as he Continues to behave himself to the Approbation of the Selectmen."²²

At Amesbury, Mass., John Hickey was one of the town teachers in the year 1751.²³ "An Irishman named Toler" is described as one of the schoolmasters of the town of Stoneham, Mass.,²⁴ "in the olden times." The period that he flourished is not mentioned, but another town historian²⁵ refers to a "Captain William Toler," who taught there as early as 1763, and who, doubtless, was the same. In 1750, and for some years thereafter, John Kenney was the schoolmaster at Canton, Mass., and he also conducted a private school for some time at Stoughton, Mass. He seems to have been a learned man for those times and is said to have had a remarkable faculty for drawing up "unbreakable wills," deeds, leases and indentures; and made a successful business of it. He was one of the Minute Men from that district in 1775. In the brig, *William* from Ireland, which arrived at Boston on September 29, 1766, there are listed among her passengers "Mr. Barry Schoolmaster and Timothy Dorson Schoolmaster,"²⁶ but it is uncertain whether either of them

¹⁸ *Records of the First Congregational Church at Hanover, Mass.*, compiled by LLOYD VERNON BRIGGS. Boston, 1895.

¹⁹ JOHN STETSON BARRY, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Hanover, Mass.* Boston, 1853.

²⁰ HENRY FLANDERS, *Lives and Times of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.* Phila., 1855.

²¹ One of his advertisements, announcing "the opening of a new school," may be seen in the *Boston News Letter*, of September 12, 1748.

²² *Minutes of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston*, 6th Book, pp. 258 and 263.

²³ JOSEPH MERRILL, *History of Amesbury, Mass.* Haverhill, Mass., 1880.

²⁴ SILAS DEAN. *A Brief History of the Town of Stoneham, Mass.*, Boston, 1843.

²⁵ WILLIAM B. STEVENS. *History of Stoneham, Mass.*, Stoneham, 1891.

²⁶ Miscellaneous papers relating to the early History of Boston, in 29th volume of the Town Books.

followed that calling in America. Lawrence and Peter McLouth, brothers, are mentioned as "old time pedagogues" of the town of Farmington, Ontario County, N. Y.²⁷ They were born at Taunton, Mass., of Irish parentage and we are told that "the father of the McLouths was educated in Maynooth College, Ireland, and after coming to this country taught a grammar school in Massachusetts, where John Hancock was one of his pupils."²⁸ Four of the family served in the War of the Revolution, among them the two Farmington school teachers. When or where the McLouth school was located is not known for certain, but it was probably at Quincy, Mass. The Irish teacher is not mentioned by any of Hancock's biographers.

John O'Rourke made "application for the approbation of the Selectmen" at Boston on December 7, 1781, "to teach the French language in this town," and was approved of "provided he first take the Oath of Allegiance required by the Commonwealth."²⁹ Michael Walsh was one of the best known schoolmasters of his time in Massachusetts. He was born in Ireland in 1763 and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1792 he was appointed teacher at Marblehead and later taught at Amesbury and Salisbury, Mass. "By his system of teaching," we are told, "he exercised a remarkable influence over his pupils." He acquired a great reputation in New England on account of his wide knowledge of the classics and mathematical sciences, and it is said his fame extended as far as the West Indies. One of his pupils at Marblehead was Joseph Story, afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In the autobiography of Justice Story, the Irish teacher is thus referred to: "My best classical instruction, such as it was, I principally owed to Mr. Michael Walsh, then Usher in the Academy, and author of a work on Mental Arithmetic." He traces back to Walsh his "earliest knowledge of English literature" and his "inextinguishable love for the great masters of that literature in former times."³⁰ John Walsh, son of this famous schoolmaster, became a mathematician and instructor in the United States Navy and his daughters, Joanna and Betsey Walsh, were school teachers at Salisbury Point, Mass.

In 1742 Thomas McGee came to Sutton, Mass., and soon after was appointed schoolmaster. The records of the town of Chester, N. H., where he first settled, show that he was an immigrant from Ireland. Fifteen years later, John McKinstry, a native of Brode Parish, County Antrim, is mentioned as the teacher of the youth of the settlement. Charles Gleason was hired as Schoolmaster by the town of Framingham in 1738, and John Gleason, thought to be his son, was one of the local teachers in 1794. At Chicopee, Mass., we learn that the first school

²⁷ CHAS. F. MILLIKEN, *History of Ontario County, N. Y., and Its People*. New York, 1911.

²⁸ LEWIS CASS ALDRICH, *History of Ontario County, N. Y.* Syracuse, N. Y., 1893.

²⁹ *Minutes of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston*.

³⁰ *Life and Letters of Justice Story*, by his son, Wm. H. Story. Boston, 1851.

was erected in 1773, and that "its premier teacher was an Irishman."³¹ Evidently, he was a versatile individual, for we are told that he "occasionally preached to the people on the south side of the river." Even at "Plymouth of the Puritans" we find traces of an Irish schoolmaster. At a meeting of the Selectmen of Plymouth on September 9, 1782, the town treasurer was directed "to Collect from the several Collectors that are in Debt to the Towne the value of what is due from the Towne to their late Schoolmasters, viz: Messrs. Timothy Healey and Joseph Crocker."³² While there is no other reference in the town books to these teachers and there is nothing to show what their nationality was, the name of Timothy Healey fully warrants the assumption that he was an Irishman. The town records of Worcester mention John Young, Schoolmaster, in the year 1757. The Young Genealogy shows that the schoolmaster was a native of County Donegal, Ireland. Butler Fogarty established a private school at Salem in 1792, and continued teaching there for many years.

The large Irish settlements in New Hampshire during the first half of the eighteenth century probably account for the many Irish schoolmasters who are recorded in the annals of the "Granite State" during that period. The town of Dover must have had considerable attractions for them, for besides John Sullivan, we find a number of his countrymen teaching school at Dover in its early days. One of them, Humphrey Sullivan, on February 19, 1723, "preferred a Petition to the Board Praying for £50 to be paid by ye Towne of Dover for his services there as Schoolmaster."³³ In all probability, this was the same Humphrey Sullivan, teacher of the youth of Hampton, N. H. On September 28, 1714, the Selectmen of Hampton chose a committee "to hire a Schoolmaster for the Town," and while the records do not show who was "hired," the name of the local teacher appears in the *Minutes of the Old Parish* under date of September 18, 1718, as "ye late Schoolmaster Humphrey Sullivan."³⁴

Hercules Mooney, a native of Longford, Ireland, who is said to have been tutor to the family of an Irish nobleman, came to Dover in the year 1733 and, as is shown by the public records, was "engaged January 2, 1734, to teach school." He taught at Dover for sixteen years, and established a school at Durham, N. H., in 1751, which he continued until 1766, interrupted only by the period of his services in the French English war. As colonel of a New Hampshire battalion of the Continental Army, he served with distinction throughout the Revolution and after the War he resumed the practice of his profession in the town of Lee. "The record of Colonel Mooney and his sons, as schoolmasters, officers in the Seven Years War, in the War of the Revolu-

³¹ CLARA SKEELE PALMER, *The Annals of Chicopee, Mass.* Springfield, Mass., 1899.

³² *Plymouth Town Records*, Vol. iii.

³³ *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire*, Vol. iv, p. 83.

³⁴ *Town Records of Hampton, N. H.*

tion and in civil positions, was a notable one. Mooney was one of those men whom circumstances develop into leaders almost instantly when the exigences of the case demand them."³⁵

Darby Kelly, "a bright quick-witted Irishman," was one of the first teachers of New Hampton, N. H., and, as the town historian says of him: "school teaching and fighting the French and Indians kept him busy!"³⁶ We find his name in connection with several land transactions at Exeter as early as 1728, and between 1748 and 1756 he served as a soldier in the French and Indian wars and when there was no more fighting to be done Darby Kelly quickly resumed his occupation of "guide and mentor" to the youth of New Hampton and the neighboring settlements.³⁷

Edward Fitzgerald taught school at Boscawen, N. H., in 1734. He is described in the annals of the town as "a native of Ireland and a man of good education" and as "one of the most active and influential of the settlers of 1733."³⁸ A local historian³⁹ names him among "the first settlers at Boscawen." "John Carroll, an Irishman and a school-teacher," taught at Rye, N. H., in 1790.⁴⁰

Rudolphus Greenc was an early schoolmaster in New Hampshire. He is referred to as "an Irishman who was employed by the town of Peterborough to keep school a quarter of the year in each of the four quarters of the town."⁴¹ At Weare, N. H., William Donovan was the town teacher in 1773, and a local historian tells us that, "after the Revolution there were a great number of foreigners teaching in the country and Irish schoolmasters were plenty in Weare."⁴² Among these, he mentions Richard Adams and "Master" Donovan, the latter having been the "first to teach English grammar in the town;" and, from the same authority we learn that "the first school at East Weare was kept by Master O'Nail on the strict moral suasion plan."⁴³

Maurice Lynch, a native of Galway, Ireland, began teaching at Antrim, N. H., in 1772 and continued there until 1777, when he joined the patriot army. He is described in the annals of the town as "a man of great wit, whose sayings lived locally for more than a century after his death" (1784). Tobias Butler, "clerk of the town of Antrim, in

³⁵ EZRA H. STEARNS, *Genealogical and Family History of the State of New Hampshire*, p. 910.

³⁶ FRANK H. KELLY, *Reminiscences of New Hampton, N. H.* Worcester, 1889.

³⁷ TOWN RECORDS OF EXETER, N. H.

³⁸ CHARLES C. COFFIN, *Genealogical Records in History of Boscawen and Webster, N. H.* Concord, 1878.

³⁹ REV. EBENEZER PRICE, *A Chronological Register of Boscawen, N. H.* Concord, 1823.

⁴⁰ LANGDON B. PARSONS, *History of the Town of Rye, N. H., From Its Discovery and Settlement to 1903.* Concord, 1905.

⁴¹ J. H. MORRISON, *Life of Jeremiah Smith, Chief Justice and Governor of New Hampshire.* Boston, 1845.

⁴² W. LITTLE, *History of the Town of Weare, N. H.* Lowell, Mass., 1888.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

1788," who was also from Galway, emigrated to America in 1771. He first settled at New Boston and from that town he enlisted in the army of the Revolution and "passed through many of the conflicts of New York." He opened a school at Antrim in 1786, which he maintained "for many years," and was known as "Old Master Butler" to the people of the surrounding country, whose children he trained for two generations. A town historian refers to him as "a man of fine education and exceedingly useful in his day."⁴⁴

Edward Evans, a native of Sligo, kept a school at Salisbury, N. H., prior to the opening of the Revolutionary War. Teaching was not his only calling, for his name is found among the Salisbury volunteers who fought at the battle of Bunker Hill, and on the roster of the officers and soldiers of Colonel Stickney's New Hampshire regiment who fought at Bennington on August 16, 1777, is this entry: "Adjutant Edward Evans, who was Schoolmaster at Salisbury." After the War he established a school at Northfield, N. H., where, it is said, "Daniel Webster was one of his pupils."⁴⁵ Henry Parkinson is referred to in Northfield town records as "one of the oldest teachers" at that place. He also was an officer in the patriot army, and that he was a native of Ireland we may judge from the quaint Latin epitaph (said to have been written by himself) on his tombstone at Canterbury, N. H., where he died in 1820. It reads, "Hibernia begot me; Columbia nurtured me; Nassau Hall educated me; I have fought, I have taught, I have labored with my hands!"

Timothy Gleason is mentioned in Canterbury records as a school teacher, where, in 1790, he was paid for his services "in wheat, rye, and Indian corn." One of the town historians says "he came from Scotland, but was of Irish descent." We are told "he was often employed as a teacher in Northfield and other surrounding towns. He was a fine scribe and used to assist the Selectmen in making the taxes and keeping their accounts." Like so many others of his calling, he joined the Revolutionary Army and, according to his application for a pension in 1814, he served "from 1775 to the end of the campaign."

The first teacher at Francestown, N. H. (in 1781), was Richard Burke.⁴⁶ The first president of Bowdoin College was Joseph McKeen, "a man of fine acquirements and ripe scholarship," who opened a school at Londonderry, N. H., in 1774. He was a son of John McKeen, a native of Ballymoney, Ireland, who came to New Hampshire with the pioneer band of Irish immigrants who settled the town of Londonderry in the year 1719.

Patrick Quinlan taught school at Concord, N. H., before 1770.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ WARREN R. COCHRANE, *History of the Town of Antrim, N. H.* Manchester, N. H., 1880.

⁴⁵ THOMAS HAMILTON MURRAY, in *Journals of the American Irish Historical Society*.

⁴⁶ WARREN R. COCHRAN, *History of Francestown, N. H.* Nashua, 1895.

⁴⁷ NATHANIAL BOUTON, *A History of Concord, N. H., from Its First Grant in 1725 to 1853.* Concord, 1856.

Patrick Garvan was also an early tutor at Concord, and although the period that he flourished is not mentioned, I find his name on the roster of the local military company of the year 1746 as a defender of the garrison against the Indians. "Among the names of the early school teachers," says one of the historians of the town of Bedford,⁴⁸ "that of O'Neil is handed down as memorable." The period is not mentioned, but, one John O'Neil who appears on a list of "the first settlers of the town," in all probability was the schoolmaster. Luke Eagan also taught school at Bedford "about 1776 or 1777," and afterwards served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War.⁴⁹

From the records of the town of New Boston we learn that "in 1769 the town erected a small building near the meeting house which was used as a school," and here we find Dennis Dunnivan teaching the youth of the district in the stirring days of 1776. William McNeill, of an Irish immigrant family, who settled at Londonderry and who taught at New Boston about the same time, fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill. "Master" Butler, school teacher at Nottingham, N. H., for many years after his arrival there in 1756, is described as "a man of great natural intellect and extensive information." He was a son of Malachi Butler, an Irishman, who settled at Windham, Conn., in the year 1720.

Among a number of interesting entries concerning schools and schoolmasters found in an old "account book of the Selectmen," still preserved among the town records of Chester, N. H., appear the following:

1750, Paid to Master John Hickey for Schooling.....	£88
1751, Paid to Master John Hickey for Schooling.....	£104
1761, Paid to John Crombie, two months.....	£100
1772, Master Donoven, 3 months and one week.....	£9. 15s.

There cannot be much doubt about the nationality of "Master John Hickey," and as to Crombie, the genealogical records of the town of Chester inform us that he was "a native of Ballymore, Ireland," and "Master Donoven," in all likelihood was the same old-time pedagogue already mentioned as the town teacher at Weare, N. H. Among other schoolmasters at Chester whose names appear in the town books were, Andrew Craig (1752), a native of Ireland, and Samuel Moore, who taught there in 1749 and in 1764 at the nearby town of Candia. Moore was a son of John Moore who came from Ireland to New Hampshire in the early part of the eighteenth century. The town also informs us that "George Russel, a native of Ireland," who served as a soldier in the American army after the battle of Lexington, "came to Chester after the war and turned pedagogue and for a long period taught in nearly all the schools in the Long Meadows." We are told he was "an able teacher" and "an accomplished man" and "was looked upon with about the same reverence that the minister was." Samuel Moore, referred to

⁴⁸ *Centennial History of the Town of Bedford, N. H.* 1850.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

as "an Irishman," taught at Derryfield, N. H., in 1797, succeeding John McLaughlin who was appointed town teacher in 1795.

One of the earliest teachers whose name appears on the records of the town of Kittery, Me., was Eugene Lynch who taught there in 1718,⁴⁰ and in some "Extracts from Kittery Point Town Records" of the year 1732,⁴¹ mention is made of "John Maloney, Schoolmaster," with a payment to him of £80, for his services in that year.

The Gillpatricks, who were among the earliest settlers at Biddeford, Me., gave several noted teachers to that part of the country. The family came from Ireland in 1735. Miriam Gillpatrick, who was born at Limerick in 1767, taught at Biddeford; Joseph Gillpatrick conducted a school at Wells, another Joseph at Hollis, while still another of the family, Thomas Gillpatrick, is referred to as "one of the most noted teachers at Limerick and Limington, Me., having taught in no less than eleven town schools and five high schools in the Saco Valley."⁴²

In 1750 the only school at Kennebunk, Me., was in charge of "Daniel Little, an Irishman." He appears to have been a man of much local influence, and we are informed by the town historian that "Master Little was one of the intellectual giants of the day." His successor at the Kennebunk school was "Daniel Moffatt, an Irishman." An entry on the town records of Kennebunkport of the year 1747 reads: "Mr. Samuel Murphy was chosen Scoole Master." He was a son of John Murphy, who served as an officer of a military company at the capture of Louisburg and four of whose sons, among them Samuel the "Scoole Master," served in the Revolutionary War. One of Samuel Murphy's successors at Kennebunkport was "Master Hickey," whose name appears on the tax list of the town of Kittery of the year 1752. One John Hickey, probably the same, is mentioned as teacher of a school at Cape Porpoise, Me., in 1766.

Silvester Murphy was a teacher at Pownalburgh and Sheepscoot, Me., in 1775. Luke Reilly taught at Newry, Me., in 1781. A local historian says,⁴³ "he was a famous schoolmaster in his day and it was he who named the town Newry from the place in Ireland whence he came." In 1796, John O'Neil kept school at Canaan, Me.⁴⁴ An old time New England pedagogue named Sullivan is mentioned in local annals of Bristol and Bremen, Me., about the middle of the eighteenth century, but of whom definite information is hard to obtain. But, "Master Sullivan," who "came from Ireland to Broad Bay in the year 1737,"⁴⁵ is thought

⁴⁰ EVERETT S. STACKPOLE, *Old Kittery and Her Families*. Lewiston, Me., 1893.

⁴¹ D. M. SHAPLEIGH, in *Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder*, Vol. i.

⁴² GIDEON T. RIDLON, *Saco Valley Settlements and Families*. Portland, Me., 1865.

⁴³ WILLIAM BARRY LAPHAM, *Centennial History of Norway and Oxford County, Me.* Portland, Me., 1886.

⁴⁴ JOHN W. HANSON, *History of the Old Towns of Norridgewock and Canaan, Me.* Boston, 1849.

⁴⁵ *Records of the Court of Common Pleas at York, Me., under date of June 12, 1770.*

to have been the schoolmaster. Martin Rourke, or O'Rourke, is mentioned as "the foremost schoolmaster of the town of Durham."⁴⁴ He was a native of Ireland and came to America in 1773 and served as a sergeant in the Revolutionary army at Ticonderoga and other engagements, and after the war he served for seventeen years as Town Clerk of Durham. At Buxton, Me., "Francis Morrissey and John Hearn from Ireland" taught schools in 1794,⁴⁵ and at this place we are told "Master Morrissey was employed in teaching for about fifteen years."⁴⁶

At Thomaston, Me., John Sullivan, a native of Dublin, Ireland, opened a school in the year 1778.⁴⁷ Racy of the soil, Schoolmaster Sullivan was one of the native wits of the section. We are told "his love for science was pure and he was ever ready to aid others in its pursuit," and "his store of scientific and literary information, history and other anecdotes was inexhaustible."⁴⁸ It is evident that he was a valuable acquisition to the intellectual progress of the youth of the surrounding country, where he taught for many years. He may possibly have been the same John Sullivan whose name is found in the town records of Warren, Me., of the year 1792. The Warren Schoolmaster, we are told, had "made respectable attainments in science and possessed a highly cultivated taste in literature." As a teacher, "he excelled" and "was evidently a walking cyclopedia." Bartholomew Killeran was the schoolmaster of Warren in 1771.⁴⁹ The town historian says "he was highly esteemed for his amiable disposition and not the less so that in place of birch and ferule he was obliged to make use of loaf sugar to stimulate and encourage his pupils." His countryman, "John O'Brien from County Cork, Ireland," who conducted a school at Warren in 1782, was not so lenient with his pupils, for, while "he was an elegant penman and a good accountant, he was somewhat severe in the management of his scholars."⁵⁰ O'Brien's descendants were a noted family of ship-builders and sailing masters on the Kennebeck river.

Robert Mathews, who first came from Ireland to Woburn, Mass., settled in Warren, where, we are told, "he was sometimes employed as a schoolmaster and in the French and Indian War (1755) he served for some time as a soldier." In 1788, "William Walsh, a native of Dublin, Ireland," was "hired to keep the town school at Thomaston for the term of twelve months," and in 1791 the town books indicate payments to him "for keeping school in the Northeast Meadow District." Another teacher employed at Thomaston about 1790 was "Thomas Emerson, a man of good education, an excellent penman and of respectable family in or near Limerick, Ireland." The names of several Irish school-

⁴⁴ EVERETT S. STACKFOLD, *History of Durham, Me.* Lewiston, Me., 1899.

⁴⁵ EBEN WENTWORTH, in *Centennial History of the Town of Buxton, Me.* 1872.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ CYRUS EATON, *History of Thomaston and Rockland, Me.* Hallowell, Me., 1865.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ CYRUS EATON, *Annals of the Town of Warren, Me.* Hallowell, Me., 1851.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

masters appear on the town records of Brunswick, Me. The pioneer teacher at that place was James McCashlen, who, in 1740, was paid £40 for his services as tutor. From the *Pejepscot Papers* we learn that "William McClanahan, an Irishman," taught school at Brunswick in the year 1741, and a well-known Maine historian⁶² informs us that McClanahan first came to Belfast, Me., in the year 1734. In 1755, John Blake was employed as teacher at Brunswick and four years later he was succeeded by John Farrin, who seems to have taught there again in 1776, and he is on record in that year for returning the greater part of his salary to the town "in consequence of the public distresses and burdensome taxes." His father was a native of Dublin, Ireland, who settled at Ipswich, Mass., where the elder Farrin conducted a school for six years prior to his advent at Brunswick. Richard Flaherty is also mentioned as one of Brunswick's early schoolmasters, and in the *History of Cumberland County, Me.*,⁶⁴ it is related that in the year 1735 the inhabitants of Brunswick made application to the Government of Massachusetts for an act of incorporation as a town and among those who signed the petition was "Richard Flaherty, an Irish Schoolmaster."

"Thomas Crowell, an Irishman," taught at Brunswick, where he arrived from Ireland "soon after the Revolution."⁶⁵ We learn that "he was a man of good education and soon after his arrival he engaged in teaching school and for more than a score of years he taught in the eastern part of this town."⁶⁶

In Reed's *History of Bath, Me.*, the author in referring to the early times, says: "The children of the inhabitants had good teachers. One particularly, Master O'Brien, who was educated in Edinburgh, Scotland, was a gentleman and an excellent scholar." In the early days of the New England towns, in order to establish a private school it was necessary for the "Master" to receive the approval of, and permit his school to be subject to supervision by, the local authorities, and in the town records may be seen references to teachers who failed to comply with this regulation and who were obliged to abandon the attempt and remove to some other place, where they could follow their calling without official "red tape." Willis⁶⁷ says that "in 1761 great excitement was produced in the town by the conduct of a schoolmaster named Richmond. He was an Irishman. In 1761, he was bound over to appear before the Court of General Sessions to answer his being presented for setting up and keeping school in Falmouth, without the approbation of the Selectmen." Master McMahon evidently was more in favor than his unfortunate countryman, or perhaps was not so obstinate in complying with the regulations, for we are told

⁶² WILLIAM WILLIS, *History of Portland, Me.* Portland, 1865.

⁶³ W. W. CLAYTON. Philadelphia, 1880.

⁶⁴ *Town Records.*

⁶⁵ From a Paper read before the Brunswick Historical Society, by Sumner L. Holbrook. Cf. WHEELER, *History of Brunswick, Me.* Boston, 1878.

⁶⁶ WM. WILLIS, *History of Portland, Me.* Portland, 1865.

that "in 1767, William McMahon, an Irishman, opened a school at Stroudwater and afterwards kept at Woodford's Corners for several years, where Portland boys were sent out to him." "John Mitchell, a native of Ireland," was one of the early schoolmasters at Belfast, Me.⁶⁹ The town historian also refers to "John Barrett, school teacher, who came to Londonderry from Ireland in 1719." There is no record, as far as I can find, to his having taught school at Belfast, but he is thought to have followed that calling. In the immediate vicinity of Belfast, in the towns of Waldo and Searsmont, one Lewis Ryan taught school in the early years of the last century, and Michael Ryan taught at Rockland in 1778.⁷⁰ The first teachers at Vinalhaven, Me., of whom we have any record were "John O'Brien, who escaped from the British service,"⁷¹ and Michael Bowen, who served with some distinction in the War of the Revolution, and who settled at Vinalhaven, where we are told "his business was farming and school teaching."⁷² Both were natives of Cork, Ireland. The first teacher on record at Monmouth, Me., was "William Lowney, who performed the important duties of the ancient pedagogue in the local public school." The town records do not inform us what his nationality was, but that he was an Irishman, is seen from the remark of the local historian that "his only drawback was the brogue he brought from Erin."⁷³ John Magner, who "came from Dublin, Ireland, about 1791," was "noted for his smartness in school teaching" and it was he who "taught the first school in the town of Greene."⁷⁴ Thomas Boyd, "born in Ireland in 1748," was one of the pioneer teachers at Boothbay, Me.,⁷⁵ and "Master Kennard from Ireland" came to Windham in 1781 and "was employed by the people of the town as a teacher for many years."⁷⁶ John Patterson, who taught at Windham in 1773, is also described as "an Irishman."⁷⁷ The youth of the little colony of Rhode Island profited well by the advent of the Irish schoolmaster. Rev. James MacSparran was a leading teacher in Rhode Island from 1721 to 1747, and one whose educational influence had much to do with the founding of Rhode Island College, now called Brown University, and "it is a singular fact," declares Guild, in his history of that institution, that "the first funds of the College were obtained from Ireland." Dr. MacSparran was a native of Dungiven, County Derry, and was one of the noted Gaelic scholars of his time.

⁶⁹ JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, *History of the City of Belfast, Me.* Portland, 1913.

⁷⁰ Town Register of Searsmont, Me.

⁷¹ *Brief Historical Sketch of the Town of Vinalhaven, Me.* Rockland, Me., 1900.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ H. H. COCHRANE, *History of the Towns of Monmouth and Wales, Me.* East Winthrop, Me., 1894.

⁷⁴ A. W. TINKHAM, in the Winthrop, Me., *Budget*, 1891.

⁷⁵ FRANCIS B. GREENE, *Boyd Genealogy*, in *History of Boothbay, Me.* Portland, 1906.

⁷⁶ *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, 2d Ser., Vol. ix.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

George Taylor, a native of Limerick, was appointed schoolmaster of the town of Providence in the year 1735 and continued teaching there until his death in 1781. An obituary notice of him in the *Providence Gazette* said: "he was an honor to the country that gave him birth." The name of Stephen Jackson appears in the records of the town as a teacher in the year 1745. He was born in Kilkenny in 1700 and, as he said himself, he "left Ireland to escape the political persecutions." John Dorrance, son of Irish immigrants, was a private tutor at Providence in 1774. A notice of his death⁷⁷ said "he was a man of unblemished integrity and undeviating patriotism and for many years was a member of the Rhode Island Legislature." Terence O'Reilly kept a school at Providence in 1788⁷⁸ and probably for several years before that time, for I find his name in the town records as early as 1770. James Wilson, described as "an Irishman," taught there in 1791 and John Phelan in 1792. The "Town Book" of Triverton, R. I., under date of August 15, 1743, shows that Benjamin Delaney was appointed "Town Schoolmaster for ye year insuing," and John and Samuel Healey are mentioned among "the early teachers" of the nearby town of Pawtucket.⁷⁹ One of the earliest teachers at Westerly, of whom tradition or the records speak, was an Irishman named Thomas Slattery, who set up a private school there a short time after the Revolutionary war. A local historian refers to him as "a man of extensive learning for his day."⁸⁰ "Old Master Kelly," described as "one of the earliest school teachers in Rhode Island," taught for many years at South Kingston. We are told that "Master Kelly was an Irishman and noted for his love of a good joke, a good dinner and his courtesy of manner." In 1751, Terence Donnelly was engaged by the town of Newport as schoolmaster and two of the "old-time pedagogues of Rhode Island," named Crocker and Knox, who kept school at Bowen's hill after the Revolution, were natives of Ireland.⁸¹ The name of Berkeley, the famous Bishop of Cloyne, County Cork, is inseparably linked with early educational efforts in New England. He was born in Kilkenny in 1688, and in his fortieth year he came to Rhode Island for the purpose of founding a college, and although his efforts were frustrated, through the intrigues of an English nobleman, the historians all admit that his presence in this country for several years gave great stimulus to literary and scientific exertion. He was a liberal benefactor to Yale and Harvard Colleges and after his return to Ireland he sent to Yale a choice collection of the best works extant on the different branches of learning. These books are still preserved at Yale University. Some historical writers

⁷⁷ In *Providence Gazette* of July 3, 1813.

⁷⁸ *Providence Gazette*, February 2, 1789.

⁷⁹ REV. MASSENA GOODRICH, *Historical Sketches of Pawtucket, R. I.* Pawtucket, 1876.

⁸⁰ FREDERICK DENIBON, in *Westerly and Its Witnesses for 250 Years—1626 to 1876*. Providence, 1878.

⁸¹ J. R. COLB, *History of Washington and Kent Counties, R. I.* New York, 1889.

attribute to England the honor of his fame. While his family is said to have been, in far back time, a branch of that of which the Earls of Berkeley were the heads, it had been settled in Ireland for many generations, and to that country, and to no other, belongs the distinction of having produced this illustrious educator and benefactor of Irish and American institutions.

It has not been the aim of this article to locate or discuss all of the early Irish teachers in New England, for the limitations of space render that impossible. Apart from those named herein, it is known that many other Irish schoolmasters flourished in New England in the olden days, although in most cases only fleeting glimpses of their names are obtainable from local annals, and there now remains no earthly record of the character of their services or how long they continued in their respective stations. Indeed, the records of many of the early teachers have all the sadness of a tombstone inscription, little to say beyond the name, date or place, and in most cases their names are recalled only in local tradition. Many of the Irish schoolmasters are seen to have conducted private or "select" schools, which often were more advanced than the "common" schools, and in many places a large number of the pupils who attended the private schools were the children of the well-to-do. This, in itself, is one of the best compliments which history can pay them, for it indicates that the Irish schoolmasters were considered more competent tutors than those who taught the common schools. In the early times, it was seldom that studies were permitted in the common schools beyond spelling, reading and writing, and arithmetic was taught by comparatively few instructors. From numerous advertisements by Irish schoolmasters in the colonial newspapers, it is seen that they usually announced their readiness to teach "reading, writing, arithmetic, surveying and the principal branches of mathematics," and in many instances "the Latin and Greek languages," thus indicating that they were more finished scholars than the ordinary teachers of the time. Indeed, in examining the early records, especially public documents written by men who occupied eminent positions during and after the Revolution, whose education was obtained from the private schools, one cannot but be surprised at the general intelligence and strength of intellect they display. As already stated, this subject is one that has been much neglected in history. This is not as it should be,

for the story of the early Irish schoolmasters of the country furnishes an important chapter in American history, and it is proper that Americans should know that Irish culture helped to embellish the minds of their fathers with the graces and treasures of learning. All the early benefactors of this country are not to be found among statesmen and soldiers, for the schoolmasters are also entitled to be so designated. They sought neither wealth nor place, and their emoluments were small. Many of them performed their tasks in remote and wild settlements. They consecrated their lives to the uplift of youth and gave themselves unselfishly and patriotically to the service of their country and humanity.

MICHAEL J. O'BRIEN,
Historiographer,
American Irish Historical Society.

MISCELLANY

I

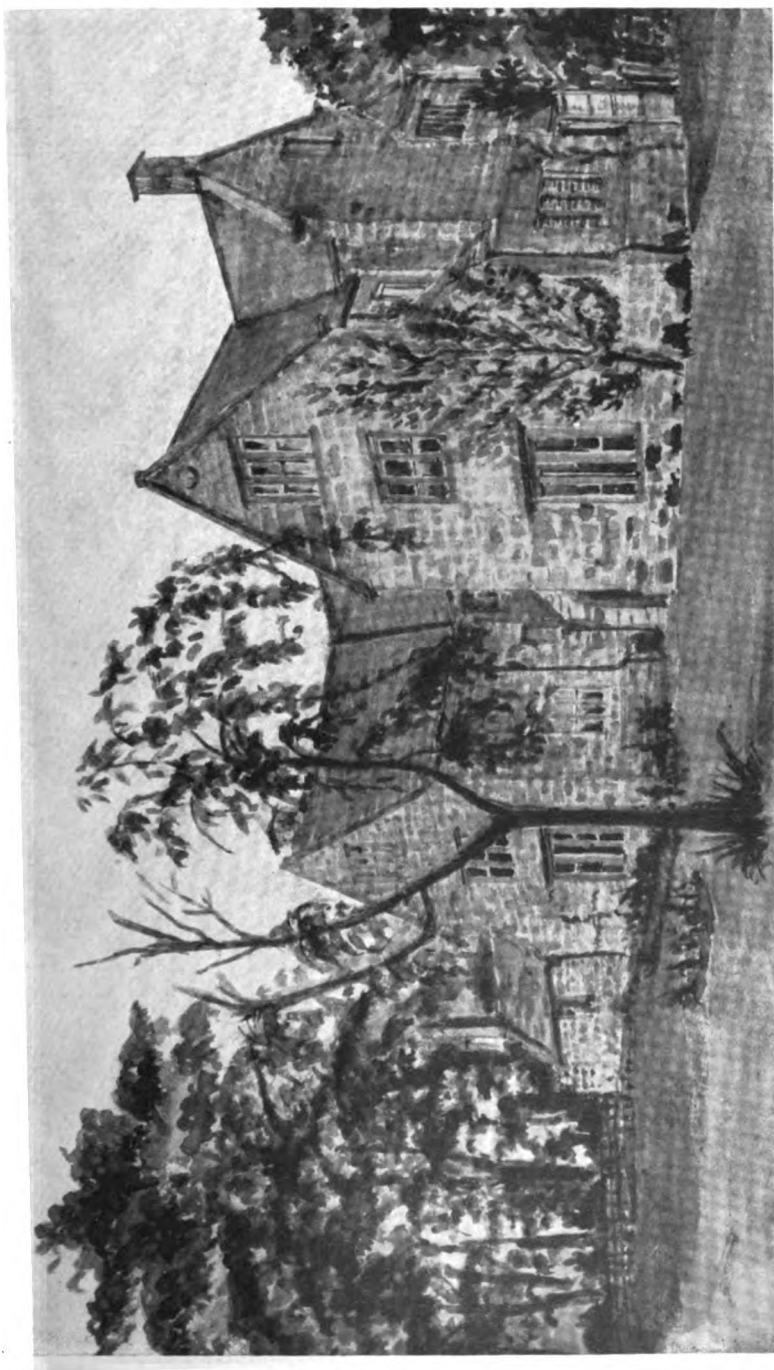
BALTIMORE HOUSE NEAR TISBURY, WILTSHIRE, ENGLAND

The home of Cecilius Calvert, second Baron Baltimore, and first Proprietary Governor of Maryland Colony, is still standing. It was presumably from its doors that Leonard and George Calvert started on the memorable expedition of 1633, by which the colony was founded. It was hence that Lord Baltimore issued those strict ordinances for the regulation of the Colony.

In 1628 Cecilius married Anne, one of the daughters of Thomas Arundell, first Baron Arundell of Wardour. With her he received the mansion house which is our present subject, together with Hook Farm which is adjacent to it, as well as other property: but the terms and title by which he held them I do not know. In later years the mansion was called "the Dower-house" of the Arundells, whose old castle of Wardour was then still standing intact, a mile or so distant, on the opposite side of the valley formed by the little river Noddre or Nadder.

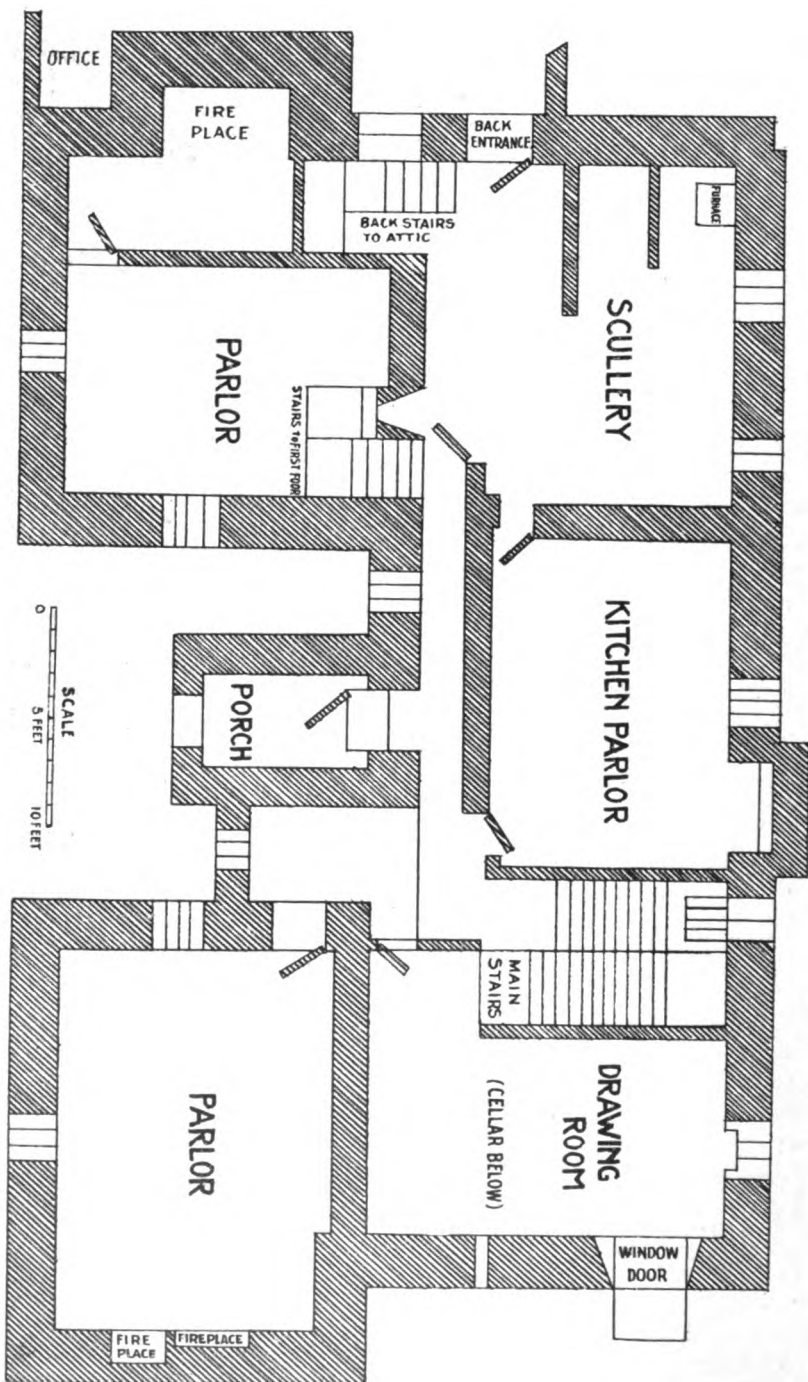
Cecilius succeeded to the barony of Wardour on the death of his father George, April 15, 1632. So the name Baltimore House must have come in after that, and probably at once. Leonard and George departed the next year, while Cecilius continued to reside here during the important negotiations of the ensuing years. But with the Civil Wars there came a change. Wardour and its neighborhood became the scene of severe fighting. In 1643 the gallant Lady Blanche defended the medieval castle bravely, in spite of its being untenable for long against mining and artillery. The Castle fell, but the Round-heads were in time ousted again by the third Lord Arundell, who was, in turn, constrained to yield to the victorious Parliamentarians. What became of Baltimore House during all this hard fighting, I do not know. Lord Baltimore is mentioned casually as having been in the Parliamentary camp, perhaps as an intermediary, then with the king. When, under Cromwell's stern rule, order of some sort was being restored, we find a whole series of proceedings regarding the mansion and estate. Documents belonging to these proceedings are extant at the Record Office in London, and an inventory of them is published in the *Calendars of the Committee for Compounding*.¹

¹ *The Calendars of the Committee for the Advance of Money*, (Cases) contain several references to Lord Baltimore, esp. p. 514. They begin in 1644. In 1649, all his property in London, Middlesex, Wilts, Hants, Dorset and York was ordered to be seized. Details of further proceedings are given in the *Calendars of the Committee for Compounding*: Section Cases, pp. 3269 to 3271. Notes are given of some 45 records. The records themselves are extant in MS. at the Record Office.



BALTIMORE HOUSE, TISBURY, ENGLAND

NORTH



SOUTH
FLOOR PLAN OF BALTIMORE HOUSE

We here find that both Lord Arundell and Lord Baltimore had had their estates forfeited for delinquency and recusancy, but both had to some extent compounded, and each had put a tenant into Hook Farm and the accompanying "Mansion." Lord Baltimore's tenant was one Weeks: Lord Arundell's was Blandford. Eventually, after six years of pleading (May 3, 1650, to May 8, 1655), Blandford was confirmed, though Lord Baltimore had urged "that he had been at great expenses, repairing the mansion house and re-stocking the farm."²

After the seizure of his property in 1649 or 1650, Lord Baltimore appears to have left the house and district. The death of his wife, Anne Arundell, who was buried at Tisbury in 1649,³ may have had a good deal to say to this, as the property presumably came with her. The Baltimores seem to have lived near London after this,⁴ and most of them are buried there. Charles, the third lord, was deprived of Maryland, on account of his Catholic faith, at the Revolution in 1689; but Benedict, the fourth lord, having turned Protestant in 1713, was at once confirmed again in the grant. The family died out in 1771.

After the Restoration (1660), we may assume that the Hook Farm property and house returned to the Arundells, and that they again used it as their "Dower-house." I do not find mention of it in any lists, such as those of the *Estates of Catholics in 1718*, but I believe that towards the end of the eighteenth century it became the residence of the estate agent of Lord Arundell, who was at that time a very large landowner. In the nineteenth century the mansion became permanently the farmhouse and even its manorial name is generally forgotten. The wife of the present holder, Mr. Field, told me that three generations of her progenitors had lived under its roof, while two generations of descendants are now residing there with her.

Before we turn to the house itself, a reference to the still remoter past may be interjected.

The house lies in the parish of Semley, which was given by King Edwy in 955 to the Abbess of Wilton. A later abbess surrendered it to Henry VIII, March 25, 1539. In Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire*, IV, ii, 24, various royal accounts of the property are quoted, and in these Hook Farm is mentioned separately for the first time in 1580. There may

² If one takes these law-deeds precisely, it would seem that there was a good deal of quarrelling between the Calverts and the Arundells. But the real significance of the legal proceedings may, after all, have been quite different.

³ The inscription on her grave is in HOARE, IV, i, p. 146.

⁴ On 14 December, 1669, the papal agent Agretti wrote from London, "I went to see the Baron of Baltimore in a country house of his near London, and we talked together with Father (Philip) Howard." Cf. T. HUGHES, S.J., *The Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, I, p. 197.

be some connection between this and the building of the present house.

And now for a brief survey of the building, the question which we have to keep before us being this—does the structure remain substantially as the Calverts left it?

The main features of the house, the simple yet graceful outline, the moderate height, the very thick walls, the mullion windows, the sloping chimneys, at once suggest an early date, Elizabethan rather than Jacobean. In the attics there is a low-pointed doorway, not much later, I fancy, than 1550, and this I take to be somewhere about the date of the original structure. The limits of that first building are clearly marked by a thickening of about four inches in the outside wall, carried up from the foundation to two feet above the ground. This stone dado skirts all round the house, running inside the porch, and the sheds now adjacent on the west, which are thereby proved to be additions. Moreover from this indication alone, one might safely infer that the house, as a whole, does substantially remain in its original state. The roof is the only modern thing that meets the eye. It is of red tiles, put on four years ago. Before that the house had been slated, but originally it had been roofed with slabs of stone. The great thickness of the walls (about two feet nine inches at their base) shows that they were built to carry a very heavy weight. There are signs of several interior alterations, the chief of which I take to have been the work of Cecilius Lord Baltimore himself. The object in view was evidently to modify the primitive simplicity of the original house. In country houses of the Tudor period, people lived, worked, and slept together in large rooms or galleries to an extent which a later generation found very inconvenient. Originally, when you entered by the front door, you were in the hall itself; or if you came in by the back door, you were at once in the kitchen. Upstairs you passed through one bedroom to the other. No porches, no passages, no ante-chambers. This has been very cleverly altered with the minimum of structural change. By cutting through a corner here and altering a door there, with the addition of a few partition-walls, one can now come in and pass up to the furthest sleeping room or attic, without trespassing on the privacy of anyone. More interesting still, from the architect's point of view, is the insertion of fire-places and chimneys in the back rooms.⁵ In primitive houses the rooms of servants, etc., were often fireless. We now find that two strong and heavy chimneys have been inserted. One

⁵ My survey was not sufficiently prolonged to ascertain why the back rooms were originally fireless. Perhaps these back rooms were at first the rear parts of what are now front rooms; in which case they might have been heated (however imperfectly) by the front-room fires.

of these, near the northeast corner, is very ingeniously constructed, from the inside. It is founded in the cellar, and runs up, following a line of windows now filled in with thin, early bricks. The second chimney, as the masonry shows, has been added from the outside. On the ground floor, the old hall fire-place has been pushed backwards into it. The mouldings of the ancient jambs are still discernible behind the modern kitchen-range, and they are identical with the mouldings on the front doorway. This proves that they are original, though now pushed out into the later chimney. To think that these alterations were the work of Lord Baltimore himself seems to me not unreasonable. The old brick used may well have been of his period, and a stronger argument might have been made out of his own claim to have made "great expenses" in his repairs. For, we cannot discern any other alterations save these, which could have called for great expenses.

The most modern alteration is the insertion of long French windows on the east side, which open into the lawn. This is probably eighteenth-century work. The porch is interesting. It has been built over the front door, and covers some of its mouldings, and also the stone dado, and it is, therefore, clearly later than the rest. It bears the only inscription on the house, but one that baffles us for the moment. On the outside is incised a heart, within which the date 1655 over the letters I. B. When we remember that it was exactly in this year, 1655, that this house was confirmed to Mr. Blandford after so many pleadings, we might feel confident that his name must be signified by the initial B. But then Blandford's Christian name was Stephen. Why, then, the I. in the inscription, and why the heart? I have no information wherewith to answer these questions,⁶ and so for the time must give up the precise interpretation of the signs. But a vaguer general significance remains. It conveys to us that in 1655, after so many years of public and private trouble, this porch was built to commemorate the entrance into loving domestic life of I. B., whoever he or they may be. The date shows that we have already passed the Baltimore period.

These few structural points, taken in connection with the historical evidence already cited, strongly confirm the tradition that this house is in truth the very mansion inhabited by Lord Baltimore at the time of the colonization of Maryland. There are indeed alterations, but they rather enhance the evidence for the tradition. They do this partly because they improve away the deficiencies usual in still earlier

⁶ The heart cannot be of heraldic significance, especially as it has date and initials within it. The Blandford family are not mentioned in *Marshal's Guide*. They were probably local farmers, not armigerous.

buildings; partly because they were presumably initiated, if not executed, by Lord Baltimore himself.

J. H. POLLEN, S.J.,
Farm Street, London, England.

II

THE BENAVIDES MEMORIALS

The American historical world gave a hearty welcome to Mrs. Ayer's translation of the *Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides* (1630), not only because it is one of the scarcest of all *Americana*, but especially because this particular volume had gone through the skilled hands of Charles Fletcher Lummis and Frederick Webb Hodge. The elaborate notes by these two scholars are really a book in themselves and are rich in information and guidance for the student. The only regret was that the edition was private and limited to three hundred copies. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hodge, a copy was sent to the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and a review of the volume appeared in the July, 1916, issue. Those interested in the subject for which the *Memorial* is an indispensable source: namely, the Church in the Southwest, will appreciate the value of a second *Memorial*, dated four years later (February 12, 1634), from the Propaganda Archives, which exists in photostatic copy among Dr. Guilday's *American Church History Manuscripts*, at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Along with the *Propaganda Memorial* are other collateral documents which treat of the same object. The relationship of the two *Memorials* is not exactly definable. Probably the *Propaganda Memorial* is a revision of the *Ayer Memorial*; but, if so, the former does not supersede the latter. It supplements in a certain measure the printed book by the addition of some valuable biographical and ethnological data. The printed *Memorial* remains an historical source of the first order, but scholars who wish to use it should know of the supplementary redaction. One of Dr. Guilday's students—the Rev. Virgil G. Michel, O.S.B.—is preparing the 1634 *Memorial* for publication. The following description will aid the reader to judge the comparative value of these manuscripts:

1. The *Ayer Memorial*.—This is a printed copy, very probably abridged and mutilated by the Spanish publisher or by someone else, of a Report on New Mexico, presented by Father Benavides, Guardian of the Franciscan missions there, to Philip IV of Spain, on the occasion of his visit to the mother country in 1630. It has not the systematic treatment of the later *Memorial*. It omits the names of the missionaries as a rule, and contains only incidental references to their work. It is more of a physical geography than a history, and was written to encourage the king to assist the missionaries to develop the country. It contains considerable information about the natural resources of the

land that is not found in the later work, but on the whole it is much briefer, less clear, and somewhat less valuable to the historian, since it not infrequently omits details that would vouch for the authenticity of its statements. There is sufficient evidence of this in the notes of the commentators to the present edition, passing adverse judgment on certain passages, the apparent weaknesses of which are cleared up in the *Propaganda Memorial*.

2. *The Propaganda Memorial* of February 12, 1634.—This was written at the request of Pope Urban VIII, and is in the hand-writing and bears the signature of Benavides himself. It was prepared for the information of the Holy Father concerning the missions, and with a view to obtaining extensive new privileges and the confirmation of old ones. It therefore lays stress on the extent and hardships of the work, and on the number of martyrs. Evidently, Benavides had the previous *Memorial* (the Ayer edition) before him when he wrote, although, strangely enough, he makes no reference to it, while he mentions his *Historia* twice. (One mention of this work was made in the first *Memorial*: there he said that with the help of God he was trying to write it at that time.) The *Propaganda Memorial* has, on the whole, a more interesting style than its prototype. It follows the history of the missions, and presents the physical features of the country as incidents to that work. It should have great historical value on account of its unimpeachable authenticity, its critical spirit, its wide scope of facts, and its freedom from the restrictions of a contemporary publisher. It pays a silent tribute to the scholarship of the learned annotators of the Ayer *Memorial*, by verifying many of their conclusions, although at times there is a wide divergence from their interpretation of the first text.

3. *Relazione delle conversione del Novo Messico* . . . April 11, 1917.—This is a summary, prepared by Benavides for the Propaganda, of his larger *Memorial* written for the Pope. It contains some details, however, that are not in the larger *Memorial*. It was poorly translated into Italian for Benavides, and signed by him. This suggests a Spanish counterpart that has not yet appeared, and points to the presence of Benavides in Rome at the time it was presented.

4. *Ristretto della Relazione* . . . dal Pre. Benavides.—This undated document seems to be a synopsis of the brief Italian *Relazione* (No. 3 above). It was made apparently as a summary introduction to the request for privileges made by Benavides. All the matter contained in the body of the *Ristretto* seems to be contained in the *Relazione*, with the exception of the last part, which is taken from the Spanish *Privilegios para las Indias*, appended to the *Ristretto* (noted below, No. 7).

5. *Ricordo Importante*.—This brief document, which is made a part of the *Ristretto*, deals with the English and Dutch colonies on the Atlantic coast and contains interesting and useful information; and, since no Spanish counterpart to it has been found, it suggests again the presence of Benavides in Rome, and his active attendance at the offices of the Propaganda during the presentation of his requests.

6. *Verificazione*.—This is a notarial appendix to the *Ristretto* for its authentication, and lists the testimonial letters presented by Benavides to the Propaganda.

7. *Privilegios para las Indias*.—This undated document, in Spanish and in the handwriting of Benavides, appears to be the complement of the *Relazione* (No. 3), and again suggests a lost counterpart to the latter. It requests the confirmation of previous privileges and the erection of the bishopric of Santa Fe. It suggests the date for the *Ristretto*, for it requests action before the end of June, when Benavides will sail for the Indies, and since the document which it supplements was presented on April 11, the *Ristretto* must have been made shortly afterwards.

8, 9, 10. These three documents, though still undiscovered, should be listed for the purpose of comparison. The first of these is the important *Historia* noted above (No. 2); the other two are the respective Spanish originals of the *Relazione* and the *Ricordo Importante*.

The order of the documents in the Propaganda Archives is as follows: (1) The *Ristretto*, with its appendices, the *Ricordo Importante* and the *Verificazione*; (2) the *Privilegios para las Indias*; (3) the *Relazione*; (4) the *Memorial* of February 12, 1634. The chronological order of the whole series should be: (1) the *Ayer Memorial*; (2) the *Historia*; (3) the *Propaganda Memorial*; (4) the Spanish original of the *Relazione*; (5) the Spanish original of the *Ricordo Importante*; (6) the *Privilegios para las Indias*; (7) the *Relazione*; (8) the *Ristretto*; (9) the *Ricordo Importante*; (10) the *Verificazione*.

JOHN F. O'HARA, C.S.C.,
Washington, D. C.

DOCUMENTS

A BISHOP FOR THE INDIANS IN 1790

Students of American Catholic history have long since grown familiar with the various projects which originated in Europe shortly after the Treaty of Paris (1783) for the purpose of controlling the rising Catholic hierarchy in the United States. During the Revolutionary War (1775-1783) all ecclesiastical relations between the Vicars Apostolic of the London District and the American Catholic priests and people ceased. Bishop Challoner had passed away on January 10, 1781, and his successor, Bishop Talbot, either through patriotism or indolence, declined to exercise any jurisdiction over the young American Church. Carroll's appointment as Prefect Apostolic in 1784 was preceded by two important historical events: first, the petition from the American clergy to the Holy Father, Pius VI, dated November 10, 1783, in which they asked the Holy Father to separate them from England, but in which they hinted that they were not yet ready for a Bishop to be placed over them; secondly, the French project, in which Benjamin Franklin allowed himself to be imprudently led, of appointing a French Vicar Apostolic over the American Church, who would reside in France and rule the clergy from afar. The Papal Nuncio in Paris was to act as Ordinary for the American Missions. Plans had even been drawn up to begin an American College at Bordeaux to furnish these missions with priests. The news of this apparent intrigue reached the priests in Maryland in the Spring of 1784, and great relief was expressed when Carroll was appointed Prefect-Apostolic, in June of that year. On November 6, 1789, the See of Baltimore was erected and Carroll appointed its first Bishop. His consecration followed on August 15, 1790. It was during this period of Carroll's Prefectship over the Church in the United States that two interesting attempts were made to establish bishoprics which would have apparently been independent of Baltimore—the one, the attempt to found the French See of Gallipolis in April-May, 1790, and the other, which is here described for the first time, the attempt to have a separate episcopal see at Oneida Castle, N. Y., for the Six Nations, in April-August, 1790. This strange project, as Shea says, "is one of the most curious episodes in our history." The object of those who engineered the scheme was no less than the foundation of a Indian Primacy over the Six Nations of New York. The Oneida tribe seems to have constituted itself the spokesman for the rest of the Nations and the documents which follow show how definite the plan had become before the appeal was made to Rome.

The Oneida Indians were a tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy, occupying the territory around and about Oneida Lake in Oneida County, N. Y. They consisted of three clans—the *Wolf*, the *Turtle*, and the *Bear*, and each clan was represented, as will be seen in the signatures to the documents published below, by three members. The Six Nations mentioned in these documents consisted of the tribes of the Oneidas, Onondagas, Mohawks, Senecas, Cayu-

gas, and the Tuscaroras.¹ The Six Nations were friendly towards the missionaries, and one of the best-known chapters in Jesuit missionary labors is that of the Iroquois Missions. In 1667, a Jesuit Mission was founded at Oneida by Father Bruyas, who erected a chapel there, dedicating it to St. Francis Xavier, in September, 1667. Missions existed among the Six Nations, with long intervals occasioned by the inter-tribal wars, down to the period covered in the documents listed below. The *Jesuit Relations* contain many important documents describing the work done among the Oneidas by the Society of Jesus. The early missionaries speak of them as being the most civilized of the Five Nations—a claim which they make for themselves in the letter to Pius VI. "They are demons when they are attacked," wrote one of the Jesuits in 1653, "but the gentlest and most affable people in the world, when they are treated as friends."²

Shea's story of the origin of this extraordinary project of erecting a See for the Six Nations is taken mostly from Hough's *Notices of Peter Penet*.³ Though Penet's name is not mentioned in any of the documents published here, it is probably true, as Hough surmises, that the project originated with him. Penet was a native of France who had come to the United States in 1775 for the purpose of supplying the Continental Army with arms and ammunition. He succeeded in making an impression on General Washington, who had him nominated aide-de-camp, but the plan of supply never materialized. In 1783 he was trading as a merchant in Philadelphia and had gained considerable control over the Oneida chiefs, whom he persuaded in believing that he was an ambassador from the King of France. Shea says that he induced the tribe to apply to the French Minister at New York, Count de Moustier, in 1787, for a priest.⁴ But from Governor Clinton's letter,⁵ dated September 12, 1789, it would appear that the priest in question, Father Perrot, was brought by Penet to the Indians. Father Perrot took up his residence at Oneida Castle, and remained until the following year. "As to what he accomplished in reviving the earlier teachings of the Catholic missionaries," says Shea, "we know nothing."⁶ His stay among the Oneidas might have been lost sight of completely, had he not been bitterly opposed by the well-known Calvinist minister, Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who speaks very severely of the Jesuit in his letters.⁷ Perrot is not mentioned in the documents published below, and there is likewise no mention of him, nor of any priest in fact, in the *Plan of Government*, drawn up by Penet,

¹ Usually these tribes are spoken of as the Five Nations. The Tuscaroras were a southern tribe, and are supposed to have joined the Five Nations about 1714. After this date the Confederacy is called the Six Nations. Cf., DRAKE, *The Book of the Indians of North America*, v, p. 2. Boston, 1834.

² *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. xl, p. 91.

³ FRANKLIN B. HOUGH, *Notices of Peter Penet and His Operations among the Oneida Indians, including a Plan prepared by him for the Government of that Tribe*. Louisville, N. Y., 1866. Cf. SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. ii, p. 373ff.

⁴ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 373.

⁵ HOUGH, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁶ SHEA, *ibid.*

⁷ Cf. LOTHROP, *Life of Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians*, p. 293. Boston, 1847. (SPARK'S *American Biography*, Vol. xiv.) TRACY, *Notices of Men and Events connected with the Early History of Oneida County*, p. 200. New York, 1882.

which appeared in the *Albany Gazette* in February, 1789.⁸ Whether there is any connection between the project of Penet and that which seems to center around the agent Jean de la Mahotière, the documents do not state; but if we are to believe the facts related in Kirkland's letters and those related about the "Lost Dauphin," the Rev. Eleazar Williams, who was a missionary among the Oneidas,⁹ it is strange to find so thoroughly a Presbyterian body as the Oneidas writing that they were entirely Catholic and had obtained the departure of the Anglican and Presbyterian ministers in April, 1789,¹⁰ and that they had made arrangements to have two priests from Canada to take charge of divine worship until the arrival of the six Capuchins who were to accompany Mahotière back to New York.

I

SUPPLICATIO ONEIDEAE NATIONIS AD PIUM VI.

April 25, 1789

(Original)¹¹

The earliest of these four documents in point of time is an appeal sent by the representatives of the three tribes—the Wolves, the Turtles, and the Bears—to the Holy Father, Pius VI, dated April 25, 1789, and probably written at Oneida Castle. The document is in Latin, and from a note at the bottom of the same, it is evident that it was interpreted to the nine chiefs who signed it by one Nicholas Jourdain, who seems to have been an official interpreter for the Six Nations. It begins with the general statement that the highest good of man here below is to possess the true faith and that no one can come to the knowledge of the faith except through the Roman Catholic Church, whose head, the Supreme Pontiff, is the Vicar of Christ on earth. Communion with the Church was the earnest desire of the Oneidas; and, although they were undeservedly regarded by Europeans as savages and uncivilized, nevertheless they possessed a culture of their own, which was far greater than was generally known; and they ardently wished to be numbered among the children of the Church. The Oneidas were the principal nation of the famous Six Nations, and in a general council of these Nations, their leaders, warriors, old men, women and children had determined to send an appeal to the Holy Father, asking him to provide them with a bishop, who would be at the same time Primate of the Six Nations. For this post the Supreme Council had chosen John Louis Victor Le Tonnelier de Coulonges, whom they had adopted as one of their own, and who was in every way worthy of this exalted dignity. The document was signed by the nine Oneida chiefs, and was then interpreted to the Six Nations by Nicholas Jourdain, an adopted Frenchman, whose Indian name was Shakerad.

⁸ The Penet *Plass* will be found in HOUGH, *op. cit.*, pp. 24ss.

⁹ Cf. BLOOMFIELD, *The Oneidas*, p. 98*ff.* New York, 1907.

¹⁰ "Il a obtenu de la nation des Oneida le renvoi des ministres anglicans et presbyteriens comme n'aisant plus parmi elle ni troupeaux, ce qui a été exécuté le mois d'avril 1789."

¹¹ *Archivio di Propaganda Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii, fol. 401-403. The four documents are left exactly as they appear in the photographic copies. No corrections of spelling or of grammar have been made.

*Pro uno oneideae
nationis Episcopo
et rex nationum
Primat*

*Supplicatio oneideae nationis
indicae ad Vestram Sanctitatem
Pium VI. Summum Ecclesiae
Pontificem. Romae.*

Sanctissime Pater

Istam [?] habere veram religionem primum est hominis bonum, sicut fides est primum bonum supernaturale: donum coeleste ad quod nemo pervenire potest nisi per aditum ad Ecclesiam Catholicam, apostolicam romanam, cujus gubernacula tenet ejus visibile Caput Summus Romanus Pontifex, Christi in terris Vicarius! Hujus vestrae sanctae Communionis gratiam ferventer appetunt, sanctissime pater, homines illi quos tam immerito europaei dixerunt agrestes ac feros; ii quippe ii in societates grandes, seu nationes, antiquitatis primas numeroque stupendas congregati, immensis americani continentis terris dominantur et imperant quae ab americanis finibus ad australia et occidentalia usque maria patent, easque hominibus liberis, familiis, villis, vicis atque pagis cum omnium inter omnes communitate summaque in parentes et seniores pietate frequentant.

Ardentissimo praesentim in fidem christianam studio flagrant, sanctissime pater, nationis illius indicae populi qui oneidai dicti, gallicè *les oneida*, proximi sunt septentrionales Americanarum ditionum fines numeranturque et sunt prima e quinque illis celeberrimis nationibus, coeterarum omnium debellatoribus, vulgo dictis *nationes quinque*; populi oneidai statuta mente se ad officia civilia rite informandi, jam ratum habuerunt unum gubernationis modum aequè numeris omnibus absolutum ac sibi plene accomodatum, illud suae vitae, civilis grande consilium inniti voluerunt ac statuerunt firmo religionis christianae fundamento, quo ad felicem exitum properante, coeterae nationes indicae mox eandem gubernationis formam in suam adoptaturae, eorum quoque bono exemplo simul ac verbi divini ministerio una pariter, uti firma proximaque spes est, convertentur ad religionem catholicam apostolicam romanam.

In quorum gratiam, pro propugnatione fidei et nostrarum salute animarum, nos supremi duces consilii, duces belli; bellatores, senes, mulieres et liberi totius oneideae nationis et nobis affinium nationum, sanctitati vestrae, supplicavimus et supplicamus providere, constituere, et confirmare Episcopum nostrae oneideae nationis et Primatem quinque nationum dilectum optimeque de nobis meritum Joannem Ludovicum Victorem Le Tonnelier de Coulonges, equitem, origine gallum, unum vero e nobis nostra nationali adoptione, virum religione, moribus, bonis consiliis et exemplis maxime commendandum, jam selectum, nominatum et assumptum a nobis ad illas sacras functiones, illumque augere rogamus in hac prospera apud nos religionis facie quibuscumque juribus, dignitate et praestantia in ordine ad conversionem nostrorum fratrum indorum, ad propagationem et conservationem fidei in nostris imperiis, et Deus totius autor salutis vestram sanctitatem vestrumque pontificatum suis optimis cumulabit donis.

Datum in pleno oneideae nationis Concilio sub signo nostrorum supremorum ducum magnoque sigillo nostrae nationis, anno reparatae salutis millesimo septingentesimo octogesimo nono, et primo ab exercita nostra suprema postestate, die vero vigesima quinta aprilis.

Tribus Lupi
Ajestalae
Scanondoe
Hannah-Sodalh

Tribus Testudinis
Shovonjelego
Anthony
Sagoyowntha

Tribus Urri
Hagoyvownloga
Konwagalet
Agwilentengwas

(Interpretatum a nobis linguarum interprete apud sex famosas nationes indicas die et anno supradictis. De mandato supremi concilii. Nicholas Jourdain, indice Shakerad.)

This *Supplicatio* was then placed in the hands of Jean de la Mahotière, first Agent-general of the Oneida Nation, who sent it to the Papal nuncio at Paris, together with the following letter addressed to Pius VI.

II

JEAN DE LA MAHOTIÈRE TO PIUS VI

Paris, May 17, 1790

(*Original*)¹²

Mahotière's letter, dated over twelve months later, gives us a more detailed explanation of this extraordinary request. The Agent-general evidently takes it for granted that there would be no hesitancy on the part of the Holy See in granting the request of the Oneidas, and he announces his readiness to take back to the Indians the reply which the Holy Father would doubtless send through the Nuncio at Paris. In Mahotière's letter we learn that the request for a bishop was founded upon the progress the faith had made among the Six Nations. A company of four Frenchmen had been formed for the purpose of organizing the future prosperity of the Indians, their conversion to the faith, and their alliance with the leading Christian powers, so that these same powers would be assured of the loyalty of their Indian subjects. The Indians still possessed a lively memory of the generosity which the French had shown towards them in the days when Canada was French territory, previous to the Treaty of 1763. In order to hold this affection and to continue the influence of the faith and of French culture among them, the Company of Four has had a chapel erected for their use, with pictures, bells, sacred vessels, ornaments and all other necessary decorations, at its own expense. To give them a love for work and a taste for agriculture, the Company has given them good example and has made them presents of horses, cattle, ploughs, and other implements of toil. Besides their own personal expenditures, M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges had expended more than two-thirds of his patrimony, 500,000 livres at least, and had practically crippled himself financially by his works of charity. Mahotière then appealed to the generosity of the Holy Father to assist in this important work, which was being furthered by the charity of the King of Spain. Mahotière had received orders also to ask the Holy Father not only to accede to the request of the Oneidas in the case of Father de Coulonges, but also to grant extraordinary faculties to the six French Capuchins who were to accompany him to America three months later.

M. Jean de la Mahotière premier agent général de la Nation des Oneida sur les ordres qu'il a reçu de solliciter auprès de Votre Sainteté les moyens de propager et de conserver la foi parmi les nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale.

¹² Arch. di Prop., Scrittura riferita, America Centrale, Vol. ii, fol. 397-401.

À NOTRE TRÈS SAINT PÈRE LE PAPE PIE VI, À ROME

Très Saint Père:

J'ai l'honneur d'adresser à Votre Sainteté par l'envoi de Monseigneur le Nonce résidant à Paris, les pièces ci-jointes, desquelles la nation des Oneida en particulier et les six fameuses Indiennes en général m'ont chargé avec ordre d'exprimer à Votre Sainteté, les progrès que fait la religion parmi ces nations, leur impatience d'obtenir du Saint Siège des pouvoirs pour leur évêque et primat, et surtout de mettre avec la plus grande force sous les yeux de Votre Sainteté les moïens qui sont plles us propres à conserver et à propager la foi dans un pais qui l'emporte sur toute l'Europe par son étendue et qui peut lui être assimilé pour le nombre des habitans, et de porter moi même à les nations les pouvoirs et la réponse dont il vous plaira, très Saint Père, me charger par l'entremise de Monseigneur Votre Nonce à Paris.

Le divin flambeau de la foi ne s'éteindra jamais sur la terre, et si en punition des méchans il cessoit d'éclairer une partie du monde, sa lumière vivifiante éclaireroit bientôt un autre hémisphere et prépareroit toujours des habitans pour le ciel: "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei . . . quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia et investigabiles viae ejus!"

Une compagnie de quatre français en opérant la civilisation des Indiens s'est proposée, très Saint Père, le bonheur de les nations et de leur posterité, de leur conversion à l'église romaine, leur alliance avec les puissances chrétiennes à l'effet d'en obtenir des secours pour la conversion des Indiens et assurer à les mêmes puissances la jouissance paisible et la conservation de leur Etats et Colonies en Amérique, cette dernière consideration est surtout de la plus grand importance pour les Florides, la Louisianne etc., et la Havanne, qui sont sous la puissance de la cour de Madrid.

Notre titre de français, par l'agréable ressouvenir qu'elles ont encore de l'honnêteté et de la générosité des Français à leur egard lorsqu'ils étaient possesseurs de la belle province du Canada avant le traité de 1763, mais pour opérer leur conversion à la foi et à la vie civile, nous avons jugés absolument nécessaire de recourir aux bienfaits, nous leur avons faits construire une église, acheter des tableaux, des cloches, des vases sacrés, des ornemens, des livres d'église et toutes ses décorations, de notre argent; pour leur inspirer l'amour du travail et le gout de l'agriculture nous leur en avons donnés nous mêmes l'exemple et nous leur avons faits présents de chevaux, de boeufs, de charrues et de tous les utensils de labour.

Tous les présens, très Saint Père, leur ont été très agréables, nous avons donnés beaucoup; mais M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges a employé à cette oeuvre pie plus des deux tiers de son patrimoine, cinq cens milles livres au moins, et cet homme vertueux, ce prélat à bonnes oeuvres est mis hors d'état de continuer ses charités pour en avoir trop suivi le sentiment religieux.

La nécessité d'employer les moïens de bienfaisance et de charité pour propager la foi dans le nouveau monde existe encore aujourd'hui, que dis-je elle est plus instante que jamais par les progrès qu'y fait la religion, vous en faire, très Saint Père, le tableau frappant, est l'ordre que j'ai reçu des nations indiennes converties, c'est l'obligation que je me suis imposée par Etat, par amour pour la religion, et par un sentiment de profonde vénération pour Votre Sainteté. C'est combler vos entrailles paternelles de joie pour la conversion d'une infinité d'ames à la foi et la conquête d'un pais immense à l'Eglise. C'est convaincre ces bonnes nations que Votre Sainteté trouvera

dans les trésors de sa charité des moïens effectifs de seconder près d'elles les opérations de la grace et la propagation de la foi. Et de continuer les secours que nous leur avons si loialement portés, ou par la voie de quêtes et d'aumones annuelles faites parmi les chrétiens, ou par celle de bénéfices dont il plairoit à Votre Saintété pourvoir ou faire pourvoir leur évêque et primat, ou par celle de bienfaits accordés par votre entremise, très Saint Père, par la Cour d'Espagne et dont la proposition ne peut qu'être favorablement accueillie, sous le nom de secours accordés par Sa Majesté très catholique aux Indiens de l'Amérique septentrionale convertis, lesquels secours arriveroient tous les ans à Newyork par le paquet Espagnol, par le paquet francais, ou de la Havanne, à l'adresse du consul d'Espagne ou de l'ambassadeur de France, pour être remis à M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges leur évêque et primat, et Dieu comblera le regne de Votre Saintété de ses prosperités et de celles de l'Eglise les plus abondantes.

J'ai aussi ordre, très Saint Père, de supplier Votre saintété d'accorder des pouvoirs de curés et de missionnaires apostoliques à six Capucins Français que je vais emmener dans trois mois chez les nations indiennes. Ce sont de tous les prêtres ceux qui y sont en plus grande vénération qui leur conviennent le mieux. Je finis, très Saint Père, en demandant votre sainte bénédiction, et vos saintes indulgences.

Jean de la Mahotière premier agent général de la nation des Oneida et chargé des pouvoirs des six fameuses nations.

Paris. 17 Mai, 1790.

Mahotière's letter, with its rather naive expectations, seems to have been treated by the Nuncio as hardly worthy of immediate attention. One would suspect, however, from the Nuncio's dispatch to the Prefect of Propaganda—the third document of the series in our possession—that the question of an Oneida Bishop and Primate had assumed greater importance in Parisian ecclesiastical circles during the summer of 1790. In August of that year, the Nuncio wrote to the Cardinal-Prefect, enclosing Mahotière's letter and the *Supplicatio* of the Indians. From the Nuncio's letter we learn that Father de Coulonges, a priest of the Diocese of Bordeaux, was then among the Oneidas. The Nuncio tells the Cardinal that he is endeavoring to ascertain fuller details of the whole project, and especially about the priest in question. The whole matter had been discussed in the public press that same week, and in consequence he requested Mahotière to give him further explanations of the scheme. These details he will forward to Rome as soon as he receives Mahotière's letter. He had had two interviews with Mahotière, the Agent-general, but he has not been able to form an exact idea about the matter. The Agent strikes him as being very sincere in his plans, but the Nuncio is not quite certain that the plan will be successful.

III

THE NUNCIO TO THE CARDINAL-PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.

Paris, August 2, 1790

(Original)¹³

Emin. Revmo. Signore Sig. Padrone Colendmo:

Mr. Jean de la Moutiere, che si dice agente d'un popolo selvaggio esistente

¹³ *Arch. di Prop., ibid., fol. 399-400.*

nell'America settentrionale, e detto degli Oneidi venne tempo fa da me, e mi presento i fogli, che compiegati trasmetto a Vostra Eminenza. L'oggetto della sua domanda è di stabilire nel suddetto popolo una missione composta d'un tal Mr. le Tonnelier de Colonges, prete francese, che si trova di già in quelle parti, e di sei Cappuccini, che mi suppose aver trovati in Parigi disposti a transferirsi colà. A questa sua io richiesi alcuni schiarimenti, di cui sono tuttavia in aspettativa. In primo luogo gli domandai se intendeva che questa missione dovesse essere a carico di Propaganda, o se gli Oneidi si caricavano del mantenimento di essa, e in tal caso, qual sicurezza ne avrebbero data. Gli chiesi inoltre il nome de' Cappuccini, che mi disse disposti a partire per quella volta, e finalmente lo avvertii esser necessario qualche attestato sulla persona di Mr. Tonnelier prete della diocesi di Bordeaux, che, secondo il suo piano, si vorrebbe creato vescovo. Voleva differire di scrivere su di ciò a Vostra Eminenza finchè avessi avuti gli accennati schiarimenti, che mi sembrano necessarj. Ma come ne fogli pubblici di questa settimana si è parlato della mentovata popolazione, e della costituzione che la medesima vuol darsi, e dei rapporti che brama di procurarsi colla Santa Sede, così senza aspettare ulteriormente, mi do l'onore d'inviarle le carte, che esistevano presso di me, perchè Vostra Eminenza sappia di che si tratta. Non mancherò di trasmetterle in seguito il foglio dei schiarimenti da me richiesti a Mr. Moutiere subito che egli me lo avrà recato. Nelle due conversazioni che ho avute con questo signore, non ho potuto formarmi un'idea precisa della sua persona. Mi è sembrato però pieno di buone intenzioni, ma non garantisco, che abbia in suo potere i mezzi, come condurre a termine quest'affare. E rassegnandole il mio profondissimo ossequio sono.

Dell'Eminenza Vostra humil. devotmo. obligmo. servitore.

Parigi 2 agosto 1790

A. Arcivescovo di Rodi.

It is not impossible that the document which follows is the one containing these further details asked for by the Nuncio. The document repeats the main lines of the *Supplicatio*, but contains certain further geographical details.

IV

THE ONEIDAS TO THE HOLY FATHER ONEIDA CASTLE?—1790?

(Original)¹⁴

Suite des details interessans sûr les nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale et sûr les six nations en particulier dont la première est celle des oneida

*A Notre très Saint Père le Pape Pie VI, Chef de l'Eglise.
à Rome*

Très Saint Père

Les Nations indiennes de l'Amérique septentrionale à qui cette partie de la terre est echue en partage par les decrets de la divine providence, sont très nombreuses et leur population beaucoup plus grande à mesure qu'elles sont plus enfoncées dans les terres et qu'elles ont moins de communication avec les européens. Ces indiens naturels du pais sont, très Saint Père,

¹⁴ Arch. di Prop., *ibid.*, fol. 394-96.

propriétaires et maîtres de cette immense partie du continent qui s'étend depuis les lignes des Etats Unis d'Amérique et celles du Canada jusqu'aux mers de l'ouest, du nord et du sudouest dont la seule partie connue a une étendue de soixante neuf mille vingt deux lieues carrées d'Angleterre et est par conséquent plus grande que l'Allemagne, la Flandre, la Hollande et la Suisse qui en total n'en contiennent que soixante neuf mille seize. Je dis la partie connue, parcequ'on n'a pu encore y découvrir aucune rivière, aucun fleuve qui eut son cours vers quelques points de l'ouest, ce qui prouve les états indiens dans cette partie ont encore une très grande étendue au-delà des terres qui nous sont connues; de là suit naturellement, très Saint Père, une réflexion que vous pardonnerez à la force de notre zèle, qu'il importe infiniment à votre sainteté et au bien de l'église que la foi soit prêchée à les nations qui sont bonnes parcequ'elles sont près de la nature et qu'elles se convertissent de proche en proche à la religion de Jesus Christ.

Les indiens, très Saint Père, ont divisé les terres en autant d'états différens qu'ils sont de nations, il les ont peuplés de familles et d'hommes libres, y ont élevés des hameaux, des villes et villages, et parmi eux la communauté de biens, les devoirs de la fraternité, le respect, l'obéissance aux parens et aux personnes plus âgées sont des lois également consacrées par l'usage et par les moeurs.

Chaque nation possède ses états en tous droits de souveraineté et les états indiens sont absolument différens et tout à fait étrangers à ceux de l'Amérique, connus sous le nom d'Etats Unis à ceux du Canada; nations souveraines, hommes libres, les indiens ne dependent en aucune manière ni du Congress ni du Roi d'Angleterre ni d'aucunes puissances avec qui ils traitent de souverain à souverain, toujours fideles à leurs traités, chacune des nations indiennes exerce ses guerriers, lève ses armées, fait la paix et la guerre, et combien il est affligeant, très Saint Père, de voir les Europeens, parce-qu'ils sont en proportion plus nombreux que les indiens situés de l'autre côté des lignes Américaines, exterminer les chefs, massacrer les familles indiennes, et envahir leur terres. Le gouvernement civil et religieux que nous leur avons donné à pour objet, très Saint Père, un traité d'alliance, une confédération intime entre toutes les nations indiennes situées derrière les Etats Unis, depuis la nation des Oneida, qui possède la moitié du fleuve Saint-Laurent et du lac Ontario jusqu'à celle des Creeks qui occupent les derrières de la Georgie et des Florides qui appartiennent à la Cour d'Espagne, de proposer à cette Cour l'adhésion à le traité qui ne peut lui être que très agréable, puisqu'elle aura pour objet la conservation des états et des familles indiennes qui dans la lisière seule des Américains peuvent former un corps d'armée de cent mille hommes, qu'elle portera plus particulièrement encore sur la défense et la conservation des Etats Espagnols, les Florides, la Louisiane etc., dans le continent de l'Amérique et des îles y adjacentes qui sont menacées par les Américains et qu'elles ne sera de la part de la Cour d'Espagne qu'une extension de la protection ouverte et du traité qu'elle a déjà fait avec les deux nations indiennes dites les Creeks et les Chiroquois qui occupent les derrières des Florides, de la Georgie et des Carolines.

Les nations des Mohawks établis sur la rivière de ce nom, celle des Oneida souverains des terres à droite et à gauche du lac auquel ils ont donné leur nom, celle des Cayonga, des Caskanouray, des Onondaguay et des Senecas sont dites par excellence les Six Nations ou les Six Fameuses Nations, par-

cequ'elles ont vaincu pour la cause des Français leur alliés et amis toutes les nations indiennes connues. Elles sont situées entre le 300 et le 305 degré de longitude et le 42 et 46 degré de latitude du meridian de Paris et selon la manière de compter indienne, elles comprennent vingt quatre à vingt six mille familles.

La nation des Oneida située dans les environs du lac de ce nom, a, très Saint Père, sa ville principale au sudest dudit lac; elle est defendue par son heureuse situation et par un bon fort, et est marquée sur les cartes anglaises sous le nom d'*Oneida Castle*. C'est cette nation qui a reçu la première le germe de la civilisation par le gouvernement civil et religieux que nous lui avons donné, son exemple a été suivi il y a un an par les cinq autres fameuses nations indiennes avec les secours spirituels et ceux temporels puissés dans les tresors de charité qu'il plaira à Votre Saintété de leur procurer.

Nous leur avons fait edifier une église dans la ville d'Oneida, nous l'avons pourvue de vases sacrés, de cloches, de livres, et de toutes choses nécessaires au service divin; nous en avons fait une nation agricole en leur donnant avec des boeufs, des chevaux, des charrues et tous les ustensiles d'agriculture, l'exemple de cultiver nous-mêmes les terres, le bled, le mahia, les patates, le millet, le ris, le chanvre, le lin, etc.; et M. le Tonnelier de Coulonges, homme plein de mérite et de bonnes oeuvres, que la nation des Oneida et les chefs des Six Nations ont nommés Evêque des Oneida et Primat des Six Nations et présentés à Votre Saintété en cette qualité, a dépensé au moins les deux tiers de sa fortune dans les oeuvres de religion et de bienfaisance. Il a obtenu de la nation des Oneida le renvoi des ministres, anglicans et presbyteriens comme n'aisant plus parmi elle ni troupeaux, ce qui a été executé le mois d'avril 1789, et à appelé auprès de lui deux pretres du Canada pour l'aider dans le gouvernement spirituel de cette nation, jusqu'à l'arrivée des six capucins, que nous lui conduirons dand trois mois, aussitôt qu'il aura plu à votre saintété faire une response favorable à la nation nouvellement convertie et autres qui vont suivre son exemple.

Les pères capuchins français sont, très Saint Père, les prêtres qui conviennent le mieux aux indiens; ils les connaissent déjà et les aiment extremement; ils leur ont donné le nom de *Longues robes*, et il seroit difficile de faire plus de plaisir à une communauté indienne que de lui procurer une longue robe; il est à souhaiter que Votre Saintété veuille revêtir des caractères de curés et de missionaires apostoliques les six capucins qui vont passer avec nous dans les etats indiens, et tous les autres qui ne tarderont pas à les suivre dans les travaux d'une aussi riche moisson.

Le Roi d'Espagne est déjà fondateur d'une église superbe, élevée depuis six ans à Newyork; il est bien digne de la religion de la monarque de être aussi de quelque église à edifier chez les nations indiennes et de se declarer le bienfaiteur de ces peuples qui peuvent rendre de très grands services à la cour d'Espagne et qui ne marqueront pas de le faire à l'occasion. La voie du Consul d'Espagne à New York est la plus courte et la plus sûre. Que Dieu inspirera à votre saintété les moiens les plus propres à effectuer et à obtenir la conversion de les nouveaux peuples par les bienfaits des fideles.

Tribe du loup

Ajestalate

Scanondoe

Hannah-Sodalh

Tribe de la Tortus

Shovonjhelego

Anthony

Sagoyowntha

Tribe de l'ours

Hagoyvownloga

Konwagalet

Agwilentengwas

These four documents are the only ones known to any archivist or researcher in the Propaganda Archives; but there may be other documents, subsequent to the *Supplicatio*, in other Roman collections. The spiritual welfare of the Indians was never lost sight of by the authorities of Propaganda, and no doubt a thorough search among the ecclesiastical archives of Bordeaux, Paris, and Quebec would reveal other interesting papers on this subject. That the Indians never received a special bishop for themselves is certain, and probably the surest attitude of the historian in the presence of this extraordinary project of the Oneidas is to see rather a French political move than any real desire to segregate the Indians under a bishop for themselves alone.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Retrospect of Fifty Years. By James Cardinal Gibbons. Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1916. Vols. i and ii. Pp. xv + 335; pp. vii + 287.

These two fine volumes, bound in cardinal red, are from the pen of the foremost Churchman of the United States. They contain the history of some of the more noteworthy events in which His Eminence of Baltimore has taken a prominent part. This *Retrospect of Fifty Years* has all the charm of an autobiography and all the authority of a well-written and well-documented history. It gives us an intimate insight into the mind of this great prelate and citizen. In the Introduction, Cardinal Gibbons tells us that he has put together this selection of essays and sermons with the thought that they might be valuable for the history of the four score years it has pleased God to spare him to the American nation. "I have lived a long time," he says, "and I have lived through a very critical time. Not only have I held office many years, but I have held office during a time of transition, when the old order was changed." At the present time, there are few survivors in the episcopate who can remember the strenuous times depicted in the first eight chapters of these volumes which contain the Cardinal's personal reminiscences of the Vatican Council. "I am the last living Father of the Vatican Council. Now, alone upon this earth, I can report what happened within those sacred walls—not by hearsay, nor from books, but from what I actually saw and heard."

His Eminence was born in July, 1834, in Baltimore. His preliminary education was obtained in Ireland and later he entered St. Charles' College, then at Ellicott City. He made his philosophical and theological studies at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and was ordained June 30, 1861. For the next few years he labored on the missions in Maryland. On August 18, 1868, he was consecrated Bishop of Adramyttum and Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina. He was transferred to Richmond, July 30, 1872, and was appointed coadjutor of Baltimore, 1877.

He became Archbishop of Baltimore and Primate of the Church in the United States, October 3, 1877, and was created Cardinal Priest, June 7, 1886. It was while he was Vicar-Apostolic of North Carolina that His Eminence attended the opening of the Vatican Council in Rome, December 8, 1869. At that time the Catholic Bishops of Christendom, resident and titular, numbered about 1,200. Every continent, every island of importance, every nation on the face of the globe, except Russia, was represented by its hierarchy. It must have been a most striking and gratifying sight to this young bishop from the United States, and in the reminiscences which he has given us with his usual and clear style, we can see how wonderfully skilled the officials of Rome were in handling this great crowd of ecclesiastics. While they were gathered at Rome, war had broken out between France and Prussia, and while they were preparing their decrees for the peaceful organization of the Church's future life, the troops were massing on the frontiers of France, and the land of the eldest daughter of the Church was being reddened with the blood of two of the most powerful nations of the time. In his *Diary*, which occupies six chapters of the first volume, the Cardinal takes us step by step through all the work of the Vatican Council and gives us a close view of the discussions which took place on the all important question of Papal Infallibility.

One interesting passage in these chapters is that describing the difference of opinion among the prelates:

"The difference of opinion that existed among the bishops on the subject of the infallibility is known throughout the four quarters of the globe. What was the cause of it? If anyone imagines that all those who joined in opposing a definition from the outset were actuated by the same motives, he would certainly be wide of the mark. While the main point of the controversy was held by the ultramontanes without exception, and there was but the one question as to the formula to be used, the opposition, as they were generally called, taken all together, had no fixed principle of accord, save an agreement to disagree with the defining the doctrine as of faith. To analyze the constituent parts of this body we shall class them according to ideas.

"The first class comprise those who, believing the doctrine themselves, or at least, favoring it speculatively, did not think

it capable of definition, not deeming the tradition of the church clear enough on this point.

"A second class, the most numerous, regarded the definition as possible, but practically fraught with peril to the church, as impeding conversions, as exasperating to governments. For the sake of peace, and for the good of souls, they would not see it proclaimed as of faith.

"All of these dissident prelates, we are bound to say, acted with conscientious conviction of the justice of the cause they defended. They were bound in conscience to declare their opinions, and to make them prevail by all lawful influence. If on one side or the other of this most important and vital question, they went beyond the limits of moderation, or used means not dictated by prudence or charity, it is nothing more than might have been expected in so large a number of persons, of such varied character and education. Instead of being shocked at the little occurrences of this nature, we should rather be struck with admiration at the self-restraint and affability which were shown, despite the intensity of feeling and strength of conviction. In a word, that the Council of the Vatican did not break up many months ago in disorder and irreconcilable enmity, is because it was God's work, and not man's; it was because charity ruled in it, in spite of defects, and not the passions that govern the political debates of men. The earnest desire all had of a mutual good understanding was evinced on occasion of the speech of a well-known cardinal which, though not approved by all, gave evidence of a sincere desire for conciliation and agreement. The effect was remarkable; a thrill of pleasure went through the assembly, for the moment each one seemed to breathe freely, and to hail his words as harbingers of peace in the midst of excitement and anxiety."

There are passages in all these chapters which are alive with that strong virile delineation and with that extraordinary ability His Eminence has already shown in clarifying the most difficult and most intricate problems in doctrinal and historical matters. Apart from this very valuable contribution to Church History—and there is no doubt that all future historians of the Church will use these chapters as sources for their description of the Vatican Council—the Cardinal has reprinted what he considers

to be the more weighty of his papers and sermons during these past fifty years. These may be divided into sermons for Church celebrations, such as consecrations of cathedrals, dedications of churches, centenary celebrations, golden jubilees, funeral orations, and other special essays which might find a fit place in a volume on Church and State in the United States. Many will be glad to have here within reach the text of His Eminence's Letter to Cardinal Simeoni on the Knights of Labor. It is not necessary to enter into the difficulty which arose in Canada over the proposed condemnation of the Knights of Labor, but what is of value for American history is the staunch protection which His Eminence gave to the Society at a time when it looked as though it would be condemned by Rome. There is no doubt a close connection between this important letter and the famous encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Together with this letter are two other essays: *The Church and the Republic*, and *The Church's Work for the Republic*. Seldom have any two state papers ever reached the same height of patriotism as is contained in these essays. The first of them is an answer for all times to the difficulty which some still see between civil and ecclesiastical allegiance. Probably the most quoted passage of the Cardinal's writings is that passage which begins:

"American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and State; and I can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which should make a union desirable either to Church or State. We know the blessings of our present arrangement; it gives us liberty and binds together priests and people in a union better than that of Church and State. Other countries, other manners; we do not believe our system adapted to all conditions; we leave it to Church and State in other lands to solve their problems for their own best interests. For ourselves, we thank God we live in America, 'in this happy country of ours,' to quote Mr. Roosevelt, where 'religion and liberty are natural allies.' "

Among the many chapters of these volumes to which special attention might be drawn is that on the *Silver Jubilee of the Catholic University* which was delivered at St. Patrick's Church, Washington, April 15, 1916. The Catholic University was instituted in 1887, and Cardinal Gibbons, as Archbishop of

Baltimore, became its first Chancellor. The University has been, as he has always considered it, his most sacred trust; and during its life of a quarter century he has been its principal guide and its faithful support. In the growth of the University, he says, "Twenty-five years is but as a day; in the life of the individual, it counts for much more. I regard it as a special favor granted me by Almighty God that I have been permitted to devote so much of my time to this sacred cause. From the beginning, the University has been for me an object of deepest personal concern. Through its growth and through its struggles, through all the vicissitudes which it has experienced, it has been very near to my heart. It has cost me, in anxiety and tension of spirit, far more than any other of the duties or cares which have fallen to my lot. But for this very reason, I feel a greater satisfaction in its progress. I feel amply compensated for whatever I have been able to do in bearing its burdens and in helping it through trial to prosperity and success."

It is but fitting that the last chapter of this *Retrospect* should carry the mind of the reader to the joys and the happiness that await the faithful servants of God in the world to come.

Some one has well said that no one has been so scrupulously careful in his speeches and writings as His Eminence of Baltimore, and in all things he has written and said during the past fifty years, there is undeniably a wisdom and a foresight, a sympathy and an intelligence, scarcely paralleled in the whole history of the Church. The volumes are dedicated to the Rector and Faculties of the Cathloic University of America. We predict a large sale for these two volumes, which should be in every library, public and private, in the land.

The Sulpicians in the United States. By Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Latin in the College of the City of New York, Editor-in-chief of the Catholic Encyclopedia, President of the United States Catholic Historical Society. New York, The Encyclopedia Press: 1916. Pp. 368.

Historical quest among the books in the library of Dunwoodie Seminary brought to Dr. Herbermann an acquaintance with Sulpicians which ripened into intimacy and fructified in this

tribute of respect and love, "The Sulpicians in the United States." There are evidences from first to last that it is not alone the historian's fascination for the *res gestae* of heroic but obscure pioneers in a great service rendered the cause of Catholicity, not alone the enthusiasm of a coreligionist proud of the achievement of his Church in this glorious country which has inspired the compilation of this book, but loving sympathy and high regard and profound admiration for the humble company that has labored this past century and a quarter to mould the priesthood and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States.

To glean the activities of the Sulpicians from the meager records which are left of men whose practical motto was "to love to be unknown and to be esteemed as naught," to trace the ramifications of their influence in school and public life, in college and seminary and convent, in Maryland and Maine and New York, in the South and in the Middle West and on the Pacific coast, to throw a glamor round the prosaic routine of the classroom, to transform the toils of self-sacrificing missionaries into achievements of historic grandeur, to give light and color to the crude beginnings and slow growth of the enterprises of men whose life was hid with Christ in God—this might well have palsied the energies of even a young enthusiast, might have intimidated the staunchest of well-reputed historians ambitious not to see his glory dimmed. It is a proof that to Dr. Herbermann this was a labor of love that he undertook this gigantic work when weighted with the burden of years and threatened with the blindness that eventually came upon him and obliged him to dictate what, despite these drawbacks, constitutes a book that does but enhance his established reputation in the domain of history.

We read here the story of the Sulpicians, their ideals and efforts and achievements, from their inception by French refugees through precarious struggles to the solid establishment of their work in the hands of native-born and native-trained priests, inspired now by the lofty examples of sacerdotal piety and whole-hearted sacrifice which their predecessors have bequeathed to them.

The Sulpicians are secular priests bound by no vow other than their priesthood entails, living in community, and devoted

solely to the education of future priests. Their origin dates from the efforts of J. J. Olier, pastor in 1642 of the parish of St. Sulpice in Paris, to remedy the evils that had sprung from the inadequate training of the clergy. He gathered round him priests who felt the needs he was endeavoring to supply. The results of their labors and their example drew others to their company, and in 1791, when the society was dispersed by the French Revolution, they had charge of sixteen theological seminaries and ten other houses for clerical education in France. Coincident with this onslaught against religion was the establishment of the see of Baltimore; and Bishop Carroll eagerly sought Sulpician aid to recruit the priesthood of his vast diocese. Four priests and five seminarians reached Baltimore, July 10, 1791, and purchased a house on the grounds where the seminary is still located. But recruits did not appear, and for years the work languished for want of material; and the professors turned missionaries. This diversion of activities foreign to the purpose of the organization threatened a recall of the Sulpicians to resume in France, now restored from the terrors of the Revolution, their seminary labors; but Pope Pius VII, when consulted, bade them stay in America.

Of the early days, the historian has reported by character sketches of the men who unstintedly labored in the apparently unpromising field; he has outlined the manner of their life and their rigid adherence to the aims of their institute and their efforts to see them realized; he has recounted in brief the zealous labors of their first few students, Badin in Kentucky, Gallitzin in Pennsylvania, Floyd in Baltimore, Matthews in Washington, Richard in Michigan.

To recruit St. Mary's Seminary, the Sulpicians made efforts in many directions to open preparatory schools. In most instances they were unsupported by the communities where they located, and they were, therefore, obliged to relinquish their projects. Sulpicians for a time taught in Georgetown College; they began and for twenty years maintained Mt. St. Mary's at Emmitsburg; they had civil authority for the secular St. Mary's College, Baltimore, that for thirty years was Maryland's proudest boast in educational activities. The success of this institution and the universal regret expressed at its closing—

Loyola College was created to carry on its work—witnesses to the efficiency of Sulpician training even in a field apart from their special vocation; and in reading the story of its history we see pictured before us student-life in the early and middle nineteenth century.

The severance of the Sulpicians from Mt. St. Mary's was due to the same cause which closed St. Mary's College. Sulpician work is the training of the clergy: whatever is apart from this, secular education, missionary labors, direction of souls in religious or secular life, though laudable in itself, has always been regarded by Sulpicians as not their work. Necessity forced them to foreign fields, but once there set in a continuous flow of students for the priesthood, St. Mary's Seminary claimed their undivided attention, and the laborers were loyal to their ideal.

It was necessity, too, which brought the Sulpicians, contrary to the spirit and precedents of their institute, into the hierarchy. Trainers and exemplars of the clergy, they were sought by the former pupils when a chief pastor had to be appointed. Summoned from their cherished labors, it was with the utmost reluctance that they severally exchanged their Sulpician life for the dignity of the episcopate. But once the new field was entered, "they remained the same zealous, modest lovers of learning; they were animated by the same earnestness in the cause of clerical education and, in truth, of all education; they were the same indefatigable laborers; they led the same democratic life of simplicity which distinguished them as seminary professors." Bishop Flaget, for forty years, ruled a diocese nominally Kentucky, embracing, however, Tennessee, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan and Canada as far as Quebec. Bishop David, taken from the Baltimore seminary to assist Bishop Flaget with his seminary, was from 1817 to 1841 his able coadjutor who, by his professorial, executive and literary labors, had a large share in the development of Catholic interests in Kentucky. Bishop Dubourg was marked by success as a professor, missionary, founder and president of St. Mary's College, when nominated Administrator of the diocese of New Orleans, which included regions even as far north as St. Louis. For twelve years he labored unflaggingly in this extensive section of the country. In 1826 he resigned and was transferred to the

see of Montaubon in France, and seven years later was raised to the archbishopric of Besançon. Archbishop Marechal, after five years of professorial duties at St. Mary's Seminary, was raised to the see of Baltimore as its third Archbishop; and he it was who was most instrumental in effecting the appointment of Americans for American sees, and the formulation of a policy to counteract the baneful influences of Lay-trusteeism. Bishop Dubois, after founding and ruling Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, for over twenty years was consecrated third bishop of New York. Bishop Bruté had for years been the zealous collaborator of Bishop Dubois at Emmitsburg when he was nominated to the see of Vincennes. Archbishop Eccleston, of Maryland extraction, was President of St. Mary's College when made the first Archbishop of Baltimore at the age of thirty-four. Five Councils of Baltimore were held during his seventeen years of administration in the metropolitan see. Bishop Chanche, thrice refused the miter, but in 1840 yielded to pressure and became first bishop of Natchez. Bishop Chabrat left the Baltimore seminary with Bishop Flaget, labored with him and became his second coadjutor. Bishop Verot, the last of the bishops whom St. Sulpice gave to the American Church, did efficient work as scientist and professor in St. Mary's before he went to Florida as Vicar Apostolic and later to Savannah as its third bishop, then in 1870 to the newly erected see of St. Augustine.

The sketches that tell the history of the labors of these Sulpicians is scanty indeed, stating only the broad facts and the more noteworthy achievements of these missionary bishops; but they mark the indefatigable zeal and self-sacrificing spirit which prompted diocesan visitations and erection of churches and inception of colleges and seminaries and convents, and the introduction of religious communities into the fields of their labors.

During the stress of these early days in the efforts made to establish Catholicity in this country, the Sulpicians had a further part in the institution of the religious orders of Mother Seton's Sisters of Charity and the Oblate Sisters of Providence. Bishop David organized the Sisters of Loretto.

In 1830, Charles Carroll of Carrollton donated a tract of land and gave a sum of money to the Sulpicians to aid in the

foundation of a *petit seminaire*. Building was begun at once and legislative authority granted, but insurmountable obstacles thwarted the opening till 1848. For sixty-three years the institution grew in numbers and equipment, till in 1911 fire totally destroyed the plant. Accommodations were immediately made at Catonsville, where now portions of a thoroughly modern group of buildings and what when completed will be the finest chapel in the country—the gift of two friends—have been erected. Over 4,300 students have attended this exclusively clerical college, of which number more than a third have entered the priesthood, and the priest-alumni today count up to eight hundred and ninety three.

The account of St. Mary's Seminary is brought down only to 1902. It runs through seven chapters, embodying the salient features of the regime under its successive superiors. We learn here the spirit of the seminary maintained high and inviolate through the one hundred and twenty-five years of its course; we are made acquainted in outline with the successes and the difficulties encountered in recruiting students, maintaining professorial staff, and meeting the growing needs of the country for a learned and pious clergy. Here, too, we are carried through the development of the curriculum from simple beginnings of only philosophy and theology and scripture, through successive growths demanded by the thought and academic activities of the broadening times, to the crowded horarium of the present-day seminarian. From this institution have gone forth 2,053 priests, 32 bishops, 8 archbishops, and His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore. And next year will see the over-crowded seminary carrying on its last term of training close to the Catholic University at Washington.

The various works of the Sulpicians and the length of time they have been laboring have given to the structure of the book a cast that has brought about over-lapping, there is a meagerness of detail about the severance of the Sulpicians from the control of Mt. St. Mary's and the steps by which Loyola College came in to replace St. Mary's College; but these imperfections fade before the substantial worth which the volume does not only to the Sulpicians and to their devoted historian but to the Catholic Church of the land.

The Life of Father De Smet, S.J. By E. Laveille, S.J. Authorized Translation by Marian Lindsay. Introduction by Charles Coppens, S.J. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. Pp. xxii+400. Illustrated.

Across the pages of this very interesting book flit Indians, trappers, traders, soldiers, selfish and unscrupulous agents, side by side with heroic and self-sacrificing Jesuit missionaries. The central figure is Father De Smet.

Born in 1801 in the town of Termonde, Belgium, Pierre Jean De Smet soon gave promise of the qualities which so well fitted him for the rôle he was destined by Providence to fill later on. In his school days he was conspicuous for his great physical strength and love of rough games, but rather inconspicuous though solid in his studies. Kind-hearted to a fault, and ever inclined to take the side of the weak against the strong, he was very popular among his fellow students. He early showed that love of justice which, in after years in a far country, endeared him to savage tribes, and impelled him to plead their cause before governments and people.

In his youth, carried away by the glamour of the achievements of Napoleon's Grand Army, he seemed to be inclined to a military career. His real vocation was finally determined when he met Father Nerinckx, a missionary from Kentucky. The latter was returning to America with a band of novices for the Society of Jesus, and among these Father De Smet enrolled himself, leaving home without saying good-bye to his family. He entered the Jesuit novitiate at Whitemarsh, Md., going later to Florissant, Mo., where he was ordained priest in 1827.

The book gives us a vivid picture of the Middle West and the great Northwest in pioneer days. It shows us the work of Father De Smet among the various Indian tribes, over all of which he possessed an almost miraculous influence. We see the American aborigine at his best when cut off from the Whites and living in the Jesuit reductions. We behold the splendid promise of these reductions, which bid fair to rival those of Paraguay, ruined by the insatiable greed of white settlers who drove the red men further and further into the barren wilds, and the debasing influence of traders and others who destroyed the Indians' manhood.

Interesting side-lights are thrown on the Jesuit foundations in North America and on the great work done by the Order in those early days. The noble character of Father De Smet is laid bare with its forgetfulness of self and its unbounded confidence in God. Through every page looms the impressive figure of this extraordinary man, who was at the same time explorer, geographer, linguist, and author, and last, though not least, successful mediator between the United States Government and the Indian tribes. An alphabetical index adds to the value of this excellent life-story of a truly remarkable man.

The Conquest of Virginia the Forest Primeval. By Conway Whittle Sams, B.L. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916. Pp. 432. Maps and illustrations.

Every reader of American history, even the school-boy, has sketched for himself an outline of Indian environment. In imagination one sees him in his wigwam communing with the genius of solitude or, in a fit of activity, going forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase or the rapture of the fight. We behold his patient squaw bearing his burdens or toiling in his fields. Our early reading has made us familiar with his stoicism and his cruelty. In a word, by a succession of touches we have constructed for ourselves a picture of the daily life of the aboriginal race of America. An examination of *The Conquest of Virginia* is likely to make some alterations in our cherished picture of Indian civilization.

This volume, the first of a series projected by its author, is called *The Conquest of Virginia* because in his opinion it was a conquest "as truly as that of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, Mexico by Cortez, or Peru by Pizarro." Mr. Sams might have added that it was more complete than any of them, for in Virginia there are few survivors of the native tribes.

The introduction briefly notices the European wars concerning religion. In this section the author, who believes that the grand object of Philip II was to extirpate heretics, does not appear to have examined the recent discussions of the era of the Armada. In America as well as in England, future historians will conclude that the piratical acts of Drake and others sufficiently justified the attempt of Philip to make England a dependency of Spain.

The character of the Indians is established by numerous citations from those observers who studied them before they had been influenced by contact or by conflict with the whites. An interesting chapter describes the food, the clothing, and the social organization of the natives. There is also included a careful account of their hunting, fishing, and agriculture as well as of their skill in the making of weapons, pottery, and canoes.

What will be new to many a reader is the description of the houses of a people who, he had always believed, dwelt in tents and wigwams. Some will doubtless be surprised to learn of the existence upon the arrival of the English in Virginia of considerable Indian towns. Most of the illustrations had shown them a few feathered heads in the forest.

There is an excellent discussion of the political and the military systems of the aborigines, and of the medicine-man, who reminds one of the Druids of old. So far as it is understood the mysterious and terrible rite of *hus-ka-naw-ing* is explained.

The burial mounds are fully treated; also the method of embalming and burying the kings. Considerable space is devoted to the religion of the Indians as well as to an account of their priests and conjurers. There are good sketches of Powhatan and Wingina, the most renowned kings in the early Jamestown days. A useful chapter examines and illustrates the vocabulary of the Indians.

Not much is said of the extension of English authority even in the tidewater regions of Virginia and almost nothing is said as to why tribe after tribe vanished before the English. This subject, indeed, is one of the most obscure in all colonial history. Not in every case was it the cruelty of the white race which swept the natives from the face of the earth. Doubtless the white man's rum counted as many victims as did his adroitness or his firearms.

The History of Mother Seton's Daughters. The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio. By Sister Mary Agnes McCann, M.A. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917. Vol. i, pp. xxvii+336; Vol. ii, pp. vii+334.

To tell the story of the Sisters of Charity of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati (1829-1917) with a wealth of new material and in

an attractive style has been the object of the author of these two splendid volumes. The period covered in these two volumes runs from 1774 down to 1870, and a third volume, which we understand is almost finished, will complete the work. The whole work may be divided into three distinct periods: the life and labors of Mother Seton from her birth in 1774 down to her death in 1821; the story of the growth of the Daughters of Charity in America from Mother Seton's death down to the Affiliation of the Order with the Sisters of Charity of France in 1851; and, from that time down to the present, the history of this Cincinnati branch of Mother Seton's spiritual children. Mother Seton's life before her conversion in 1810, and the beginning of her community from its foundation to her death on January 4, 1821, are told with that intimate charm which only one who has lived a long time in the community can possess. The growth of her Sisterhood was very rapid. Houses were soon opened in Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and other cities, where the activities of the nuns were welcomed by both Protestant and Catholic. It is with the Cincinnati branch that the work deals particularly after 1829, and there is barely a single prominent figure in the ecclesiastical life all through the nineteenth century who does not come into these pages. It speaks well for the foresight of our bishops and archbishops of the past that they all saw the development of Mother Seton's community with eyes of enthusiasm and commendation. Cardinal Cheverus, then Bishop of Boston, wrote to Mother Seton:

"How admirable is Divine Providence! I see already numerous choirs of virgins following you to the Altar. I see your holy Order diffusing itself in the different parts of the United States, spreading everywhere the good odor of Jesus Christ and teaching by their angelic lives and pious instructions how to serve God in purity and holiness. I have no doubt, my dear Sisters, that He who has begun this work will bring it to perfection."

The author had one serious difficulty facing her in planning this remarkable work—her explanation of the Affiliation with France in 1850-1. As is well known, the Cincinnati branch declined to enter into this Union, and there has been a silent controversy the past half century over the question: which of the branches—that at Emmitsburg, or the houses that did not avail

themselves of the invitation to become subject to the French Motherhouse, has been more instrumental in handing down Mother Seton's own ideal. The reader will find the question answered at length in the second volume of this work. The superficial critic might have cause to complain that no Emmitsburg documents are mentioned in the rather full bibliography which precedes the work, but Father Cribbin's letter to Archbishop Moeller, dated Emmitsburg, December 11, 1913, which the author wisely published in a footnote (Vol. ii, p. 101) states quite emphatically that he could find nothing relating to the question in the Emmitsburg Archives. The letter is as follows:

"Most Rev. Archbishop:

"I returned from Europe a few days ago; having as I promised last fall, made inquiries concerning the documents you are so anxious to secure. I regret that I could find nothing relating to the question of the separation of the sisters from Emmitsburg. I realize that this must be a disappointment, but I see no relief from it.

"With sincere respect, I am,

"Your Grace's obedient servant,

"J. P. CRIBBINS, C.M."

The work is well documented, and is enriched with many fine photogravures, all of which have an historical interest. The Daughters of Charity, whether members of the Cincinnati branch or otherwise, may well be proud of this account of the achievements of their order the past hundred years.

United States Catholic Historical Society: Historical Records and Studies. Edited by Rev. Joseph F. Delany, D.D., Stephen Farrelly, Thomas F. Meehan. New York, 1917. Vol. x, pp. 208.

The present volume, edited by a Committee of the United States Historical Society, might well be called a memorial volume for Charles George Herbermann, its late president. There can be no exaggeration in saying that the work done by the Society during the past quarter century has been done in most part under the direction and inspiration of Dr. Herbermann; and in the obituary notice written by Peter Condon, the reader is given an excellent insight into the many and varied aspects of

his career. To those who knew him only from the printed page, it will be surprising to learn that overshadowing all his fine critical acumen was a spiritual quality which displayed itself in an almost poetic vision of the past and which lightened his whole character with a sympathetic appreciation of everything that appealed to his fellow-men. Monsignor Brann's *Personal Reminiscences* show us the schoolmaster, the friend, the father, the husband, and the scrupulously observant Catholic. Monsignor Brann tells us that he was one of the best known men in New York. "If you could have had the pleasure of accompanying him on his long walks, as I often had, you would frequently observe eminent judges, brainy lawyers, clever physicians, progressive merchants, and prominent men of letters, reverently saluting their old professor, prompted thus to show their respect and love for him who as a teacher had no equal and as a Christian gentleman had no superior."

The United States Catholic Historical Society has lost its most prominent figure; but it is certain that those who follow in his footsteps will be influenced, by his strong devotion to historic truth and his love for the Church, in carrying on the work to which he dedicated a quarter century of unceasing activity. He has left the Society a legacy of very important articles and publications, all of which the historians of the Catholic Church in the United States must use if they would keep abreast with the latest work in this field.

A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico. By Edith O'Shaughnessy (Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy). Letters from the American Embassy at Mexico City, concerning the dramatic period between October 8, 1913, and the breaking off of diplomatic relations on April 23, 1914, together with an account of the occupation of Vera Cruz. Illustrated. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1916. Pp. ix+347.

Long after the reports and despatches of official and unofficial diplomats concerning the relations of the United States with Mexico during this trying time will have passed into oblivion, these letters will be read, not only because of the picture they convey of an eventful and enigmatic period, but because of their transcendent literary merit. The Diplomat's wife shows she

is lacking neither in tact nor diplomacy. No weighty diplomatic secrets are revealed, and the purely diplomatic questions are handled in a detached impersonal manner such as might be the expected in the case of any extremely clever person, whose relations with the events described was not through the representative of one of the great powers involved in the struggle. Even where diplomatic personages and their doings are concerned, however, the letters are not colorless nor without point. They give a picture of Victoriano Huerta, then President of Mexico, which if not at all times flattering will save his memory from the stigma of being an unmitigated scoundrel and monster. His patient struggles to cope with a situation over which he had little control and his manifest unselfishness where the interests of his country were at stake, will do much to obliterate many of his shortcomings.

Apart from the interest which the book offers in the light it throws on the most dramatic episodes in the recent relations of the United States and Mexico it has much of the charm of a novel or the narrative of an explorer. The author writes not only with a knowledge of Mexico but with sympathy for the people and their customs. It will come as a surprise to many persons that there are in Mexico so many truly estimable and cultured people. The contrast offered by Mexico City, its quaint and alluring character, its quiet glorious surroundings and its enormous possibilities, with the turmoil and anarchy of the rest of the Republic as revealed in this book intensifies the regret that no stable government seems possible in a land so rich in resources.

Addresses at Patriotic and Civic Occasions by Catholic Orators.
New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1915. 2 Vols. Pp. iv+295;
iii+312.

The subjects dealt with in these speeches, addresses and sermons are a valuable guide to the questions in which the Catholics of the United States are at present most deeply interested. They deal mainly with patriotism and religion. Through nearly all of them runs an apologetic tone, which reveals the fact that in recent years Catholics, notwithstanding their many

services to the Republic, find it necessary to be on the defensive against men who impugn their motives and their loyalty. It seems incongruous, that at this late date any Catholic should find it necessary to discuss the question, "can a Catholic be a citizen of the United States?" Such, however, is the lamentable fact, and whatever the future may have in store for Catholics, the historian of succeeding ages will find it hard to account for the discrepancy between the spirit of other orations in which the United States is now hailed as the foremost exponent of humanity and tolerance and those contained in these volumes which reveal the presence of so much anti-Catholic virus and bitterness. That the efforts of the Church were not entirely apologetic is shown by many of the addresses on such subjects as Education, Socialism and even Woman Suffrage.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The term "American History" demands a word of explanation—the authors of that excellent *Guide to the Study of American History* tell us. "Using the phrase in its broadest sense," they say, "it would mean an account of everything that has ever happened within the Western Hemisphere." Such a definition is impossible, both on account of the vastness of the material and because of the different degrees of intrinsic importance of the various elements which necessarily go to make up such a history. The vital elements of the life of the people from the materials at hand are the background of the pictures the historian is to draw. Applying this criterion, they say, we can hardly speak of American history earlier than the discovery by Columbus, because the material is too scanty for anything more than an imperfect notion of feeble native communities, and a few far-away suggestions of earlier discoverers. Of human characters, of political devices, of economic development, of literature and of religion, in America before Columbus, we can know almost nothing; and what we do know has scanty instruction for us. If one were to divide the history of the Catholic Church in the Western Hemisphere into three parts:

- I. ANCIENT AMERICA (to 1125 A. D.),
- II. MEDIEVAL AMERICA (1125–1492),
- III. MODERN AMERICA (1492–1917),

the question would naturally arise whether the information we possess for the first two of these periods is as scanty as most American historians believe. The year 1125 which separates the two divisions falls within one of the brilliant periods of the Church's activity, and the creation of the first American See—that of Gardar, in Greenland—in that year would postulate an active Catholic life here for at least a half-century before the coming of Bishop Arnold to his diocese. It can be admitted that our knowledge of the period we have called *Ancient America* must always be imperfect and faint. We have very few sources to build a narrative upon, but what little we possess is for that reason all the more valuable.

It is impossible to find one's way with surety through the tangled pathways of legends into a demonstrable history of how much was really known in Greco-Roman times of the fabled Continent. Light begins to break only when we are well on into Carolingian times, when a sturdy colony of Norsemen had settled Iceland. One echo of that day is the unsuccessful attempt of the Irish monks to convert the Icelandic Republic. The famous legend of St. Brendan, whose island is to be found in the earliest maps of the New World, has a standing place in American history, and is still capable of much study. The *Navigatio Brendani*, as can be seen by referring to Hardy, is one of the most numerous of all medieval manuscripts, thirteen copies alone existing at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The whole story is nebulous, but when we reach the year 834, we have an authentic American document—the Bull of Pope Gregory IV, under date of May 21, of that year, giving to the Archbishopric of Drontheim jurisdiction

over Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Greenland. At the end of the tenth century—the conventional date is 1000, Lief the Lucky, the son of Eric, who had discovered Greenland, became a Christian, and he is said to have brought out the first priest to that country. Between this time and the date we have arbitrarily chosen as the dividing line between Ancient and Medieval America, the growth of the Church in Greenland is well attested by the ruins which still bear witness to a high state of society. The *Sagas* are not the only sources we have for the history of the voyagers who went out to Greenland, Vinland, and Markland between the years 1000 and 1347. Reeves has published the *Sagas* relating to these voyages in the *Finding of Wineland the Good* (London, 1890), and Rafn, in his *Antiquitates Americanae*, gives a good description of all the alleged monumental sources that exist for the Norse history of what is now the United States.

For the ecclesiastical history of the Norse Church in America, there are first the documents from the papal archives, and such sources as Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae*, which will be more easily found in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Scriptores, Vol. vii). The first Bishop—Eric Upsi—bore the title of Bishop of Greenland, but his successors are known as Bishops of Gardar. The See of Gardar was erected in 1125 (the date is sometimes given as 1154), and with it begins what might be called the Medieval Epoch of American history. Of the long line of Bishops who ruled this See, we have all the names, but only a brief history of about fourteen prelates of this first American Church. Under Bishop Olaf (1246–1280), Peter's Pence was introduced into Greenland, and was paid in walrus teeth, whalebones and furs. During the time of Bishop Alfus (1366–78), the Skraelings or Esquimaux began a series of raids upon the Greenlanders and from that date the Church there begins gradually to decline. The last Bishop known to have resided in Greenland was Bishop Andreasson, who performed a marriage in the Cathedral of Gardar in 1409. In 1448, Rome commissioned the two bishops of Iceland to restore religion in Greenland, but for some unknown reason this Bull remained ineffective for a half century. The Greenland Catholics were in a pitiful condition for want of a priest, and they appealed to Innocent VIII (1484–1492) to send them a missionary. The only memorial of the faith, they told him, was the corporal used in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass by the last priest a century before, and around this they often gathered for worship. Moved by their petition, Alexander VI appointed a Benedictine monk, Mathias, to the See of Gardar. He had been nominated by Innocent VIII. It is in the Bull of Mathias' elevation to the See of Gardar that we learn much concerning the condition of the Church in Greenland. This is the last historical notice we have, and it is significant that the date of the Bull, 1492, marks the dividing line between *Medieval* and *Modern America*.

The student of the Greenland Church has a variety of materials at hand for his research work, with many interesting by-products to handle, such as the

recently discovered Kensington Rune Stone (1898). But the principal collection—one cannot say, at his disposal, for only twenty-five copies were printed—is the Heywood series—*Documenta Selecta e Tabulario Secreto Vaticano quae Romanorum Pontificum erga Americae populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paullo post insulas a Christophoro Columbo repertas testantur Phototypia descripta*—(Typis Vaticanis viginti quinque exemplaria ita sunt adornata ut illustrioribus tantum bibliothecis distribuerentur, 1893). One of these twenty-five copies was presented to Cardinal Gibbons and is now in the Library of the Catholic University of America. Of the twenty-three documents it contains, numbers 1-10 relate to the See of Gardar in Greenland.

1. Litterae Innocentii III datæ die 13 m. febr. 1206 archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi.
- 2-5. Ioannis XXI die 4 m. decemb. 1276 eidem archiepiscopo.
- 6-7. Nicolai III diebus 31 m. ian et 9 m. iun. 1279.
8. Martini IV die 4 m. mart. 1282 archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi.
9. Nicolai V die 20 m. sept. 1448 episcopis Islandiae.
10. Alexandri VI paulo post an. 1492.

The scarcity of this collection is somewhat obviated by the reprints given in the *Catholic University Bulletin* (Vol. ii, 1896, pp. 503-14). The first letter is that of Innocent III to the Archbishop of Drontheim conferring metropolitan jurisdiction on that See; the next four documents (2-5) are from the chancery of John XXI and treat of the collection throughout Scandania and its dependencies of the tithes for the Crusades. Two letters of Nicholas III (6-7) touch on the same topic, as does also the letter of Martin IV (8) to the Archbishop of Drontheim. The letter of Nicholas V (9) to the Bishops of Skalholt and Holar bear witness to the sad decline of the Catholic faith in Greenland. The last letter, that of Alexander VI (10), describes the pitiable condition of the faithful in Greenland and speaks of the coming of the Bishop-elect, Mathias of Gardar. These letters together with other documents published by Jélic in *L'évangélisation de l'Amérique avant Christopher Colombe*, in the *Compte-rendu du Congrès Scientifique internationale des Catholiques*, Paris, 1891, form the source-material for a detailed study of the Church in *terra Gronlandiae*. Translations of these documents will be found in De Roo and De Costa. The link binding the Church in American Scandania to the Spanish discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be found to be the alleged voyage of Columbus to Iceland some ten years before 1492.

In a future issue of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, these ten documents with translations of the same will be reprinted. They deserve to be better known and to be in the hands of all American historical students.

The Rev. John G. O'Hara, C.S.C., recently ordained in Indianapolis by the Right Rev. Joseph Chartrand, Coadjutor-Bishop of Indianapolis, has returned to the Catholic University, where he is pursuing a course of South American history under the direction of the Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D. Father O'Hara,

before his entrance into the Congregation of Holy Cross, was secretary to the American Legation in Buenos Ayres, and later taught for several years Spanish language and literature at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. Father O'Hara has taken up for his special work a volume of *Readings in Latin American Church History*. His tentative plan shows the scope of the work:

READINGS IN LATIN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY (1492-1840)

INTRODUCTORY;

PERIOD OF DISCOVERY (1492-1519)

1. Missionaries who accompanied first explorers.
2. Missions established.
3. The Church as protector of the Indians.

PART I

PERIOD OF CONQUEST (1519-1580)

Chapters I-VII: Conquest of Mexico, Central America, Nueva Granada, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, R. de la Plata.

Topics: number of missionaries; place of origin; centers of operation; doctrina and Baptisms; efforts to civilize; explorations; writings.

PART II

COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENTS (1584-1781)

Chapters I-IX: Mexico, Nueva Granada, Guatemala, Venezuela, Peru, La Plata, Buenos Ayres, Chile, Cuba, Brazil, Santo Domingo.

Topics: Royal patronage; establishment of sees; relations of Church and State; ecclesiastics as civil rulers; salaries of Bishops and priests; allowances for monasteries; parishes; monasteries; hospitals; mission work; education, universities, seminaries, primary schools, useful trades; exploration; printing; science; laws; encomiendas and mitas; the Inquisition; American Saints.

PART III

RISE OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES (1781-1840)

Chapter I: The Expulsion of the Jesuits.

II: The Church and the Revolution.

III: Expulsion of the missionaries by Bolivar and Rivadavia.

A Syllabus of Latin-American History, by William Whatley Pierson, Jr., Ph.D., a recent publication from the University of North Carolina, consists of an outline and reading lists for the study of the economic history of the countries south of the Rio Grande. It is intended as a guide to lectures that must take the place of the non-existent text, and its author's apology is that "the diplomatic, political, and economic importance of Latin America has made of prime importance a thorough study and a sympathetic understanding of its past history and institutions. One must regret that the author has confined himself so largely to superficial studies in English in his reading lists, since it

seems reasonable to expect even undergraduate students of Latin-American history to have a knowledge of Spanish. In a narrow selective list a scholar would hardly expect to find the hurriedly written travelogues of Koebel and Enock, Mrs. Wright's picture albums, and Aker's *History of South America*, and it is now customary to view with suspicion the cooperative-plan productions of Lea and Hubert Bancroft. Serious reference to Speer's *South American Problems* or Blakeslee's *Latin America* is hardly conceivable. Mr. Moses has done some very honest work on Latin America, but in his last and most pretentious work, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, he has lost a chance for a splendid critical study. The earlier work of E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*, is much more satisfactory. Chapter XX of this work, by the way, should be familiar to all Catholics, whether or not they are especially interested in South America. Those unable to read in the original Dr. Koch-Grünberg's *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern* will, by reading the English review of that work in the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union for October, 1911, be saved the perusal of Savage-Landor's two ponderous volumes, *Across Unknown South America*, recommended by Dr. Pierson. One looks in vain for any references to Dobritzhoffer, Funes, Charlevoix, Rosales, von den Steinen, Acosta, Figueroa, Padre Simon, Tschudi, Father Zahm, Larrabure y Unanue, La Condamine, Oviedo y Baños and hundreds of others who were scholars and keen observers.

It might be suggested, too, that if the purpose of Dr. Pierson's course is to instil in his pupils respect, and not mere patronizing sympathy, for their Latin-American contemporaries, he will do well to divide the course more evenly between the three hundred years of colonial life and the one hundred years of independence. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of this latter period, but for a proper understanding of the non-political element of Latin America—the great Catholic business and land-holding population—one must study their culture at its source, in the long period of colonial administration. The University of North Carolina is to be congratulated on its earnest endeavor to solve the Latin-American problem, but it should be careful to go to the sources, and not to muddled or poisoned streams.

Dr. Pierson's recommendation to the students of the University of North Carolina of Arnold Henry Savage-Landor's *Across Unknown South America* (Boston, 1913) suggests that the historical and ethnographic value of this work should be better known. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, in *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* (Appendix A, p. 347), quotes a letter from his learned Brazilian companion, Colonel Rondon, in which the latter states: "I can guarantee to you that in Brazil Mr. Landor did not cover a hand's breadth of land that had not been explored, the greater part of it many centuries ago."

The *Pastoral Blatt* of St. Louis is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. In a retrospect of its activity during that period, Father Holweck strikes an eloquent note:

Mit dieser Dezemberrnummer schliesst das Pastoralblatt seinen fünfzigsten Jahrgang. Fünfzig Jahre! Das ist ein schwerwiegendes Wort für eine deutsche Monatsschrift in fremdem Lande, oder besser, in einem Lande, wo die deutsche Sprache ausländisch ist. Fremd ist sie nicht, die deutsche Zunge, denn sie ist in diesen 50 Jahren gesprochen worden und wird heute noch gesprochen in jedem Staat der Union, vom Hudsonfluss bis zum Puget Sound, vom Obersee bis zum Rio Grande. Nach dieser fünfzigjährigen, mühevollen Wanderfahrt muss der Schriftleiter stillstehen, aufatmen, sich trotz der rauhen Novemberluft den Schweiss von der Stirne wischen und prüfend rückwärts schauen und vorwärts."

Then follows the historical life of this important journal the past fifty years. It is indeed an admirable record, and we join with him in his pious wish: "Möge der hl. Franz von Sales in den Gebeten, die er Gott dem Herrn für seine Schutzbefohlenen von der katholischen Presse darbringt, bei diefer Jubelfeier auch des Pastoralblatts gedenken." We bespeak for the *Pastoral Blatt* a hearty welcome in every clergy house where the Catholic glories of the Fatherland are still loved and imitated.

Dr. Condé B. Pallen has placed the entire Catholic Church of the United States under a debt of gratitude to himself by his edition of Andrew J. Shipman's *Life and Writings*. Andrew Jackson Shipman was born at Springvale, Va., October 15, 1857. His boyhood witnessed the troubled years of the Civil War. Educated at Georgetown, where he became a Catholic, he later took up journalism, and through an accidental meeting, was inspired to begin the study of the eastern European languages. How he mastered the difficult Slavic tongues and how he became the logical spokesman of the Catholic Slavs before the hierarchy of the country are well told by Dr. Pallen in the biographical sketch which precedes the edited articles of Shipman himself. He died on October 17, 1915, and from the many Resolutions on his death, from Ruthenian societies, from hospitals and colleges, and from the New York State Board of Regents, it can easily be seen what a large share he occupied in the Catholic lay apostolate of New York City. One of his most important articles is that entitled *Catholics of the Eastern Rites in the United States*, in which he describes the principal Catholic peoples in this country who use the Greek Rite:

1. RUTHENIANS, who use the Greek Rite in the ancient Slavonic language.
2. MELCHITES, who are Syrians, who use the same rite in the Arabic language, or who use Arabic or Greek interchangeably.
3. RUMANIANS, who use the Greek Rite in the Rumanian language.
4. GREEKS, of Constantinople, Syria, Greece and lower Italy and Sicily, who use the Greek Rite in the original Greek language.

Other articles in this Memorial Volume treat of these different branches of the Eastern Churches and together they form a complete introduction to a difficult subject.

German Settlers and German Settlements in Indiana, a Memorial for the State Celebration, 1916, by Dr. Fritsch, of Evansville, Ind., is an interesting brochure

on the part the Germans and those of German descent have taken in the up-building of that State. Dr. Fritsch divides his little volume into eight chapters, dealing with the early Settlers of Indiana, the town of New Harmony, the center of the German population, the Germans in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, and the German pioneers in the learned professions. Occasional mention of Catholic Germans occur and from the tone of the book, we are certain that had Dr. Fritsch known better the Catholic history of his State, the Catholic pioneers and their posterity would have been treated as sympathetically as he has dealt with their non-Catholic brethren.

In a paper read before the Historic Spots Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., Miss Mary Louise Conrad gave her audience a sketch of the history of St. John's Church, Forest Glen, Md. This famous church, which has been called the Bethlehem of the faith here in the East, was founded by Father John Carroll in 1774. It was the center of a vast mission field, and was known as Rock Creek Mission. It was from Forest Glen that Father John Carroll went to join the Commissioners appointed by Congress to consult with the Canadians in 1776; and he was still pastor of the little church in 1784, when he received his appointment as Prefect Apostolic of the Catholic Church in the United States. The second church in Forest Glen was rebuilt in 1850, and in 1893 the present fine structure was erected. The present pastor, Father C. O. Rosensteel, has expended considerable care in the restoration of the old cemetery, and has collected all the sources available for the history of his celebrated parish. He possesses the Missal used by Carroll, the high altar of the first church, on which Father Carroll said Mass, and a chalice of that period. It is regrettable that no National Catholic Museum exists for such unique relics as these.

An Index of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (Vols. i-xxix, July, 1884, to July, 1912) has been published by the Society.

The following letter to one of the Editors from Señor Santiago Montero, one of the special research workers of the Archivo General de Indias, of Seville, will be welcomed by all who wish to pursue *a longe* their investigations in that great collection of American historical sources:

Sevilla, 15 de noviembre de 1916.

Muy señor mio:

Como investigador español que soy en este Archivo General de Indias donde hasta el día de hoy llevo catalogados 15.823 documentos referentes a la Historia de la America Latina le ofrezco mis servicios en el mismo garantizándole desde luego la buena calidad del trabajo por la escrupulosidad y esmero con que se llevan a cabo los que bajo mi direccion se realizan. Mis condiciones puede verlas en el pliego adjunto.

Le agradeceré que nunca me dirija la correspondencia al Archivo General de Indias sino a Calle Abades no. 16 donde tengo me domicilio y en espera de sus gratas ordenes quedo de V. afmo. s.s.

q.e.s.s.

Santiago Montero.

CONDICIONES

1. Papeletas para formar indices y catalogos—Se envian con signatura, esto es, con la indicación del estante, cajón y legajo del Archivo General de Indias donde se halla el documento a que cada una se refiera, mediante el pago, en moneda española, de:

1.00 pesetas por papeleta desde 1 a 100

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2. Papeletas para escoger los documentos que se hayan de copiar—Llevaran en lugar de signatura un numero de referencia y se enviarán a razon de:

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0.15 pesetas por papeleta desde 1001 en adelante.

3. Copias de documentos en idioma castellano—Se hacen a máquina con accesorios de primera calidad y los derechos que habra que abonar por la investigación, copia y gastos de correspondencia y escritorio seran los siguientes:

Pliegos de 84 lineas de 60 espacios a 2.52 pesetas uno

Pliegos de 88 lineas de 60 espacios a 2.64 pesetas uno

Pliegos de 96 lineas de 60 espacios a 2.88 pesetas uno

Pliegos de 124 lineas de 60 espacios a 3.72 pesetas uno

Pliegos de 140 lineas de 60 espacios a 4.20 pesetas uno

Pliegos de 240 lineas de 60 espacios a 7.20 pesetas uno

4. Cuando los documentos estén en latin o en idioma extranjero los derechos serán dobles.

5. El pago se verificará mediante una letra a ocho dias vista que se pondrá en circulación con la fecha del envio de las copias o papeletas, excepto cuando al hacer un pedido se enviase por adelantado alguna cantidad o se depositase a mi disposición en algun consulado o establecimiento bancario o particular de Sevilla, Madrid o Barcelona.

6. Las copias se enviarán certificades y en vapores correos españoles para eliminar en lo posible los riesgos de la guerra y si a pesar de esto se perdiese alguna remesa por naufragio o otra causa de fuerza mayor semejante, se devolverá la mitad del importe de la misma o se harán de nuevo las copias o papeletas a mitad de tarifa.

7. Por el trabajo intelectual de hacer la investigación se me otorgará (ab initio) el titulo de representante o delegado de esa Universidad en este Archivo General de Indias.

8. Terminado el trabajo objeto de la investigación se me facilitarán dos ejemplares de la obra escrita cuyo importe sera enviado a vuelta de correo si no hubiera sido ya deducido con anterioridad.

Santiago Montero.

Sevilla, 15 de noviembre de 1916.

With the appearance of the 1917 edition of *The Official Catholic Directory*, attention ought to be called to the fact that one hundred years have elapsed since the issuance of the first Directory, for in 1817 *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service* was published and sold in New York by Matthew Field at his Library, 177 Bowery, within a few doors of Delancey Street. A short history covering the appearance of Catholic Directories since 1817 will be found in the editorial foreword which follows the title page of the 1917 issue.

According to the Centenary Edition of *The Official Catholic Directory* there are 17,022,879 Catholics in the United States (not including our island possessions). With sixty-four Archdioceses and Dioceses reporting increases, four showing decreases, thirty-three Archdioceses and Dioceses making no change in the population figure, the increase in the number of Catholics during the year 1916 is shown to be 458,770. It must be remembered in this connection, however, that the great Archdioceses such as New York, Chicago and Boston do not take a new census each year.

The Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Vol. xlix, October, 1915, to June, 1916) contain many items of interest to Catholic students of history. William Roscoe Thayer contributes a *Memoir of Lucien Carr* (1829-1915) who will ever remain of the glories of St. Louis University. Professor Haskins writes a sympathetic and satisfying *Memoir of Charles Gross* (1857-1909). He says:

"Throughout his life Gross was a tireless seeker after knowledge. He had a remarkable power of intense and sustained work, and he never spared himself. His love of study for its own sake appeared in his college years, when his room-mate regularly left him at his desk at night and found him there in the morning. His interest in history, likewise, declared itself at college, and after he had laid his foundations under such European masters as Pauli, Bresslau, and Monod, he devoted himself single-heartedly to the advancement of historical learning by research and teaching. As the field of his special interests he early selected the history of English institutions in the Middle Ages, and, like his friend Liebermann, also a pupil of Pauli, he brought the critical and systematic methods of continental scholarship to bear upon the vast and comparatively unexplored resources of the English records. He had the advantage of some years of work in the British Museum and Public Record Office before he took up academic duties in America, and he used every subsequent opportunity to return to these hunting-grounds, as well as to utilize the valuable collection of books which he gathered about himself in the Harvard library. He avoided no subject because of its difficulty or obscurity, and shrank from no labor which his investigations might demand, so that his works are models of thoroughness and accuracy; but he also brought to his studies qualities of insight, balance, and perfect lucidity of thought and statement which made him an acknowledged master in his profession. Among English historians he chiefly admired Maitland, most of all for the flashes of intuition and inspiration which he found wanting in himself; but if he lacked something of Maitland's brilliancy, he was not inferior in the sureness of his judgment or the solidity of his learning."

Gross' best known work is the *Sources and Literature of English History from the earliest Times to about 1485*, published in 1900, "which at once took rank as an indispensable instrument of investigation and an unsurpassed example of bibliographical workmanship." It became in reality the model of all bibliographies for the modern period.

With the March number (1917), the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* completes its third year and in that time has fully demonstrated its value to every student of history not only in the valley but throughout the United States. It is the official organ of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and is published quarterly under the direction of Clarence W. Alvord, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Illinois. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association was organized at Lincoln, Nebr., in 1907 through the efforts of the late Clarence Sumner Paine, who served as its secretary and treasurer until his death in 1916. He was supported in his work by the best known historians of the middle west. The Association has had a rapid growth and is destined to accomplish a great work. It has a field of the most romantic interest and a mission of the greatest importance to the history of the United States. This organization calls together in its annual meetings the active workers from all the states in the Valley and offers an opportunity of forming useful acquaintances and of participating in the discussions of problems that are of common interest. It is doing an important work in organizing, directing and carrying out the gathering of materials for a history of the Mississippi Valley, and this work can only be done by an Association thoroughly acquainted with the region. There is a vast field of Catholic History in the Valley and the Catholic clergy and laity should lend their efforts toward making this Association a powerful and influential organization.

From the Hollywood Junior College (Los Angeles, Cal.), comes a well-written booklet by Juliet Green, entitled *Relations between the United States and Great Britain (1776-1915)*. It covers the numerous points of conflict between the two governments from the Treaty of Peace of 1783 down to the latest protests of President Wilson against the use of the American flag on British ships.

The *Content of American History as taught in the Seventh and Eighth Grades* is the joint work of Drs. Bagley and Rugg, of the University of Illinois. (University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. xiii, No. 57, Bulletin No. 16 of the School of Education, Urbana, 1916.) It is an attempt to make an investigation of the "minimum essentials" of elementary geography or history. For purposes of comparison some twenty-three books were chosen at random as forming a basis of an analytic study of their respective volumes. One significant result of this analysis is the decline of any tendency to draw explicit moral lessons from historical events, in the histories published since 1890. The gradual change from the old-time emphasis upon political and military history to present-day economic and industrial history is described with a wealth of statistics, presented in an unusually pleasing way.

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PART I: THE AUXILIARY SCIENCES

IV. Diplomatics

The progress which has been made in the science of history is due for the most part to the more profound study in recent times of original manuscript sources. These sources Reussens has divided into two general classes—*official documents* and *annals*. Under the head of *official documents* he lists pontifical documents, imperial acts, acts of bishops, princes, municipal authorities, notaries, etc. Under *annals* he mentions chronicles or histories composed by contemporary or quasi-contemporary writers.¹ To utilize these sources according to modern scientific method, the student must be able:

1. To decipher and to read all such documents (Paleography).
2. To judge their authenticity from their external and internal character (Diplomatics).
3. To assign to them an exact and precise date (Chronology).

It has been the tendency of the special student in the historical field to separate these three main auxiliaries into sciences apart from the general study of history itself, and the rather rapid development of these subordinate studies has created a tendency to augment their number. Books have multiplied in all these auxiliary branches, and it is quite possible that, with their arrival at a definite stage of development, the much discussed problem of the scientific nature of history may be settled. Of the problems which present themselves in the study of every document, the most important is that of its authenticity. To gather the documents upon any one episode in history, to transcribe them, and to accept them as evidence without subjecting them to a searching criticism both as regards their authentic nature and their value, is a thing of the past.² To enable the student to search for these original documents and to test them critically by a series of canons or laws which will prove or disprove their genuinity, is the object of the science of Diplomatics.³

"The kernel of all sound teaching in historical matters," writes Freeman in his *Methods of Historical Study*, "is the doctrine that no historical study is of any value which does not take in a knowledge of original authorities. . . . Any knowledge of history which is good for anything must be founded on the mastery of original authorities; but it will not be founded on an attempt to master all original authorities. Every student must master some; no student can master all. Even he who makes historical study the main business of his life cannot expect to master more than the original authorities for a few specially

¹ REUSSENS, *Éléments de Paléographie*, p. 1. Louvain, 1899.

² DE SMEDT, *Principes de la Critique Historique*, p. 83. Paris, 1883.

³ "The business of this branch is the testing of the genuineness of records and other pieces of writing by outward signs, in contrast with the so-called 'higher criticism.'" DROTSSEN, *Principles of History*, p. 22. Andrew's translation, Boston, 1893.

chosen periods.”⁴ In the study of American Church history, it is hardly any exaggeration to say that the ground has yet to be broken in practically every episode which has occurred in the early history of Catholicism in this country. There has never been any well-organized attempt to furnish American scholars, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, with the documentary evidence for the history of the Church. Not only has there been no effort, apart from the individual work of certain scholars at Georgetown, Philadelphia, Villanova, and at Notre Dame University, to gather up what relics remain in this country, but the Church in America as a whole has never recognized the necessity of gathering from every known depot the documents which trace its life from the ancient days when a hierarchy of many bishops ruled the See of Gardar down to our own time. Nor has the American government done its duty to Catholic American scholarship in this respect. London archival centers, as well as those of Paris and Berlin, possess collections of *Vatican Transcripts*, etc., etc., for the purpose of facilitating scholarly work in Church history.⁵ But here in the United States, where so much of our early history is in reality Catholic history there has been comparatively little done to bring the great archival centers of the world to Washington by means of transcripts, photographs, or other diplomatic means of reproduction. If the Catholic Church in the United States is to be given the place it deserves in the history of the growth of the nation, it will only be done by bringing to light the history of its past. That past lies in documents still untouched, for the most part. Elsewhere in these pages we have dealt with this problem by suggesting the establishment of a National Catholic Archives at Washington—either as part of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress or as an adjunct of the Historical Department of the Catholic University of America. Such a National Catholic Archives would be divided logically into two main sources—foreign and domestic. The foreign section would contain transcripts or photographic copies of all the documents in Europe, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Central America, and South America, which in any way treat of the Church history of our country. By means of these transcripts, scholars would be enabled, under the same strict supervision which prevails in all archive depots, to write the history of the Church from original documents. Monographs, biographies, archeological treatises of the highest type could then be produced, and they would find a welcome in every scientific circle in the United States. In the domestic section, all the documentary evidence for the history of the Church, now scattered throughout the country, might be brought together, and we would be saved any repetition of the crimes which have occurred not only in the past but even in our own day, when valuable collections of ecclesiastical letters, documents, papers, and manuscripts were given to the flames for one reason or the other—usually to make room for others. Churchmen have not, however, been the only ones guilty of this crime. One of our best historical scholars, Dr. Alvord, in his paper: *The Relation of the State Historical Work*, speaks very frankly of the lack of consciousness on the part

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 156, 158.

⁵ Cf. *The Vatican Archives*, article in the *American Historical Review*, by CHARLES H. HASKINS, Vol. ii (1896-97), pp. 40-58.

of public officials of the seriousness of this situation. He tells the story of the Santa Fe manuscripts which were sold as rubbish to the merchants of the town; he describes the destruction of large collections of documents dealing with the French settlements of Cahokia and Kaskaskia by a clerk in house-cleaning time. Those who were present at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington in December, 1916, will remember the indignation which swept across that body when photographs were thrown upon the screen describing the present condition of our governmental archives. One can, however, excuse public officials; they are not ordinarily of a scholarly trend of thought. There is no excuse in ecclesiastical circles for the destruction or the non-preservation of documents which tell the story of the Church's progress in this country.

It may be a long time before any corporate ecclesiastical consciousness is aroused in this subject. Meanwhile through the medium of this periodical an effort is being made to reach those who have all such documentary collections in their possession. To give only one example of the necessity of arousing this spirit, one need only mention the fact that in one of our large Catholic centers, an American Historical Society, already in possession of some of the most valuable *Americana* in existence, has been asking in vain for years for a support adequately large enough to care for its manuscript collections as they deserve.

When the time does come that an effort will be made by some large-minded Catholic to fill this want in Catholic historical study, the Church will need trained archivists to establish as nearly as possible the true development of the Church from these untouched sources. Not only must there be scholars like Jaffé, Bresslau, Prou, Giry, Kehr, and others, who will publish authentic *Regesta* of these Catholic documentary collections, but there will be need also of trained students in all the auxiliary sciences of history. Their duty it will be to determine the admissibility of all such documentary sources and to test the evidence they contain by the canons of the more important specialized branches of historical science, such as historical bibliography, paleography, diplomatics, chronology and historical geography. Among these auxiliary branches, that of diplomatics is of supreme value.

The science of diplomatics has for its object the study of the historical value of documents. The word *diploma* is sometimes taken in a generic way to include the different kinds of documents which come under the historian's gaze: *charta*, *charte*, *notitia*, *epistola*, *litera*, *scriptura*, *acta*, *instrumentum*, *testamentum*, *chirographum*, *scriptum*, *documentum*, *roll*, *chartularium*, *register*, *contract*, etc., etc. Most of these classes of documents have characteristics which differentiate them, one from another; but certain aspects of them are common to all, and among these aspects one is of the highest importance to the historian—their authenticity. Diplomatics is the science of the authenticity of such documentary evidence. Documents are only valuable for direct historical evidence when they can be proven to be authentic, coming to us from a known source and of a definite time and place. To verify the authentic character of a document, to determine its provenance and to establish its time and place of composition, are all necessary preliminaries to the use of the document as historical evidence.

The question of authenticity is the most delicate of the three, and it is owing to the efforts of the historical students to reach certain fixed rules for such verification that we possess the auxiliary science of Diplomats.⁶ The authorship and the date of the document are not always so important that they need be known with exactitude, but until the document is proven genuine, there can be no question of its use for direct and immediate evidence. Any written document may justly be called a diplomatic source of history, and the science which has grown up around the problem of the authenticity of such sources furnishes the student with the definitions, the principles and the methods to be used in studying the governance of such sources, in interpreting their meaning, and in determining their value as historical material. It is quite possible, as Bresslau has said in another connection, that one can become a skilled worker in the field of history without being a Diplomatist; but if the scientific ability the science of Diplomats creates and nourishes in the student be absent there will surely be discrepancies in his method of interpretation and valuation. Vincent has expressed this thought clearly in the following paragraph: "Although one may never devote himself to a period in which Latin documents are the rule, with the intention of becoming an expert diplomatist, it is nevertheless essential that one should be familiar with the evidence and method by which conclusions are reached. Even for the reader who depends upon the printed copies it is necessary to know the construction of documents and the practices of chanceries, so that he may distinguish between what is formal and what is freshly communicated. For even if it is left to the paleographers to determine whether a document is genuine or not, there are certain parts of the paper which are historically more valuable than others, and the student should be able to decide what are merely notarial repetitions and what are expressions of will, or relations of fact. And in the case of the writing, each period has its peculiarities of expression, varying slightly from its predecessors. These have been so carefully studied that documents may be identified and dates established in large measure by the evidence of form. The office practice of every reign in the medieval empire has been classified by modern scholars, and by the combined application of paleography and diplomats the world has been put into possession of a mass of sifted materials which were inaccessible to the earlier historians."

There is a very imposing collection of sources for the history of the Catholic Church in the United States which cannot be used with skill unless they are tested by the principles of Diplomats. Through these principles, the student is able to discover, establish, and verify the authenticity of the documents he wishes to use. Giry has given a classic mould to these principles in his *Manuel de Diplomats*. His volume is divided into seven books which deal with the following subjects: (1) the object and history of the sciences; (2) technical chronology; (3) terminology of the document (persons, places, measures, language); (4) the organic structure of the document; (5) chancelleries; (6) unofficial documents; (7) forgeries. It is in defining the organic structure, or in

⁶ GIRY, *Manuel de Diplomats*, p. 4. Paris, 1894.

⁷ VINCENT, *Historical Research, an Outline of Theory and Practice*, pp. 55-56. New York, 1911.

explaining the constituent elements of a legal documentary source that the science has reached its highest development. All such documents may be divided into three parts: the Protocol, the Text, and the Eschatocol. These are further divided as follows:

I. PROTOCOL.

1. The *Invocation*, viz, the expression of the name of God either nominally or symbolically. The *Chrismon* is the symbol usually found. Verbal invocations are numerous, e. g., *In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis*.
2. The *Intitulatio*, or Title, containing the name of the grantor, e. g., *Bonifatius episcopus, servus servorum Dei*, dilectis in Christo filiabus, etc.
3. The *Address*, or Inscription, containing the name and title of the person for whom the grant is made, e. g., *Bonifatius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis in Christo filiabus N. N. priorisse et conventui monasterii inferioris Prumie per priorissam soliti gubernari, ordinis sancti Benedicti, etc.*
4. The *Greeting*, or salutation, e. g., *Bonifacius . . . Benedicti, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*.

There are exceptions to this regular order in the Protocol in many documents, since some of these parts are not absolutely essential; but the general structure of the opening paragraph of any document of what is technically known as legal authenticity should contain them all at least implicitly. The four factors will be found at the present time in papal documents.

II. TEXT.

1. The *Prologue*, *Arenga*, *Preamble*, is practically the same as the exordium of a discourse, i. e., an expression of general and often banal considerations *ad captandam benevolentiam*. It is found usually in donations of a pious character, e. g., *Singularis necne praecipua est divinae misericordiae causa, quia benignitati Salvatoris Domini Dei nostri, ea dignationis ratione, humanae fragilitati naturae placuit providendo consulere et consulendo providere ut in divinis voluminibus et sanis ornamenta et egrotis congrua dispensaverit remedia*. (From the *cartularium* of the Abbey of Saint-Père of Chartres, Vol. i, p. 84. The document details the conditions of a gift made to the Abbey in 998. Cf. GIRY, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-41. Cf. also for other examples VINCENT, *op. cit.*, p. 62.)
2. The *Promulgation*, *Publication*, *Notification*, notifies all and sundry of the contents of the document, e. g., *Notum sit omnibus et singulis*. It is not always present in the document, and is usually joined to the Preamble by the conjunctions *igitur*, *ideo*, *idcirco*, etc.
3. The *Narration*, or *Exposé*, indicates the reasons which prompted the donation or the decision of the grantor. Sometimes it contains the petition made by those asking for the donation or confirmation in question. In this way the Narration may reveal valuable evidence for the identity of historical persons, places or events, otherwise unknown. Giry makes mention of the "intervention" of a third party, the intermediary, whose name sometimes appears in the document, as giving rise to the verb *ambasciare*, from which our word *ambassador* comes.

4. The *Disposition*, declares the will of the grantor or the object of the document in question. It usually opens with the words: *quapropter, ergo, his attentis*, etc. Vincent calls it the "kernel of the document, the legal act to which the other formalities give protection." (*Op. cit.*, p. 64.) The *Disposition* is usually contained in the words: *statuimus, precepimus, jussimus*, etc. In the *Disposition* the principal or essential part of the document has been expressed; it is followed by the sanctions or penal clauses which give a guarantee to the observance of the act itself.
5. The *Sanction*, contains different clauses destined to ensure the execution of the grantor's will in the affair. Those formulas are of many kinds. Giry treats in detail of seven classes of formulas. (*Cf. op. cit.*, pp. 553-567.)
6. The *Corroboration*, indicates the formalities which have been observed to legalize the act in question, or to insure its inviolability, e. g., *hanc chartam fieri rogavi, scripto commendari fecimus, praeceptum inde conscribi jussimus*. (*Cf. GIRY, op. cit.*, pp. 568-70.)

III. ESCHATOCOL,

which is sometimes called the Final Protocol, contains the closing formalities of the document, which are essential to its validity. Without these the document has no legal force.

1. The *Signatures* of the grantor, of the chancery officials, and of the witnesses. Sometimes the names are written out, sometimes monograms or sign-manuals are used. Some of the royal signatures of the Carolingian epoch are elaborate examples of monogrammic signatures. The seals used in validating the document have given rise to a distinct auxiliary science—*Sigillography*.
2. The *Date*, localizes the document in time and place. The auxiliary sciences of Chronology and Historical Geography have as their immediate object the determination of the date and place of the document.
3. The *Appreciation*, or final Invocation, in early medieval documents is an appeal to divine protection in the realization of the wish expressed in the act itself, e. g., *Deo gratias, felicitate, felicitate in Domino, Amen*, etc. It has seldom been used since the thirteenth century.

It would be a mistake to conclude that all legal acts contain these three main divisions of Protocol, Text, and Eschatocol, in exactly the same arrangement as here described, nor are the different subdivisions always disposed in the same order as given. Sometimes one or the other is lacking, and sometimes two or more of these parts are interlaced. The essential difference is that between Text and Protocol. A good example of legal ecclesiastical document containing almost all these subdivisions is the Apostolic Letter of Alexander VI, dated Rome, June 25, 1493, appointing Bernard Buil first Vicar Apostolic of the New World.*

Apart from these general indications of the organic structure of legal acts, the science of Diplomatics embraces also the following questions: sources of documents; language of documents; different stages in the construction of a legal document; methods of transmitting and preserving documents, and forgeries. Of these additional questions with which the science deals, the

* See facsimile of the same in HIRWOOD, *Documenta Selecta*, etc., pp. 27-35.

important one is that of the chancellery system of the courts of Europe, and for the Church historian the Papal chancellery is more important still. At the period when documentary evidence for American Church history begins, namely, the Apostolic Letter to Buil, all the canons of Diplomatics were in use, and have remained practically the same down to our own day, with certain changes which came during the pontificate of Leo IX (1048), Innocent III (1198), Eugene IV (1431), and Leo XIII (1887). Papal Bulls, Letters, Constitutions, Decretals, Briefs, etc., are all amenable to the searching criticism of Diplomatics.

To give any adequate bibliographical apparatus for the science is impossible in a brief sketch. The means and methods of research in archival centers grow in value year by year, and any general Manual, such as that of Giry, contains lists of guides, general catalogues, regesta, and *relazione* for this purpose. The richest of all these bibliographies is that of Oesterley, *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der Urkundensammlungen*. (Berlin, 1885-86, 2 vols.) Giry gives a list of the facsimiles, which have been published up to his time, in the chronological order of the publication. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 42-50.) A general reference to his *Manuel de Diplomatique* is sufficient. There all the best-known students in this field will be found—Mabillon, Sickel, Ficker, Bresslau, Paoli, Erben, Tangl, Denifle, Pflug-Harttung, de Mas-Latrie, Berlière, Schiaparelli, Kehr, Jaffé, Prou, etc., etc. It will be with the aid of these works, and guided by the principles of the science of Diplomatics, that future students in American Church history will be able to construct that fundamental and necessary source for the Catholic history of the United States—the *Chartularium Americanum*.

(To be continued)

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JUAN RODRIGUEZ DE FONSECA: FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE INDIES (1493-1523)

Down on the Pacific coast of Central America, the republics of Nicaragua, Salvador and Honduras meet in a wide bay, the Bahía de Fonseca, so named on the twenty-sixth of January, 1522, by its discoverer, Gil González Dávila; and this is America's only memorial to the man who for thirty years—from 1493 to 1523—guided her destinies. Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Count of Pernia, was Bishop successively of Badajoz, Córdoba, Palencia and Burgos, Archbishop of Rosano, and first President of the Council of the Indies. America has never given a monument to her "first President," and with but few exceptions, every historical reference to Fonseca during the past 400 years has been made the occasion of an attack upon his character. Irving¹ has given us a

¹ *Columbus*, 5 vols., New York, 1892, Appendix 34. The traditional view of Fonseca is given by LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, 5 vols., Madrid, 1875; HERRERA, *Historia General*, Madrid, 1601; BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, *Conquista de Nueva España*, Madrid, 1853; and others. QUINTANA (*Historia de Hombres Célebres*, Madrid, 1852) and PRESCOTT (*Conquest of Mexico*, 2 vols., New York, 1886) follow these sources, as do most modern writers, with the notable exception of THACHER (*Columbus*, New York, 1904); and FERNÁNDEZ DURO (*Amigos y Enemigos de Colón*, Madrid, 1892). A favorable view of Fonseca is presented by SIGÜENZA in his *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, Madrid, 1909; SOLÍS, *Conquista de Méjico*, Madrid, 1853, and BERNÁLDEZ, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid, 1878. Irving is mistaken in crediting to Bernáldez a veiled enmity to Fonseca. Additional biographical material is contained in GÓMARA, *Historia de las Indias* and *Conquista de Méjico*, Madrid, 1852; and GALÍNDEZ CARVAJAL, *Memorial y Registro Breve de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid, 1878. For documents, the important printed collections are: *Colección de Documentos Inéditos de Indias*; *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*; NAVARRETE, *Colección de Viajes y Descubrimientos*, 5 vols, Madrid, 1858; *Cartas de Hernán Cortés*, Madrid, 1858 (translated by FOLSOM, *Despatches of Cortés*, New York, 1843, and MACNUTT, *Letters of Cortes*, New York, 1908), and DUQUESA DE BERWICK Y ALBA, *Autógrafos de Colón y Papeles de América*, Madrid, 1892.

sketch of the traditional Fonseca that synthesizes all the evil reports we have of him—his haughty bearing, his grasping control of Indian affairs, his perfidious conduct towards Columbus, Las Casas and Cortés, his patronage of all that was evil and his antagonism for all that was good in the exploration and conquest of the New World. Against this picture of Fonseca we must take into account three facts: first, that Fonseca remained at the head of Indian affairs from 1493 until his death, and enjoyed the constant friendship and confidence of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the respect of their successors, Ximénez, Adrian and Charles V; secondly, that occasional references are made by disinterested and trustworthy witnesses, to his high character and merits; and thirdly, that we have no document proving unworthy motives in any of his actions.

Little is known of the early life and training of Fonseca. He came of a distinguished Castilian family, which gave to the Church no fewer than four archbishops and one bishop in the period of America's discovery. His father, Alonso de Fonseca, held the *Senoría* of Coca and Alaejos, an ancestral title that had been in the family for many generations, to which Don Antonio, an older brother of Bishop Juan, succeeded at his father's death in 1505. Don Antonio was Ambassador to the Holy See in 1495,² and later held the important post of Comptroller-General of Castile. The family was connected by marriage with some of the most influential nobles of the time, including the families of González de Mendoza, the "Great Cardinal of Spain," and of Henry, Count of Nassau.³

Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca must have come early to the attention of Queen Isabella—possibly as a page at Court—for we are informed by Sigüenza⁴ that it was she who entrusted his training to the saintly Talavera, her confessor, "in order that in his service he might learn to be a saint;" and Sigüenza adds, in witness to the gratitude of Fonseca: "Although they made him presently Archdeacon of Olmedo, he never wished to leave the service of Talavera, and used to take pride in calling himself his

² BERNÁLDEZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 683-4.

³ CARVAJAL, *op. cit.*, pp. 549-50.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

servant." And lest the point be lost, it should be noted that Talavera, in spite of his many duties, both of religion and of state, made a specialty of training young men. His first care, when made first Archbishop of Granada in 1492, was to select, for the service of the choir and sanctuary, thirty poor boys, whom he trained and taught in his own house in preparation for Holy Orders. His care for his priests was not less exacting. "He ate with them," says Sigüenza, "and conducted their life as in a monastery."⁵ One other detail of the early life of Fonseca is worthy of mention. He was a favorite pupil of Nebrija, the most famous of Spanish humanists,⁶ and this leads us to believe that he studied at Salamanca, where Nebrija was teaching at the time, but we have no more positive information about him until his ordination to the subdiaconate.

This event took place in the Cathedral of Barcelona, on Saturday, March 2, 1493, just two days before Columbus sighted land, off Lisbon, on the return from his first voyage. He was ordained under title of Chaplain to the Queen and Canon of the collegiate church of Alfaro, in Tarragona. He was made a deacon shortly afterwards, and five weeks later, on Holy Saturday, April 6, he was ordained to the priesthood in the same cathedral, and made Archdeacon of Seville.⁷

He had already left Barcelona for his new post when Columbus came to that city for his first interview with the Sovereigns after his return. The stay of Columbus at Court was brief. The King and Queen were anxious to organize the exploration of the newly discovered lands as rapidly as possible in order to forestall any action on the part of Portugal, and Columbus was sent off in haste to Seville, with letters to Fonseca, who had been given the duty of fitting out the new expedition. Whether this was the first meeting of the two is not certain, though it hardly seems likely, for Fonseca's patron, Talavera, had long been a friend of Columbus, and Fonseca could easily have met him at the Bishop's house in Avila, or even earlier at Palencia, which apparently was Talavera's first bishopric.⁸

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁶ CARVAJAL, *op. cit.*, p. 559, n.

⁷ FITA, S. J., in the *Boletín*, Vol. xx, p. 178.

⁸ *Boletín*, Vol. lvi, p. 154.

The enterprise on which Columbus was now embarking was a vast one, and both he and Fonseca were given wide powers and privileges in order to secure its success. The first royal orders were issued on May 23,⁹ and the two commissioners immediately set to work on their preparations. The fiscal officers of the kingdom intervened at this juncture, however, fearing that complications might arise from the ample power given to Columbus and Fonseca, and obtained by royal order the appointment of Juan de Soria as their representative with the fleet, to audit its accounts.¹⁰ This selection proved unfortunate, as Soria gave Columbus frequent cause for complaint, first by opposing some of the contracts made by Columbus, and later by a manipulation of the force that accompanied the fleet, fraudulently substituting men and horses of his own choice for those approved by Columbus. His action brought several royal remonstrances and finally caused his dismissal from the service. Between Columbus and Fonseca, on the other hand, there seems at this time to have been a better understanding, in spite of the fact that their powers overlapped, and that the point of view of the young Castilian noble must have often differed from that of the old Genoese navigator. There was one conflict noted by the Crown, however. Columbus insisted on having a large personal bodyguard, and Fonseca opposed this as unnecessary because, since among the thousand people already enlisted for the enterprise, all under the orders of Columbus, there were certainly enough to take care of the personal wants of the Admiral. Irving says that Fonseca was tacitly reprovved for this action, but, on the contrary, we have a royal instruction¹¹ commending Fonseca for his prudence, and assigning ten squires and twenty servants from among those already enlisted, for the service of Columbus, according to the plan of Fonseca. Irving says further that Fonseca was angered by this supposed reprimand, and purposely delayed the departure of the fleet in order to embarrass Columbus. The real cause of the delay was that the equipment of a fleet of seventeen vessels and a thousand people, for a journey of what then seemed uncon-

⁹ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, pp. 65 *sqq.* and 106 *sqq.*; vol. xxxviii, pp. 135-143, 155-160.

¹⁰ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, p. 148.

¹¹ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, pp. 184 *sqq.*

scionable length, and for a permanent settlement in an unknown country, was a feat that taxed to the utmost the resources of Andalusia, which was just recovering from the disturbances of the preceding year, when the Moors were finally driven from its borders. There were frequent royal protests against the delay that would send the vessels out in face of the storms of fall and winter, and yet in spite of this, the Sovereigns themselves, on September 5,¹² changed the destination of five of the ships prepared for Columbus, to form a fleet to convey back to Africa Muley Boabdil, the last Moorish King of Granada. Finally, in spite of vexatious delays, the fleet of Columbus got under way, and Fonseca was given a period of rest before the next arrival of news from the Indies.

This respite was brief, however, for on February 2, 1494, Columbus started Antonio de Torres back to Spain with twelve ships, to give a report on the journey and to requisition new supplies for the colony. Torres reached Cádiz in March, and Fonseca immediately reported his arrival to the Sovereigns, who ordered him to send on at once the letters of Columbus. In his desire to establish order in the affairs of the Indies, Fonseca caused some complaint among the members of the armada at this time, by anticipating modern port regulations.¹³ Columbus had sent back some gold received from the Indians, and Fonseca allowed no one to land until he had taken charge of it for the Royal Treasury. This action, though distasteful at the time, fixed the precedent for all succeeding importations of gold from the Indies. The ships were promptly discharged, however, and Fonseca stood ready for further orders from the Sovereigns.

On April 7, a royal order was dispatched commanding him to send at once to the Indies four vessels with colonists and explorers, and to supply them with the necessaries of life. It was at first the royal intention to send these four ships at once and a fuller armada later, but the Sovereigns delayed for a fuller study of the *Memorandum* sent by de Torres. This delay proved disastrous to the colony, and was the cause of many of the later troubles of Columbus. Many of the provisions had been spoiled by lack of

¹² *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, pp. 16 *sqq.*

¹³ BERNÁLDEZ, *op. cit.*, 668.

care, and the *biscocho*, or hard-tack (the staple that had been most difficult to procure in Andalusia the year before), had given out. However, the urgent needs of the colonists were not realized in Spain, and time wore on as preparations were made for a larger fleet. Difficulties next arose as to the ships to be pressed into the royal service, and this matter was no sooner settled than the scarcity of wheat in Andalusia caused a royal embargo to be placed on its exportation.¹⁴ Unfortunately, Count Cinfuentes, the royal governor of Seville, understood this embargo to include the relief armada, and with winter approaching it seemed that the fleet would never get under way. Another conflicting order¹⁵ came to Fonseca at this time (September 5, 1494), commanding that eight vessels should be sent at once instead of four, and that five more caravels should follow later. Three days later this order was rescinded and Fonseca ordered to send off the original four ships, since more could not be financed until the fall catch of *atún* was sold.¹⁶ The desires of the Sovereigns were beyond their means, and the whole month of September was spent in correspondence about the size of the fleet. It was finally decided to send only four ships, and with a peremptory order to Cinfuentes to suspend the embargo on wheat, the fleet was released and sent on its way about the middle of October.

Little more than a month elapsed before word reached Spain of the extreme distress of the little colony in Española [Hayti]. On December 13, the Sovereigns wrote to Fonseca, acknowledging his report on having heard from Columbus, and ordering him to send another armada back at once. This tentative order was held in abeyance, however, pending the arrival at Court of Margarita and Father Boil, who had come to complain about the administration of Columbus. Fonseca, too, was called away from his duties at this time to be consecrated Bishop, an office bestowed in recognition of his signal service to the Crown. The "Great Cardinal of Spain," Mendoza, had just died, and his bishopric of Sigüenza, the richest in Spain, was given to Carvajal, who later attained unpleasant fame as the leader of the schis-

¹⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 390.

¹⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, p. 286.

¹⁶ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 398.

matical Cardinals of the Council of Pisa (1511), while Fonseca was nominated for the bishopric of Badajoz, vacated by Carvajal. During his absence, Fonseca left affairs in the hands of Jimeno de Bribiesca, who was later to be distinguished by receiving a personal chastisement from Columbus, when the latter was about to sail on his third voyage. Bribiesca busied himself with preparations while the Court was discussing the case of Columbus, and succeeded in settling with Cinfuentes the vexed question of the bread supply for the colony in Española.¹⁷

Fonseca soon returned to Seville and resumed charge of affairs. The Court, influenced by the unfavorable report of Margarita and Boil on the Columbus administration, now resolved to send Diego de Carillo with power to investigate the adverse charges, and Fonseca was ordered to place the four vessels under Carillo's command. Another possibility was provided for: the royal order stated that in case Columbus had died, Carillo should take his place.¹⁸ These proceedings were interrupted abruptly, however, by the arrival, in April, of Antonio de Torres with news from Columbus; and Aguado, who had shown himself friendly to Columbus, was now substituted for Carillo in charge of the fleet.¹⁹ Although the Sovereigns ordered Fonseca to send off the fleet at once in spite of the change in command, he held it pending the arrival of Torres at Court, and once the report of Torres was made, so many complications ensued that the ships did not finally sail before June.

It is interesting to note here that Torres brought back with him on this ship the first consignment of Indians to be sold as slaves in Spain.²⁰ On April 12, 1495, Fonseca was ordered to sell these Indians in Andalucía,²¹ and on the following day another dispatch was issued telling him to hold the money received from the sale until theologians could satisfy the royal conscience regarding the morality of this act.²² This is interesting in view of the large slave-holdings later enjoyed by Fonseca.

¹⁷ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, pp. 327-29.

¹⁸ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 329.

¹⁹ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, p. 349; vol. xxxviii, p. 334.

²⁰ Those brought on the first voyage were intended for "purposes of demonstration."

²¹ NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 189; *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, p. 332.

²² *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, p. 335; vol. xxxviii, p. 342.

It is at this time, too, that we find the first indication of any conflict between Columbus and Fonseca. Columbus had suggested, it is true, in the de Torres *Memorandum* of the year previous, that perhaps he should "complain of someone higher up," in the matter of defective supplies, but no open or definite complaint seems to have been made to the Crown until Diego Columbus, the younger brother of Christopher, found occasion to object to the fiscal regulations of Fonseca, when he returned with de Torres from the New World. Diego had brought with him some gold, and Fonseca claimed it for the Crown, according to the regulations of the preceding year. Diego objected to this and carried the matter to Court, where he made the most of his opportunity to state his case against Fonseca. This drew forth a royal command for Fonseca to return to Diego the gold he had taken, to "speak to him and try to satisfy him," and to write to Columbus and try to overcome his resentment by finding out what he could do to please him.²³

The letters containing these commands are most interesting in the light of contemporary and subsequent events. With the representations that had been made, the Sovereigns had ample reason to be vexed at the conduct of Columbus, yet they were always careful not to wound his feelings. On the first of June, they addressed him several personal letters, mildly remonstrating against his severe measures, forbidding him to take away the rations of the colonists as a punishment,²⁴ and ordering him to return to Spain any colonists who were dissatisfied with their lot. This conciliatory attitude towards Columbus on the part of the Sovereigns was characteristic of their dealings with him, and that it was imitated by Fonseca is clear from later events.

After the departure of Aguado and his fleet in June, 1495, nothing more was heard from the Indies for a year, when Aguado brought Columbus back to Spain for a trial of the charges against him. That Columbus considered Fonseca as an enemy at this time is quite untenable, for we find the two of them sojourning quite happily under the roof of their mutual friend, Padre

²³ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxx, pp. 350-355; NAVARRETE, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 196.

²⁴ Las Casas says that Oviedo is in error when he says that Columbus deprived Father Boil and others of rations. *Hist.*, t. ii, p. 118.

Bernáldez, the gossipy *Cura de los Palacios*.²⁵ And that Columbus was not sent back to America immediately is not to be attributed to any intrigue of Fonseca,²⁶ nor is there any necessity for supposing a plot in Spain for the overthrow of the Admiral. The reports from Española had convinced the Sovereigns that Columbus was not in sympathy with the Spanish temperament, and they thought it best for his own interests, as well as for the colony in Española, that he have no part in the administration there.

When permission was finally given, the following year (1497) for Columbus to make a third voyage of exploration, Fonseca did everything in his power to expedite matters for him. It is in connection with these preparations that Ferdinand, the son and historian of Columbus, and a decided enemy of Fonseca, makes his only specific charge against him. He says that out of enmity to Columbus, Fonseca purposely delayed the preparations for this voyage. This charge has been repeated by most historians, although, strangely enough, Las Casas, who usually takes every opportunity to condemn Fonseca, attributes the delay to others "who hindered Columbus and Fonseca."²⁷ And this is shown by documents to have been the real cause for the delay. First, there was the usual lack of money, as we see by two royal orders, dated October 9, 1497, to certain merchants, to pay Columbus and Fonseca for the wheat bought from them, as they need the money for fitting out the armada;²⁸ and secondly, there was more than the usual trouble about provisions. A royal letter of December 23,²⁹ acknowledges that both Columbus and Fonseca have reported that the cause of the delay was the unreasonable attitude of the merchants of Andalucia in charging exorbitant prices for everything, and also gives them authority to select agents and to fix reasonable prices. This decisive action of the Crown finally overcame the obstacles in the way of Columbus, and some three weeks later he sailed on his third voyage. That

²⁵ BERNÁLDEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 678.

²⁶ BERNÁLDEZ, *loc. cit.*, says that Columbus was detained in Spain by "the necessities of the French War."

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 199.

²⁸ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxviii, pp. 394, 396.

²⁹ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxvi, p. 182.

the delay had irritated Columbus there can be no doubt. On the eve of his departure, according to Las Casas, he gave Bribiesca a place in history by throwing him to the ground and kicking him. That this action was resented by Fonseca may naturally be supposed, and we would have reason to suspect a like resentment on the part of the Sovereigns, a measure of whose authority Bribiesca represented, but we cannot find that any future action of theirs gave evidence of such resentment.

Shortly after the departure of Columbus, preparations were made for other voyages of exploration, and that same year (1498) Niño, Guerra and Ojeda started for the New World. Columbus looked upon such expeditions as an infringement of his rights, and Las Casas makes a special case against Fonseca in the matter of Ojeda's commission. This, he says, was signed by Fonseca alone, whether on his own initiative or under authority from the Crown he did not know, but to his mind it was a plot of Fonseca's to ruin Columbus.²⁰ Herrera²¹ was, likewise, puzzled at finding Ojeda's commission signed by Fonseca, and historians since their time have followed Las Casas in considering this an act of treachery. Fernández Duro has pointed out²² that there can be no question here of either treachery or unjustified assumption of power by Fonseca, for such an action could not have taken place without the knowledge of the Sovereigns, who must have authorized it. As a matter of fact, the Crown, without wishing to detract from either the glory or the gratitude due to Columbus, had ceased to regard the exploration of the Indies as a "one-man affair." Spain was in urgent need of money and it was expedient—as they stated to Columbus with every message urging haste—that the new country should be explored and its possession established as soon as possible, to forestall any action on the part of their powerful rivals. They did not want to violate any right of Columbus, but if there was any injury it was on the part of the Sovereigns and not of Fonseca. Two years later, when Ojeda applied for a second commission, they granted it with pleasure,²³

²⁰ *Hist.*, t. ii, pp. 389–90.

²¹ Dec. i, lib. iv, cap. 3.

²² *Amigos y Enemigos de Colón*, p. 18.

²³ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxviii, pp. 468 sqq.

and gave no intimation that the first expedition had been without their approval. From this time on, in fact, commissions to explore were freely given to all who could offer the proper guarantees, with the restriction that they were not to conflict with commissions previously granted. And that there was nothing irregular in the signature of Fonseca to the commission of Ojeda seems plain from the fact that the several commissions we have, dating from 1500, follow the same plan.³⁴

The strange statement is made by historians, on the authority of Las Casas, that Fonseca was deprived of his office for a time during the years 1497-98. There are documents enough to show his activity during this period, but if there were not, the statement of these historians would refute their own charges concerning the delay in the third voyage and the commission of Ojeda. As a matter of fact, Fonseca was constantly rising in the royal favor. In 1499 he was nominated to the vacant bishopric of Córdoba, and in September of that year he was sent as Ambassador to Flanders to arrange for the marriage of the Princess Margarita, widow of the late heir-apparent, Don Juan, to the Duke of Savoy. It is possible that Las Casas may have heard of this or some other absence of Fonseca, and concluded that he was dismissed from the royal service.

The affairs of the Indies ran along smoothly for an extended period now, so far as Fonseca was concerned. The *Casa de Contratación* had developed under his direction so that he was now freed from much of the merely routine work. There were many commissions to make out, fleets to inspect, Indians to be distributed, sold, or sent back to America, as the royal favor turned for or against their slavery, but there seems to have been no serious interruption of the routine until Columbus returned in chains from his third voyage (1501). Even in the sending of Bobadilla to Española to investigate the charges against Columbus, Fonseca seems to have had no more than a perfunctory part.³⁵

³⁴ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxviii, pp. 441, 449, 451, 453. Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 459—a memorandum of letters sent Columbus, in which he is informed that no one is to go to the Indies without the permission of the Sovereigns or the person authorized in Cádiz.

³⁵ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxviii, pp. 409-431.

The arrival of Columbus in chains caused quite a sensation in Seville and at the Court. Columbus came with many complaints, and not the least of them, apparently, was the matter of Ojeda's commission. The Queen was full of sympathy and did not want to see him wronged, but neither did she want him to hold any resentment against her royal chaplain, Fonseca; so she offered, Columbus says in a letter,³⁶ to act as intermediary for their differences. Whether this resentment was anything more serious than a suspicion that Fonseca had favored Ojeda at his expense we do not know, but it is certain that the two were on agreeable terms a few years later, when Columbus wrote (January 18, 1505) to his son Diego: "If the Bishop of Palencia is arrived, or when he does come, tell him how much I rejoice in his prosperity, and that if I go there [to Segovia] I will stop with him at his house whether he wishes it or not, for we ought to return to our first brotherly affection." "This," says Thacher, whose translation is quoted, "is the language of pleasantry to an old friend, not such a message as would be sent to a bitter enemy who for thirteen years had persecuted him and thwarted or delayed most of his plans."³⁷ This is the last documentary reference we have to the relations between Columbus and Fonseca, and it can hardly justify us in picturing the latter as hounded to his grave by a cold-blooded and unforgiving enemy.

We have just seen Fonseca referred to as Bishop of Palencia. This dignity came to him on the death, late in 1504, of Cardinal Zúñiga, Archbishop of Seville. Diego de Deza, an old friend of Columbus, went from Palencia to take the place of Zúñiga, and Fonseca was advanced to the latter see. He was in Flanders at the time, on a message from Ferdinand to his daughter Juana, who had been associated with him in the government since the death of Isabella (November 26, 1504). Shortly after this he

³⁶ *May 24, 1501. THACHER, Columbus*, Vol. iii, pp. 159-163.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 550. This message is preceeded in the *Book of Privileges* by several other letters to Diego referring to the "Bishop of Palencia." Thacher refers them all to Fonseca, but the first, dated November 21, in which Columbus says "the Lord Bishop of Palencia wishes to honor me," is said by Sánchez Moguel to refer neither to Deza, the retiring Bishop, nor to the new incumbent, Fonseca, but to Talavera, who was Bishop of Palencia when the project of Columbus was first examined by the scholars of the realm, before the first voyage. See his article in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, Vol. lvi, p. 154.

was called home to perform the last rites for his father, who was laid to rest in the ancestral tomb at Coca.

Historians who follow Herrera and Las Casas bring next before us a supposed conflict between Fonseca and Diego, the son and heir of Columbus. Diego went to Española as governor on the recall of Ovando, in 1509, and was in command there, at intervals, for some fourteen years. He made frequent trips to Spain, to answer the charges made against his administration and to secure his claims to hereditary rights which had been infringed by various royal appointments. That Fonseca was concerned in the charges against him is shown by a letter³⁸ to him from the Duke of Alba, whose niece Diego had married, in which the Bishop is charged with opposing the suit of Diego. However, that this opposition was anything more than an official act of prosecution seems unlikely, for Duro says, on the authority of Garibay, that when Diego and the Duke of Alba could obtain nothing, pending the settlement of the suit, Fonseca and the secretary of his Council, Conchillos, obtained for Diego the government of the Indies.³⁹ Diego was naturally jealous of the privileges which he saw slipping away from him with the growth of the enterprise of the Indies; every new appointment called forth a protest from him, so that we even find him aligned against both the friends and enemies of Fonseca in the famous case of Cortés against Velásquez for the government of Mexico, in an appeal to the Emperor to dismiss the claims of both, as in conflict with his own.⁴⁰ Fonseca, on the other hand, stood for a progressive development of the colonies under properly established authority, and it was natural that his plans should often be in conflict with the ambitions of Diego.

Fonseca meanwhile had risen to the zenith of his power. His work was well organized at Seville, and he was frequently called upon by Ferdinand, to whose royal chapel he had been attached,

³⁸ Published in 1892 by the DUQUESA DE BERWICK Y ALBA: *Autógrafos de Colón y Papeles de América*. Cf. *Boletín*, Vol. xxv, p. 405.

³⁹ DURO, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The commission of Diego, with the signatures of Ferdinand and Fonseca is given in NAVARETTE, Vol. ii, p. 406.

⁴⁰ *Boletín*, Vol. xxv, p. 409. Cortés told the Emperor in the Garay case that he knew that Garay was supported by Diego Columbus, Fonseca and Velásquez. *Cartas de Cortés*, p. 103.

for business of state not concerned with America. Thus we find him, in May, 1511, royal commissioner in the affairs of the English army hired by Ferdinand for the suppression of the schism of Carvajal and the taking of Bologna.⁴¹ In 1512 he was advanced from Palencia to the see of Burgos, and probably in that same year he was made Archbishop of Rosano, when Cardinal Carvajal was excommunicated and deprived of his benefices. Finally, on July 26, 1513, King Ferdinand asked for his appointment as Patriarch of the Indies. In his letter to Gerónimo de Vich, Ambassador to the Holy See, the king refers to him as "of illustrious birth, one of the principal nobles of this kingdom, who has from the beginning been encharged with the affairs of the Indies, and has by his disinterested industry and vigilance, diligence and care, . . . been the very principal cause of much good accomplished there, and continues his labors with great zeal to the end that all those peoples may be converted to Our Lord."⁴² In spite of the instances of Ferdinand, however, Pope Leo X did not consider it advisable to create in the West a great ecclesiastical power like the Eastern centralizations that had caused so much damage to the Church, and the matter was held in reserve.⁴³ With Fonseca's rise in power came a corresponding increase in influence and wealth. As President of the *Consejo de Indias* and head of the *Casa de Contratación*, he received many royal grants of lands and Indians, and he is mentioned as one of the largest holders of Indian slaves under the system of *repartimientos*. The question of the justice of this system had been agitated time and again during these first years by friars and governors, and it had been provisionally adopted as the best working plan for civilizing the Indians and bringing them to Christianity. This was the state of affairs when Las Casas, who had but recently changed his views and given up his slaves, appeared in Spain with proposals of relief for the Indians. News of his views and radical utterances had reached Spain ahead of him, for the authorities in Española, fearing the destruc-

⁴¹ BERNÁLDEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 744.

⁴² *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxix, p. 264. NAVARRETE, Vol. ii, p. 390.

⁴³ The Patriarchate was not established until 1524, under Clement VII, when Don Antonio de Rojas, Archbishop of Granada, was given the honorary title of Patriarch of the Indies. Cf. *Boletín*, Vol. vii, p. 197.

tion of their sources of revenue, were anxious to forestall any revolutionary change. In view of this condition, the first representations of Las Casas to Fonseca were not received with any degree of enthusiasm. Angered at his cool reception, Las Casas made use of the division of powers and sympathies that came with the death of Ferdinand and the accession of Charles V (1516). He obtained the approval of Ximénez, the regent, for his first plan for an investigation and for his later projects for the introduction of Castilian and negro laborers, and for his peaceful conquest of Cumaná with the "Knights of the Golden Spur." For these later projects he also enlisted the aid of the Flemish advisers whom the new Emperor, Charles V, had introduced into Spanish affairs, and with the support of these powers he felt free from any dependence on Fonseca—so free, in fact, that he even disregarded the approval of Fonseca's Council given to his second scheme, and went directly to Ximénez and the *Flamencos*. Naturally, such action did not tend to heal the breach between the two. Many sharp repartees passed between them, and, knowing as we do the tendency of Las Casas to judge everything by its relation to the object of his zealous prepossession, we can see how his own view of Fonseca has colored his narrative of the latter's dealings with Columbus. No doubt both were honest in their views, but Fonseca saw in the plans of Las Casas the subversion of the order he had built up on what he considered the best advices received from the New World, and he was not prepared to sacrifice his personal interests and those of his countrymen for what he considered the idealizations of an obsession. Towards the end, their relations grew more friendly, however, as the plans of Las Casas matured and appeared more feasible; but there never was a perfect understanding between the two, and it is to this disagreement, more than anything else, that we can trace Fonseca's bad name in history.

But if Fonseca's dealings with Las Casas were unfortunate, his relations with Cortés were tragic, and brought no little trouble to the closing years of his life. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, the camp-fire Boswell of Cortés, gives at great length the story of the conflict between the Conquistador of Mexico and the Bishop of Burgos, and roundly accuses the latter of using all his

influence for the destruction of the enterprise; and yet he begins his story with the frank admission that it was all the result of a misunderstanding.⁴⁴

The story of the conquest of Mexico has been popularized by Prescott, but a few of its salient features need to be set forth briefly to explain the opposition of Fonseca to it. After the first discovery and reconnaissance of Mexico by the expeditions of Hernández de Córdoba and Grijalva, Diego de Velásquez, governor of Cuba, determined to send a larger expedition to explore this promising country. He enlisted Cortés in the expedition, and placed him in command of the eleven ships that were prepared. However, before the fleet sailed, he grew suspicious of the daring young Castilian and sent to remove him from command, but Cortés anticipated his action by sailing away at once. Velásquez immediately denounced his action to the *Casa de Contratación* as insubordination, and won his point by gaining the good will of Fonseca before Cortés had an opportunity to explain his action. Cortés knew of the friendly relations that existed between Fonseca and Velásquez, and he determined to offset this by making a good impression on the Emperor,⁴⁵ and thus obtain recognition directly from him. To this end he pushed his conquest as rapidly as possible, and sent commissioners to Spain with large presents of gold, and letters to the Emperor asking for a royal commission to rule the land he had occupied. Unfortunately for him, the Emperor was in Flanders when his first commission arrived, and the delegates were met by Fonseca. In his official capacity he took charge of the letters and gold for the Emperor, and if he had had reasons of state before for being opposed to Cortés, he now had very personal reasons to be much more so, for among the messages was one from the troops of Cortés, which denounced Fonseca to the Emperor in severe terms and stated that the reason for his opposition was that Velásquez had given him "a town of Indians in Cuba, while he had given no Indians to the Emperor."⁴⁶ Fonseca had every reason to suspect what we know to have been the case, namely,

⁴⁴ "Supimos por muy cierto que nos andaba por destruir, y todo por ser mal informado." *Conquista de Nueva España*, ch. 43.

⁴⁵ DIAZ, *op. cit.*, ch. 17.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, ch. 54.

that Cortés spread this idea among his troops and approved their letter. Cortés said later in a letter⁴⁷ to the Emperor that in order to maintain loyalty among his troops he had told them to disregard the threats of Fonseca, who was moved by personal interests, and Bernal Diaz says that Cortés read the letter of the soldiers to the Emperor and was pleased with it.⁴⁸

Fonseca's action was prompt and decisive. He conferred with the agent of Velásquez, Padre Benito Martínez, who happened to be at Court at the time, and was informed that the representations of Cortés were false. He then arrested one of the commissioners, Puertocarrero, who was charged with abducting a girl and taking her to the Indies two years before, and sent to the Emperor a report favorable to Velásquez and opposed to Cortés. Meanwhile Velásquez had incurred the wrath of the Royal Audiencia at Santo Domingo, by contemning their authority. Against their veto he sent Narvaez with an expedition of seventeen ships against Cortés. Narvaez was outwitted by Cortés and disarmed. The same thing happened to the two officials, Tapia and Bono de Quexo, sent later under authority of Fonseca, and when Cortés learned that he had gained the Audiencia through the foolhardiness of Velásquez, he pushed his case before the Emperor. He sent commissioners with magnificent presents on two succeeding occasions, and when these delegates met with the opposition to Fonseca, they went over his head and brought suit before Adrian of Utrecht, who, though recently elected Pope, was still residing in Spain as Regent. Adrian heard the arguments of both sides and decided against Fonseca, who was thenceforth to have no jurisdiction in the matters of Cortés. The charge was made, and apparently proved, that Fonseca had an additional personal reason for favoring Velásquez, in that he was trying to arrange a marriage between that official and a niece of his own, Doña Petronila de Fonseca; but the claim that Fonseca had kept for himself the gold sent to Charles does not seem to have been established, for neither the decision of Adrian nor the later judgment of Charles had any clause demanding restitution.

⁴⁷ *Cartas de Cortés*, p. 99.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, ch. 54.

Charles V returned from Flanders shortly afterwards, and approved the sentence of Adrian. Bernal Diaz says that Fonseca, "in rage and mortification," retired to his estates at Toro. Here he was sought out by a number of the enemies of Cortés, who had gathered in Spain to make common cause against him. There was Narvaez, whose ambition Cortés had disarmed; Umbria, whose feet had been cut off by command of Cortés for insubordination;⁴⁹ and Cárdenas, whose grievance was that the action of Cortés in sending as much gold as possible to the Emperor left the soldiers with insufficient reward for their hardships and labors in the conquest.⁵⁰ Fonseca headed this delegation to the Emperor, and presented a long series of charges, in which it was maintained that the expedition of Cortés, which began with an act of insubordination, had been marked by a series of depredations in contempt of all authority. Charles ordered another investigation and named, as commissioners of the trial, the Italian Grand Chancellor, with three Castilian and two Flemish judges. The result of the trial, as far as Fonseca was concerned, was the same as before: the wrongs of Cárdenas and Umbria were redressed, the case of Narvaez was reserved, Velásquez was reprimanded for having treated with Fonseca alone instead of with the Emperor, and the withdrawal of Cortés from the jurisdiction of Fonseca was confirmed.

Still another attempt was made by Fonseca to attain what he considered his rights against Cortés. Rodrigo de Albornoz came to Fonseca with a new set of charges against Cortés, and was recommended to the Emperor by the Bishop. That Charles had not lost faith in Fonseca's judgment is shown by his statement on this occasion: "I will have to punish Cortés for all the evil they tell of him, in spite of all the gold he sends, for justice is worth more than all the treasure he can command."⁵¹ There was a long delay, however, before the investigation was begun in Mexico, and the Bishop of Burgos went to his grave without the satisfaction of proving his case against the Conquistador of Mexico.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, ch. 102.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. 105.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 172.

Fonseca had been ailing for some time before, and no doubt his irritation at the charges made against him by Las Casas and Cortés was partly influenced by his physical condition. We have one letter from him in which he begs to be excused from coming to Court, because of a sudden attack which affected his stomach and lungs. It is dated from Burgos, August 11, 1517, and begins with the naïve acknowledgment: "Your Majesty's letter was handed to me yesterday, Monday, the feast of St. Lawrence, while I was at Mass. . . ."⁵² The state of his health and the uncomfortable times he had been through made him less active in Indian affairs, though it is not true, as Bernal Diaz and others assert, that he was deprived of his office by Charles V. In fact we have an official letter⁵³ from him to the Emperor, dated November 12, 1523, the day before the date assigned by Fernández Duro for his death.⁵⁴ It reports that the officials at Seville have advised him of the arrival of Don Diego Columbus at San Lucar de Barrameda, and that Fray Pedro Melgarejo has brought gold that was not registered; and this proves conclusively that he was quite active up to the last.⁵⁵ There has been considerable discussion as to the time of his death,⁵⁶ but it is certain that he died within a little more than a year after the second decision against him, signed by Charles, October 22, 1522.⁵⁷

For a full judgment of the merits and failings of Fonseca,

⁵² *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xxxvi, p. 527.

⁵³ *Doc. inéd.*, Vol. xl, p. 153.

⁵⁴ *Boletín*, Vol. vii, p. 203.

⁵⁵ Diaz and Gomara seem equally unjustified in saying that Fonseca had a serious quarrel with his nephew (cousin?), Alonso de Fonseca, over the succession to the Archbishopric of Santiago, which they say the latter had obtained by furnishing money for the recovery from France of Fuente Rabia, in Navarre. Alonso received this benefice in trust, in 1507, on the resignation of his predecessor, who died five years later; but he never occupied the see, for when he came of age to receive it the see of Toledo was made vacant by the sudden death of Croy, the immediate successor of Ximénez, and Alonso took that see by preference. Tavera was made Archbishop of Santiago. CARVAJAL, *op. cit.*, pp. 556 sqq. Cf. also GARIBAY, *Los Cuarenta libros del Compendio historial de las Chronicas y universal Historia de todos los Reynos de España*. Barcelona, 1628, lib. xx.

⁵⁶ Irving places it as late as 1554, and this, in view of another conjecture as to the date of his birth, 1451, would have made him 103 years of age at his death—a noble age for a choleric man!

⁵⁷ Solís, *Conq. de México*, p. 356. Bernal Diaz says May 17.

we must await a fuller search by Spanish scholars into the more personal records of his life, but that he has been grossly misjudged by historians there can be no doubt. He was a wise, constructive statesman, and bore the brunt of Spanish colonial organization. He stood between the extravagant dreams of both Sovereigns and discoverers, and the limited means of the Spanish treasury, that had to wait for the sale of the fall catch of *atún* to equip a fleet. This constant need of money made him favor expeditions that promised large returns, to the apparent injury of the monopolistic rights granted to Columbus and his son. The project of Las Casas seemed to him economically inexpedient, and in the case of Cortés he allowed himself to be carried away by the representations of Velásquez that Cortés was a rebel. That "he was more given to equipping fleets than to saying Pontifical Masses," as Las Casas sharply said of him, need not surprise us. Those were the days of Court Bishops, when holy men like Talavera and Ximénez considered that they could advance God's interests by giving good advice to kings as well as by remaining at home with their flocks; and it must be said of Fonseca that he saw more of the water-front in Cádiz than of the luxury of Court. He was a Castilian of the Castilians, proud without a doubt, resentful, too, like the rest of his race, of the ascendancy of Flemish advisers in the Court of Charles, and his practical autonomy during the last years of Ferdinand probably made him exceed his powers later; but that he was a vindictive and unforgiving enemy, or that he stooped to vile and underhand means to accomplish his end, there is not a shred of a document to prove.

JOHN F. O'HARA, C.S.C.
*University of Notre Dame,
Indiana.*

CHRONOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY

XII. THE PROVINCE OF CHICAGO (1843-1880¹)

The Province of Chicago was established, September 10, 1880, by Pope Leo XIII and covers the same territory as the original Diocese, *i. e.*, the whole State of Illinois. The Suffragan Sees are Alton, erected 1853; Peoria, 1877; Belleville, 1887; and Rockford, 1908.

1. CHICAGO (1843)

"Any historical sketch of the Archdiocese of Chicago, no matter how brief, must commence with the name of the intrepid Jesuit missionary, James Marquette, who on the twenty-fifth of October, 1674, set out with two attendants from the station of St. Francis Xavier on Green Bay, to found a mission on the Illinois River. He reached the mouth of the Chicago River on the fourth of December and built a cabin, the first white habitation, it would appear, on the site of the city of Chicago."²

He was followed by other French missionaries, and after 1804, when Fort Dearborn was erected and attracted the Catholic pioneers, other priests came from time to time to minister to them. Father Gabriel Richard preached at the fort in 1821 and Father Badin, the proto-priest of the United States, administered baptism there in 1822 to Alexander Beaubien. But it was only in 1833 that Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, acting as Vicar General of Bardstown, sent a resident pastor in the person of the Rev. John Mary Ignatius St. Cyr. Father St. Cyr said the first Mass in Chicago, May 5, 1833, and shortly afterwards erected a small church which was dedicated in October of the same year. A little later when Bishop Brute, the first Bishop of Vincennes, came to Chicago he found a congregation of about four hundred souls. The State of Illinois was a part of the Diocese of Bardstown, although, in fact, it was attended from the more thriving church of Missouri. When the Diocese of Vincennes was established, eastern Illinois was made a part of it. The Diocese of Chicago

¹ With this issue the series of articles on the *Rise of the Hierarchy in the United States* is concluded.

² Article *Chicago* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

was erected by Pope Gregory XVI, November 28, 1843, and comprised the whole State of Illinois. At the present time it includes six counties, with an area of 3,620 square miles, and has 846 priests, 331 churches with resident priests of which 222 are in the city of Chicago, 69 missions and chapels, and a Catholic population of 1,150,000.

1. The first Bishop of Chicago was the Right Rev. William Quarter, born at Killurine, King's County, Ireland, January 21, 1806. He came to America in 1822 and was ordained at New York, September 19, 1829. He was consecrated, March 10, 1844, and died, April 10, 1848, aged 42 years.

2. The second Bishop was the Right Rev. James O. Vandevelde, born in Belgium, April 3, 1795. He became a Jesuit in 1817 and was ordained at Baltimore, September 25, 1827. He was consecrated, February 11, 1849, was transferred to Natchez, July 29, 1853, and died, November 13, 1855.

3. The Right Rev. Anthony O'Regan, born in County Mayo, Ireland, in 1809, was ordained at Maynooth and came to St. Louis in 1849. He was consecrated, July 25, 1854. He resigned and was made titular Bishop of Dora, June 25, 1858. He died in London, England, November 13, 1866, at the age of 57 years.

4. The Right Rev. James Duggan was born at Maynooth, County Kildare, Ireland, May 22, 1825, and was ordained at St. Louis, May 29, 1847. He was twice Administrator of the Diocese of Chicago whilst the See was vacant. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Gabala and Coadjutor of St. Louis, May 3, 1857, and was transferred to Chicago, January 21, 1859. On account of infirm health he was removed in 1870, and did not die until March 27, 1899.

5. The Right Rev. Thomas Foley, born at Baltimore, March 6, 1822, and ordained, August 16, 1846, was made titular Bishop of Pergamus and Coadjutor of Chicago, November 19, 1869, and was consecrated, February 27, 1870. He was at the same time appointed Administrator of the Diocese. He did not, however, actually enjoy the title of Bishop of Chicago. He died, February 19, 1879.

6. Pope Leo XIII, September 10, 1880, erected the Archdiocese of Chicago, and the Right Rev. Patrick Augustine Feehan was translated from Nashville and became the first Archbishop. Archbishop Feehan was born at Spring Hill, County Tipperary, Ireland, August 29 1829, was ordained at St. Louis, November 1, 1852; and was consecrated Bishop of Nashville, November 1, 1865. He died July 12, 1902.

7. The Most Rev. James Edward Quigley was born in Canada, October 15, 1855, and was ordained at Rome, April 13, 1879. He was consecrated Bishop of Buffalo, February 24, 1897, and was transferred to Chicago, January 8, 1903. He died, July 10, 1915.

The Right Rev. Alexander J. McGavick, titular Bishop of Marcopolia, consecrated May 1, 1899, is Auxiliary of Chicago. The Most Rev. Joseph Weber, titular Archbishop of Darna, consecrated December 2, 1895, Provincial of the Resurrectionist Fathers in the United States, also resides in Chicago.

8. The present Archbishop is the Most Rev. **George W. Mundelein**, born, July 2, 1872, and ordained, June 9, 1895. He was appointed titular bishop of Loryma and Auxiliary of Brooklyn, June 30, 1909, and was consecrated, September 21, 1909. He was promoted and translated to Chicago, December 9, 1915.

2. ALTON (1853-1857)

The Diocese of Chicago was divided by Pope Pius IX, July 29, 1853, and the southern part of the State of Illinois was erected into a Diocese with its See at Quincy. The Very Rev. **Joseph Melcher**, Vicar General of St. Louis, was chosen as the first bishop, but he declined the appointment and the diocese was never actually organized. It was left under the care and administration of the Bishop of Chicago and finally was removed to Alton, January 9, 1857. Originally, it comprised the whole southern half of Illinois. It comprises 15,139 square miles of territory stretching across the State between Peoria on the north and Belleville on the south, and it has, in 1917, 198 priests, 161 churches, 20 chapels and stations, with a Catholic population of 87,000.

1. The first Bishop of Alton was the Right Rev. **Henry Damian Juncker**, born in Lorraine, August 22, 1809, and ordained at Cincinnati, March 16, 1834. He was consecrated Bishop of Alton, April 26, 1857, and died, October 2, 1868.

2. The second Bishop was the Right Rev. **Peter Joseph Baltus**, born, April 7, 1827, at Ensheim, Bavaria, and ordained at Montreal, May 21, 1853. He was consecrated, January 23, 1870, and died, February 15, 1886.

3. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. **James Ryan**, born at Thurles, County Tipperary, Ireland, June 17, 1848, and ordained at Louisville, Ky., December 24, 1871. He was appointed, February 28, 1888, and was consecrated, May 1, 1888.

3. PEORIA (1877)

The southern portion of the Diocese of Chicago, as it then existed, was erected into the Diocese of Peoria by Pope Pius IX, January 18, 1875. It has an area of 18,554 square miles and has, in 1917, 223 priests, 233 churches, 20 stations, and a Catholic population of 115,550.

1. The first Bishop¹ was the Most Rev. **John Lancaster Spalding**, born in Kentucky, June 2, 1840, and ordained, December 19, 1863. He was appointed, November 27, 1876, and was consecrated, May 1, 1877. He resigned, Septem-

¹ The Rev. **Michael Hurley** was at first chosen, but he declined. He died as Vicar General of the Diocese in 1898.

ber 11, 1908, and was made titular Archbishop of Scitopolis, October 14, 1906. He died, August 25, 1916.

2. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. Edmund Michael Dunne, born at Chicago, February 2, 1864, and ordained at Louvain, June 24, 1887. He was appointed, June 30, 1909, and was consecrated, September 1, 1909.

The Right Rev. Peter J. O'Reilly, consecrated titular Bishop of Lebedos, September 21, 1900, is Auxiliary Bishop of Peoria.

4. BELLEVILLE (1887)

The extreme southern part of Illinois was cut off from the Diocese of Alton and erected into the Diocese of Belleville, January 7, 1887, by Pope Leo XIII. It has an area of 11,678 square miles and has, in 1917, 133 priests, 130 churches, and 17 chapels, with a Catholic population of 71,838.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. John Janssen, born in Germany, March 3, 1835, and ordained at Alton, November 19, 1858. He was appointed, February 28, 1888, and consecrated, April 25, 1888. He died, July 2, 1913.

2. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. Henry Althoff, born in Illinois, August 28, 1873, and ordained, July 26, 1902. He was appointed, December 4, 1913, and was consecrated, February 24, 1914.

5. ROCKFORD (1908)

Pope Pius X erected the Diocese of Rockford, September 23, 1908. It comprises twelve counties in the northwestern part of Illinois, with an area of 6,867 square miles and was cut off from the Diocese of Chicago. It has, in 1917, 110 priests, 94 churches, 28 chapels and stations, with a Catholic population of 58,199.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. Peter James Muldoon, born in California, October 10, 1863, and ordained, December 18, 1886. He was appointed titular Bishop of Tamassus and Auxiliary of Chicago, June 10, 1901, was consecrated, July 25, 1901, and was translated to Rockford, September 22, 1908. His appointment to Monterey and Los Angeles, March 22, 1917, was later rescinded by the Holy See.

XIII. THE PROVINCE OF ST. PAUL (1850-1888)

The real history, civil as well as ecclesiastical, of Minnesota, may be said to begin in 1680, with the visit made to the Falls of St. Anthony and adjacent regions, by the Rev. Louis Hennepin and his companions. During the same year Du Luht explored the northern part of the State, and in July joined Father Hennepin at or near the lake now known as Mille Lacs. Not until 1727, however, were systematic efforts made to establish perma-

nent garrisons north of the mouth of the Wisconsin River. In this year a chapel, the first Christian temple established on the soil of Minnesota, was dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel within the enclosure of Fort Beauharnois. This fort was afterwards in 1730 removed to a higher and more beautiful site where now stands the Ursuline Convent of Villa Maria, and the Convent chapel very properly bears the same name as its historic predecessor, St. Michael the Archangel.⁴

The Diocese of St. Paul was erected by Pope Pius IX, July 19, 1850, as a Suffragan of St. Louis. It was afterward a Suffragan of Milwaukee until May 4, 1888, when Pope Leo XIII erected the Archdiocese of St. Paul. The Diocese originally extended over what was then the territory of Minnesota, an area of about 166,000 square miles, covering practically the same ground as now comprises the Province: namely, the States of Minnesota and North and South Dakota. The part of the Diocese east of the Mississippi River was taken from the Diocese of Milwaukee, the part west of that river from the Diocese of Dubuque. The first reduction of its limits was made in 1875 when Pope Pius IX erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Northern Minnesota. In 1879 Pope Leo XIII erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Dakota, covering what was then the territory of the same name. In 1889 there was a grand division of the Diocese of St. Paul and these two Vicariates, resulting in the erection in Minnesota, of the Dioceses of St. Cloud, Duluth and Winona; in North Dakota, of the Diocese of Jamestown, now Fargo; and in South Dakota, of the Diocese of Sioux Falls. These, with the Dioceses of Lead, S. D., erected in 1902; Crookston, Minn., and Bismarck, N. D., erected in 1909, comprise the Province of St. Paul.

1. ST. PAUL (1850)

The Diocese of St. Paul at present comprises twenty-seven counties of Minnesota with an area of 15,233 square miles. It has, in 1917, 346 priests, 271 churches, and a Catholic population of 265,000.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. Joseph Cretin, born at Montluel, Department of Aix, France, December 10, 1799, and ordained, December 20,

⁴ Cf. Article *Minnesota* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

1823. He came to America in 1838 and was Vicar General of the Diocese of Dubuque, when he was chosen Bishop of St. Paul, July 23, 1850. He was consecrated, January 26, 1851, and died, February 22, 1857.⁵

2. The second Bishop was the Most Rev. Thomas L. Grace, O.P., born in South Carolina, November 16, 1814, and ordained, at Rome, December 21, 1839. He was consecrated, July 24, 1859, and resigned, July 31, 1884, being named titular Bishop of Menrth and later titular Archbishop of Siunia. He died, February 22, 1897, aged 83 years.

3. The present and first Archbishop, the Most Rev. John Ireland, was born, September 11, 1838, at Burnchurch, County Kilkenny, Ireland, came to St. Paul with his parents in 1852, and was ordained, December 21, 1861. He was appointed titular Bishop of Maronea and Coadjutor, February 12, 1875, was consecrated, December 21, 1875, and became Bishop of St. Paul, July 31, 1884. He was named Archbishop, May 15, 1888.

2. ST. CLOUD (1875-1889)

Mille Lacs, where the Franciscan missionary, Father Hennepin, visited the Indians in 1680, is in the present Diocese of St. Cloud. After that, no other priest came to those regions for 170 years. Church history begins really in 1850, with the establishment of the Diocese of St. Paul. In 1856 the Benedictines established themselves near the present city of St. Cloud, and the first Abbot of St. John's Abbey was made the Vicar Apostolic of Northern Minnesota in 1875. The Diocese of St. Cloud was erected, September 22, 1889. In 1917 there are in this Diocese 152 priests, 129 churches, 18 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 62,694. The area of the Diocese is 12,251 square miles.

1. The first Vicar Apostolic of Northern Minnesota was the Right Rev. Rupert Seidenbusch. He was born, October 13, 1830, at Munich, Bavaria, and was ordained at St. Vincent's Abbey in Pennsylvania, June 22, 1853. He was blessed as Abbot of St. Louis Abbey (now St. John's), May 30, 1867. Appointed Vicar Apostolic, he was consecrated titular Bishop of Halia, May 30, 1875. He resigned, October 19, 1888, and died at Richmond, Va., June 3, 1895.

2. The Right Rev. Otto Zardetti, the first Bishop of St. Cloud, was born at Rorsbach, St. Gall, Switzerland, January 24, 1847, and was ordained at Trent, August 21, 1870. He was appointed September 22, 1889, and was consecrated at Einsiedeln by Archbishop Heiss of Milwaukee, October 20, 1889. He was

⁵ The Rev. Anthony Pelamorgues, pastor at Davenport, Iowa, was chosen as the successor of Bishop Cretin. He made a special visit to Rome, to be relieved of such a burden and returned to his people at Davenport. Cf. Rev. Dr. Schaefer, in the *Acta et Dicta*, Vol. 4, July, 1915. Hence the long vacancy of two years.

made Archbishop of Bucharest, Roumania, in 1894, which See he also resigned, several years before his death, which took place May 9, 1902.

3. The second Bishop of St. Cloud, the Right Rev. Martin Marty, O.S.B., also a native of Switzerland, was born at Schwytz, January 11, 1834, and was ordained at Einsiedeln, September 14, 1856. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Tiberias, February 1, 1880, and was made Vicar Apostolic of Dakota. He became first Bishop of Sioux Falls, September 22, 1889, and was transferred to St. Cloud, December 16, 1894. He died, September 19, 1896.

4. The Right Rev. James Trobec was born in Austria, July 10, 1838, and was ordained at St. Paul, September 18, 1865. He was consecrated Bishop of St. Cloud, September 21, 1897, resigned, April 15, 1914, and was named titular Bishop of Licolpolis, May 28, 1914.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Joseph F. Busch, born, April 16, 1866, and ordained, July 28, 1889. He was consecrated Bishop of Lead, May 19, 1910, and was translated to St. Cloud, January 19, 1915.

3. SIOUX FALLS (1879-1889)

Pope Leo XIII, in August, 1879, erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Dakota, with boundaries corresponding to what was then the Territory of Dakota, now the States of North and South Dakota. The same Pope, September 22, 1889, erected the Diocese of Sioux Falls, covering the whole State of South Dakota. It now comprises that portion of the State which is east of the Missouri River, an area of 35,091 square miles. It has, in 1917, 126 priests, 187 churches, 46 chapels and stations, and a Catholic population of 60,000 whites and 947 Indians.

1. The Right Rev. Martin Marty, Abbot of St. Meinrad's Abbey, Indiana, was made the Vicar Apostolic. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Tiberias, February 1, 1880, became first Bishop of Sioux Falls, September 22, 1889, and was transferred to St. Cloud, December 31, 1894. He died, September 19, 1896.

2. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, born at Boston, May 1, 1843, and ordained, November 5, 1865. He was appointed, January 24, 1896, and was consecrated, April 19, 1896.

4. JAMESTOWN-FARGO (1889)

The first Mass, in the territory now comprised in the Diocese of Fargo, was celebrated at Pembina in September, 1818, by the Rev. Sévère Joseph Norbert Dumoulin, one of two missionaries sent to the Selkirk Colony by Bishop Plessis of Quebec.* The Diocese of Jamestown was erected, October 3, 1889, and comprised, originally, the whole State of North Dakota. The

* Article *Fargo* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

See was changed to Fargo, April 6, 1897, at the request of Bishop Shanley and since 1910 covers the eastern half of the State, an area of 34,899 square miles. It has 102 priests, 178 churches, 60 stations, and a Catholic population of 69,871.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. John Shanley, born at Albion, N. Y., January 4, 1852, and ordained at Rome, May 30, 1874. He was consecrated, December 27, 1889, and died, July 16, 1909.

2. The present bishop is the Right Rev. James O'Reilly, appointed, December 18, 1909, and consecrated, May 19, 1910.

5. WINONA (1889)

Southern Minnesota was cut off from the Diocese of St. Paul and the Diocese of Winona was erected by Pope Leo XIII, October 3, 1889. It comprises twenty counties with an area of 12,282 and has 117 priests, 122 churches, with a Catholic population of 68,500.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. Joseph B. Cotter, born November 19, 1844, and ordained, May 23, 1871. He was consecrated, December 27, 1889, and died, June 28, 1909.

2. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. Patrick Richard Heffron, born in New York City, June 1, 1860, and ordained, December 22, 1884. He was appointed, March 10, 1910, and was consecrated, May 19, 1910.

6. DULUTH (1889)

The Diocese of Duluth was a part of the Vicariate Apostolic of Northern Minnesota when erected into a Diocese, October 3, 1889, and covered the whole of the northern part of the State, until 1910, when the Diocese of Crookston was erected. It now comprises ten counties with an area of 22,354 square miles, and has 61 priests, 84 churches, 35 stations and a Catholic population of 56,041 whites and about 1,500 Indians, a total of 57,541.

1. The first and present Bishop is the Right Rev. James McGolrick, born in Ireland, May 1, 1841, and ordained at All Hallows, June 11, 1867. He was appointed, November 15, 1889, and was consecrated, December 27, 1889.

7. LEAD (1902)

The Diocese of Lead comprises that part of South Dakota which lies west of the Missouri River. It was part of the Vicariate of Nebraska, until the erection of the Vicariate of Dakota and, later, of the Diocese of Sioux Falls. It was erected by Pope Leo XIII, August 6, 1902. It has an area of 41,759 square miles,

with 47 priests, 123 churches, 40 Indian chapels, 50 stations, and a Catholic population of 25,000.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. John Stariha, born in Austria, May 12, 1845. He was consecrated, October 28, 1902, and was transferred to the titular See of Antipatris, November 9, 1909. He died at Laibach, Austria, November 28, 1915.

2. The Right Rev. Joseph F. Busch, born in Minnesota, April 16, 1866, and ordained, July 28, 1889, was appointed, April 9, 1910, and was consecrated, May 9, 1910. He was translated to St. Cloud, January 19, 1915.

3. The present Bishop of Lead is the Right Rev. John J. Lawler, born at Rochester, Minn., August 4, 1862, and ordained December 19, 1885. He was appointed titular Bishop of Greater Hermopolis and Auxiliary of St. Paul, February 8, 1910, and was consecrated, May 19, 1910. He was translated to Lead, January 29, 1916.

8. BISMARCK (1909)

Pope Pius X divided the Diocese of Fargo and erected the Diocese of Bismarck, December 31, 1909.⁷ It comprises the western part of North Dakota with an area of 35,998 square miles, and has 75 priests, 134 churches, and 19 stations, and a Catholic population of 34,500.

1. The first and present Bishop is the Right Rev. Vincent Wehrle, O.S.B., born in Switzerland, December 19, 1855, and ordained, April 23, 1882. He was elected Abbot of St. Mary's Abbey, Richardton, in 1903, was appointed Bishop, April 9, 1910, and was consecrated, May 19, 1910.

9. CROOKSTON (1909)

Pope Pius X divided the Diocese of Duluth and erected the Diocese of Crookston, December 31, 1909.⁷ It comprises thirteen counties in the northwestern part of Minnesota with an area of 16,598 square miles. It has 42 priests, 73 churches, 12 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 24,600.

1. The first and present Bishop is the Right Rev. Timothy Corbett, born at Mendota, Minn., July 18, 1858, and ordained, June 12, 1886. He was appointed, April 9, 1910, and was consecrated, May 19, 1910.

XIV. THE PROVINCE OF DUBUQUE (1837-1893)

The Province of Dubuque was established by Pope Leo XIII, September 17, 1893. It includes the States of Iowa, Nebraska

⁷ *Acta Apost. Sedis*, 1909, p. 290. The *Catholic Dictionary* has the date, March 21, 1910.

and Wyoming. The Suffragan Sees are Omaha, erected 1885; Davenport, 1881; Lincoln and Cheyenne, 1887, and Des Moines, 1911.

1. DUBUQUE (1837)

"On the twenty-eighth of July, 1837, Pope Gregory XVI erected the See of Dubuque, a city but four years old, assigning as the Diocese that part of Wisconsin territory lying between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers."¹

All this large territory formed a part of the Louisiana Purchase, was included in the Diocese of St. Louis, and covered what are now the State of Iowa and the greater part of Minnesota and North and South Dakota. The Diocese covers at present the northeastern part of Iowa, an area of 17,404 square miles, and has 246 priests, 229 churches, 67 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 132,650.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. Mathias Loras, born at Lyons, France, August 30, 1792, and ordained, November 12, 1815. He came to America in 1830, was consecrated, December 10, 1837, and died, February 20, 1858.

2. The Right Rev. Clement Smyth was born in County Clare, Ireland, February 24, 1810. He became a Trappist, was ordained at Waterford, May 29, 1841, and coming to America founded the Monastery of New Melleray near Dubuque. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Thanasis and Coadjutor to Bishop Loras, May 3, 1857, became Bishop of Dubuque, February 20, 1858, and died, September 22, 1865.

3. The Most Rev. John Hennessy born in County Limerick, Ireland, August 20, 1825, and ordained in 1850, was consecrated, September 30, 1866. He became the first Archbishop of Dubuque, September 17, 1893, and died, March 4, 1900.

4. The Most Rev. John Joseph Keane was born at Ballyshannon, County Donegal, Ireland, September 12, 1839, was ordained at Baltimore, July 2, 1866, and was consecrated Bishop of Richmond, August 25, 1878. He was made titular Bishop of Jasso and first Rector of the Catholic University, August 12, 1888. After his retirement from the University he spent several years in Rome and was made titular Archbishop of Damascus, January 9, 1897. He became Archbishop of Dubuque, September 24, 1900, and is now titular Archbishop of Cio, to which he was translated, April 28, 1911.

5. The present Bishop is the Most Rev. James John Keane, born in Minnesota, August 2, 1857, and ordained, December 23, 1882. He was consecrated Bishop of Cheyenne, October 28, 1902, and became Archbishop of Dubuque, August 11, 1911.

¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 702.

2. OMAHA (1857-1885)

"When the Vicariate Apostolic east of the Rocky Mountains was established, it was supposed that the territory embraced in it would long be left in the possession of the Indian tribes. The reverse proved to be the fact, and in 1859 the Holy See divided it, erecting the Vicariate Apostolic of Nebraska which embraced not only that territory but Dakota and Idaho."

The division above referred to by Shea was in fact made by Pope Pius IX, January 6, 1857, but the new Vicariate was left under the administration of Bishop Miege until 1859 when

1. The Right Rev. James Miles O'Gorman was appointed Vicar Apostolic. He was born in Ireland in 1804, became a Trappist and was ordained in 1843. He came to Iowa in 1849 to establish the Monastery of New Melleray, of which he was Prior, when appointed Vicar Apostolic of Nebraska. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Raphanea, May 8, 1859. He died, July 4, 1874.

2. The second Vicar Apostolic was the Right Rev. James O'Connor, born in Ireland, September 10, 1828. He was ordained at Rome, March 25, 1848 and was consecrated titular Bishop of Dibona, August 20, 1876. Pope Leo, XIII, October 2, 1885, erected the Vicariate into the Diocese of Omaha with Bishop O'Connor as the first Bishop. It originally included the States of Nebraska and Wyoming. It comprises at present the northeastern part of the State with an area of 14,998 square miles. Bishop O'Connor died, May 27, 1890.

3. The Right Rev. Richard Scannell, born at Cloyne, County Cork, Ireland, May 12, 1845, and ordained at Dublin, February 26, 1871, was consecrated Bishop of Concordia, November 30, 1887, and was transferred to Omaha, January 30, 1891. He died January 8, 1916.

4. The present Bishop is the Most Rev. Jeremiah J. Harty, born at St. Louis, November 5, 1853, and ordained April 28, 1878. He was appointed Archbishop of Manila, Philippine Islands, June 6, 1903, and was consecrated August 15, 1903. He was translated to Omaha, May 16, 1916.

The Diocese has in 1917, 161 priests, 152 churches, 33 stations, and chapels and a Catholic population of 65,650.

3. DAVENPORT (1881)

The Diocese of Davenport erected, May 8, 1881, by Pope Leo XIII, comprises the southeastern portion of the State of Iowa with an area of 12,000 square miles. This territory was successively a part of the Dioceses of New Orleans, St. Louis and Dubuque and when first erected included the whole southern part of Iowa. It was reduced to its present area by the erection

¹ SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. iv, p. 654.

of the Diocese of Des Moines in 1911. It has 135 priests, 121 churches, 13 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 55,675.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. John McMullen, born in Ireland, January 8, 1832, and ordained at Rome, June 20, 1858. He was consecrated, July 25, 1881, and died, July 4, 1883.

2. The Right Rev. John Henry Cosgrove was born at Williamsport, Pa., December 19, 1834, and was ordained, August 7, 1857. He was consecrated, September 14, 1884, and died, December 22, 1906.

3. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. James Davis, born in Ireland, November 7, 1852, and ordained, June 17, 1878. He was appointed titular Bishop of Milopotamus and Coadjutor, October 7, 1904, and was consecrated, November 30, 1904. He became Bishop of Davenport, December 22, 1906.

4. LINCOLN (1887)

The Diocese of Omaha was divided by Pope Leo XIII, who erected the Diocese of Lincoln, August 2, 1887, to include the State of Nebraska south of the Platte River. It has an area of 23,844 square miles, 88 priests, 135 churches, and a Catholic population of 31,138.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. Thomas Bonacum, born near Thurles, County Tipperary, Ireland, January 29, 1847, and ordained, at St. Louis, June 18, 1870. He was consecrated, November 30, 1887, and died, February 4, 1911.

2. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. J. Henry Tihen, born in Indiana, July 14, 1861, and ordained, April 26, 1886. He was appointed, May 19, 1911, and was consecrated, July 6, 1911.

5. CHEYENNE (1887)

The State of Wyoming was a part of the Vicariate of Nebraska and afterward of the Diocese of Omaha, from which it was separated by the erection of the Diocese of Cheyenne, August 9, 1887, by Pope Leo XIII. The Diocese includes the whole State, an area of 97,575 square miles, and has 22 priests, 41 churches, 23 chapels and stations, with a Catholic population of 15,000.

1. The first Bishop was the Right Rev. Maurice F. Burke, consecrated October 28, 1887, who was transferred to St. Joseph, Mo., June 19, 1893.

2. The Right Rev. Thomas M. Lenihan, the second Bishop, born in Ireland, August 12, 1845, was consecrated, February 24, 1897, after an interval of nearly four years. He died, December 15, 1901, and was succeeded by

3. The Most Rev. James John Keane, consecrated October 28, 1902, the present Archbishop of Dubuque, to which See he was translated, August 11, 1911.

4. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. Patrick A. McGovern, born at Omaha, October 14, 1872, and ordained, August 18, 1895. He was appointed, January 19, 1912, and was consecrated, April 11, 1912.

6. DES MOINES (1911)

Pope Pius X divided the Diocese of Davenport and erected the Diocese of Des Moines, August 12, 1911. It covers the southwestern part of the State of Iowa with an area of 12,000 square miles. It has 80 priests, 88 churches, 12 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of about 34,256.

1. The first and present Bishop is the Right Rev. Austin Dowling, born in New York, April 6, 1868, and ordained, June 24, 1891. He was appointed, January 31, 1912, and was consecrated, April 25, 1912.

7. KEARNEY—GRAND ISLAND (1912-1917)

Pope Pius X divided the Diocese of Omaha and erected the Diocese of Kearney, March 8, 1912, which covers the northwestern part of the State of Nebraska with an area of 40,000 square miles.¹⁰ By a decree of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, dated, April 11, 1917, His Holiness Pope Benedict XV has, at the request of Bishop Duffy, transferred the See to Grand Island. (*Insulam Grandem.*) It has 51 priests, 85 churches, 16 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 18,645.

1. The first and present Bishop is the Right Rev. James Albert Duffy, born at St. Paul, Minn., April 13, 1873, and ordained, May 27, 1899. He was appointed, January 25, 1913.

XV. THE RUTHENIAN-GREEK CATHOLIC DIOCESE (1907-1913)

Pope Pius X, by a Constitution dated June 14, 1907, appointed a Bishop for the Ruthenian Catholics in the United States. According to the terms of this Constitution, the Bishop is subject immediately to the Holy See and is under the supervision of the Apostolic Delegate at Washington. He did not have, however, jurisdiction as an ordinary, but was to be delegated by the Bishops of the Dioceses in which the Ruthenian Catholics lived. By a letter of May 28, 1913, the Sacred Congregation of

¹⁰ The limits of this Diocese were enlarged, May 13, 1916, by the addition of Wheeler, Greeley and Howard and part of Hall, Counties, taken from the Diocese of Omaha.

the Propaganda conferred upon him full and ordinary jurisdiction over all the faithful and clergy of the Ruthenian Rite living in the United States, so that now he is the only true Bishop of the Ruthenians in this country.

1. The first Ruthenian Bishop appointed was the Right Rev. Stephen Soter Ortynsky, a Monk of the Order of St. Basil. He was born January 29, 1866, was ordained, July 18, 1891, was appointed titular Bishop of Daulia, February 28, 1907, and was consecrated, May 12, 1907. There are in the United States about 500,000 Catholics of the Ruthenian-Greek Rite, and they are served by 147 priests. They have 147 churches with resident priests and 150 parochial schools.

Bishop Ortynsky died, March 24, 1916, and the Diocese is administered by the V. Rev. Peter Poniatishin, who resides at Newark, N. J., and the V. Rev. Gabriel Martyak, who resides at Lansford, Pa.

(THE END)

RIGHT REV. OWEN B. CORRIGAN, D.D.,
Baltimore, Md.

ROSATI'S ELEVATION TO SEE OF ST. LOUIS

(1827)

A Pastoral Letter addressed by Bishop Dubourg to the priests of Louisiana advised them of the appointment of a Coadjutor, and the coming auspicious event of the latter's consecration. The wish of the prelate was that this ceremony should mark an historical date in the annals of the Diocese. As a place suitable for the ceremony, and easy to reach by the greatest possible number of priests, he appointed the church of the Ascension at Donaldsonville; the twenty-fifth of March, feast of the Annunciation, he deemed an ideal day: it falling that year on a Thursday, the clergy of the neighborhood—as neighborhood was accounted in those times—were able to come and go back without depriving their flocks of the Sunday Mass.¹

Bishop-elect Rosati left the "Barrens" on Saturday, January 31, 1824, *hyeme maxime saeviente*,² for St. Genevieve, where he expected to take a southbound boat. But the waters of the Mississippi were drifting huge ice floes, and the traveller had to wait three whole weeks for a conveyance, "enjoying meanwhile the company of his confrère, Father F. X. Dahmen, C.M., pastor of St. Genevieve."³ Finally, on Saturday, February 21, a boat was announced, and the next morning, after an early Mass, he commenced his voyage.

It was his first journey to the Southland, and a tedious and toilsome one it proved, particularly at the outset. The water was low; in consequence no less than five times did the craft run into sand-bars, and twelve full days were required to cover the 140 miles between St. Genevieve and the mouth of the Ohio.⁴

The latter spot no doubt stirred in Bishop Rosati vivid memories of past hardships and blessings. Five years had scarcely elapsed since (September, 1818), with his twenty-three companions, he huddled on a small leaky flatboat, descended the

¹ The letter of Bishop Dubourg is not extant, but the gist of it is given by Bishop Rosati in a letter to Father Baccari, March 29, 1824.

² *Diary*, Under above date.

³ Letter to Father Baccari, March 29, 1824.

⁴ *Diary*, February 22, March 4.

"Beautiful River"; there, on the Missouri shore, was the place where they landed, and waited ten long days for horses to take them to the "Barrens"; there, after their scanty provisions were consumed, they stared hunger in the face; there, too, they for the first time in the Louisiana Diocese performed spiritual and corporal works of mercy in behalf of a family of Tennessean emigrants famished, half-naked and destitute of everything; there, on the desert bank of the river, under a canopy of boughs and foliage, Mass and Vespers were sung on September 27, anniversary of the death of St. Vincent de Paul, and to crown the day, baptism was administered to five children of these poor Tennesseans.⁵ The apostolic hero of the day, the saintly Father Andrew Ferrari, had now gone to receive his reward: stricken with yellow fever, he had breathed his last in New Orleans on November 2, 1822. Fain would Father Rosati have tarried an hour to tread once more the sand of this lonely river bank, seek the shattered remnants of the rustic altar, and kneel down at the place where he had celebrated Mass for the first time on Missouri soil. But thanks to the brimful Ohio, the Mississippi was again the "Father of Waters," promising the much overdue craft a speedy completion of her journey; and soon the winter mist screened from the lingering gaze of the traveller the spot hallowed by holy memories.

A week later, March 11, *ad multam noctem*, he landed at Donaldsonville and was received with open arms by the Pastor, Father Hercules Brassac. Two days after, he went across the river to tender his respects to Bishop Dubourg, just arrived from New Orleans and staying at the home of one of his nephews, nine miles from Donaldsonville; and, this duty performed, retired to Assumption, the home of his friend, Father Bigeschi, and of his young confrère Father Tichitoli, to prepare himself by a spiritual retreat (March 14-21) for his episcopal consecration. Then, driving by a roundabout way, he paid a short visit to the priests of the neighborhood: old Father Bernard de Devas,⁶

⁵ ROSATI, *Sketch of the Life of Father Ferrari*. MS. *Archives of the Proc. Gen. C. M.*, Rome. *America*, P. II. *Append.*, pp. 173-174.

⁶ Formerly Pastor of St. Martin of the Attakapas, and, later, of the Assumption; was then retired from active duty.

Father Potini⁷ and Father Rosti,⁸ C.M., in charge of the parish of St. Joseph (Thibodeaux, La.); and with them returned to Donaldsonville on Wednesday, March 24. Bishop Dubourg and a number of the neighboring clergy had already arrived. The beautiful brick church of the Ascension⁹ had donned its festive attire. Everything was in readiness. At sunset the roar of the mortar and the joyful peals of the church bell announced to all the surrounding country the morrow's solemnity. Then from every corner of the parish, far and near, issued forth as by magic the sound of hundreds of pipes, bugles, horns "and of all kinds of music," to serenade in good creole fashion the welcome guest.

On the morning of the twenty-fifth, a great crowd of people from Donaldsonville and from many miles around, eager to witness the unprecedented ceremony which they most likely were never to see again, thronged the church, overtaking its capacity. The sun itself during the preceding days had yielded sway to torrential rains, and now rose up in brightness, drying the country roads, lending to every color a wondrous brilliancy and bringing cheer to every heart. Never had the far away country parish witnessed such an ecclesiastical assemblage wending its way to the sanctuary in pompous procession: a cleric¹⁰ and thirteen priests,¹¹ half of whom were in copes or dalmatics, preceded—

⁷ Father Anthony Potini, a native of Velletri, where he was born in 1799, entered the Congregation of the Mission in January, 1816, and was sent to America while yet a scholastic in 1818, arriving at the "Barrens" January 5, 1819. Ordained to the priesthood on the Sunday before the feast of All Saints, 1820, he was sent during the spring of 1821 to take care of the parish of St. Joseph.

⁸ Father Joseph Rosti was born in the Diocese of Milan; Bishop Dubourg persuaded him to come to America with several others of his fellow-countrymen. He was one of the travelling companions of Mr. Anthony Potini. Soon after reaching the "Barrens," he sought admission into the Congregation, and while yet a novice was raised to the priesthood by Bishop Dubourg in October, 1821. After taking his vows (June 1, 1822), he was sent to Lower Louisiana.

⁹ "The church here is quite handsome; it is of brick, has two aisles besides the nave, divided by columns supporting the roof, and very beautifully ornamented." Rosati to Father Baccari, March 20, 1824.

¹⁰ Mr. Hermant, who shortly after went to the "Barrens" to pursue his studies.

¹¹ Bishop Rosati's *Diary* gives us their names: Fathers Bigeschi, Tichitoli, C.M., of the Assumption; Charles De la Croix, of St. Michael's; Anduze, of St. James; Brassac, of the Ascension; Potini, C.M., Rosti, C.M., of St. Joseph's; Millet, of St. Charles (Grand Coteau); Peyretti, of St. John the Evangelist's (Vermillionville, now La Fayette); Janvier, of New Orleans; Bernard De Devas; Sibourd, V. G.; Anthony de Sedella, O.M.C., of the Cathedral, New Orleans.

ing the Bishop-elect and the Diocesan prelate. The impressive ceremonial of episcopal consecration was carried out with stateliness and majesty, not a whit less solemn for the fact that two priests, Father Sibourd, V.G., and Father Anthony de Sedella, O.M.C., discharged the office of assistants to the consecrating prelate. Father Anduze, pastor of St. James, was the orator of the day; and we may well believe Bishop Rosati, himself a discriminating judge of pulpit oratory, when he says the sermon, which was most appropriate and eloquent, constituted a worthy crowning of the whole function.

And the new Bishop? What sentiments filled his soul at this august moment he himself tells us four days later in a letter written to his brother:

As for myself, I may honestly assure you that, overwhelmed as I was by the thought of a dignity surpassing my merits and of a burden much beyond my strength, I could do nothing else, during the ceremony of the Consecration, except humble myself and feel utterly confounded at the thought of my unworthiness. Still I take comfort in the consciousness that, far from desiring this dignity, I have done everything in my power to prevent its being bestowed upon me, and have consented to assume it only when those who are for me the organs of the will of God intimated that further refusals on my part would be of no avail. Anyhow, one of the shoals of the Episcopate I am safe from, being a Bishop in such a country as this: for here there are neither honors, comforts nor riches attached to the dignity—another motive urging me to imitate in my conduct the example of the Apostles, the office of whom I have been called to discharge. Recommend me, therefore, to the prayers of my friends and other pious souls whom you know.

It was Bishop Dubourg's desire that his Coadjutor should meet all the priests of the Diocese. Several had come to the consecration; but there were others whom duty and distances prevented from being present. Having, therefore, on the following Sunday inaugurated his episcopal functions in the church of the Ascension by administering the sacrament of confirmation to five persons, Bishop Rosati set out for his round of visits. By the means of his *Diary* we are able to follow him in this journey through Louisiana, first to Opelousas, the home of Fathers Cellini and Rossi, hence to New Orleans, where he arrived on Friday, April 9, *hora sesquioctava* p. m. On the tenth, after Mass, which he celebrated at the famous Ursuline

Convent, he called on Father Anthony de Sedella, and, on returning to the episcopal residence, found there assembled to tender him their respects and a hearty welcome the priests of the city: Fathers Sibourd, V.G., Moni, Jeanjean, Richard, Acquaroni, Portier, Janvier, Michaud and Bertrand.

Staunch friends of his as all these were, in their midst he felt there was an empty place; he sighed "for the touch of a vanished hand," "for the sound of a voice that *was* stilled,"— lamented Father Ferrari's. To the tomb of the zealous Canon, whom he had so much admired, revered and loved, he repaired on Good Friday afternoon, not so much perhaps to pray for the deceased, as to reflect upon the latter's self-sacrificing and truly apostolic spirit.

On Easter Sunday, April 28, he was celebrant at the Pontifical Mass in the Cathedral, and Bishop Dubourg preached the sermon. The celebration was, so to say, the installation of the Coadjutor, who left the following Saturday on his homeward trip.¹² Tarrying a while at St. Michael's and at Donaldsonville, he finally sailed for Missouri on the *Dolphin* on May 10, with Father Potini and Mr. Hermant, a Seminarian then on his way to the "Barrens."¹³

Ten days of uneventful travel brought the *Dolphin* to the Bois-Brulé Landing, some 12 miles from the Seminary; there Mr. Hermant disembarked and took care of the luggage, whilst the Bishop and Father Potini continued their journey to St. Louis, where they arrived May 20. From the rectory, where they were entertained a few hours by Fathers Niel, Audizio and Saulnier, the priests in charge of the parish and college, the two travellers started for St. Ferdinand. A warmer welcome they could not receive than that which was tendered them by Father Van Quickenborne, the Superior of the Jesuits' residence, and by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart under the saintly Mother Duchesne.

¹² Apollinaire Hermant, born July 23, 1800, at Rodez (France), had been adopted into the Diocese by Bishop Dubourg; at the latter's request he left the "Barrens" in the following September, and went to Bardstown.

¹³ "All the priests of this portion of the Diocese have shown me the greatest affection; and as for myself, I have experienced an extreme pleasure in getting acquainted with those whom I had not seen before, and in seeing again the others from whom I had been separated several years." Letter to Nicola Rosati, April 18, 1824.

The next morning, the Bishop and his companion, having breakfasted at Judge Mullanphy's, returned to St. Louis. "There I saw General Clarke (*sic*), presented him Bishop Dubourg's letter, and we had a long conversation on the subject of the missions among the Indians. Our meeting was most cordial; and since General Clarke (*sic*) enjoys great authority among the Indians, I hope he will not fail to favor and help the Missionaries."¹⁴

Bishop Rosati was anxious to get home. As he had nothing to keep him longer in St. Louis, and as there was a boat leaving the next day, he started back to the "Barrens," arriving at St. Genevieve in the afternoon of the twenty-third. An incident which happened at this juncture deserves mention, for the insight it affords into the simplicity of Bishop Rosati's character. "We found at St. Genevieve," writes the Bishop in his *Diary*, "Mr. Paquin, a cleric of our Congregation, whom Father de Nekere had sent to find out when we might be expected at the Seminary; for the Catholics of the parish had planned a solemn reception, and the men belonging to the militia wanted to come to meet us. On understanding the arrangement, I simply forbade Mr. Paquin to go ahead of us; and so we reached the Seminary together, unannounced, a little before midday."

Bishop Rosati, however, could not forbid his many friends of the parish to come to offer their congratulations, which they did on the morrow. But on the third day, he resumed quietly the even tenor of his life; his *Diary* for that day, May 26, contains this severely eloquent entry: "Mass in the chapel of the Nuns;¹⁵ heard their confessions in the morning, and gave them a conference. In the evening heard the Seminarians' confessions."

What was the position of the newly consecrated Coadjutor? The question need not be gone into at length here. Suffice these few indications.

Bishop Rosati, writing to his brother on December 6, 1823, the very same day he sent to Propaganda his reluctant acceptance of the Episcopacy, says: "I shall continue to reside at the Seminary, and to live in our Community, teaching my classes,

¹⁴ Rosati's *Diary*.

¹⁵ The Sisters of Loretto, who had a house, Bethlehem, a quarter of a mile from the Seminary.

etc. . . .” This, indeed, had been particularly stipulated, at the time of his appointment, between Propaganda and the Vicar General of the Congregation at Rome, as the latter advised him:

By virtue of an agreement entered into with Propaganda, you must remain Superior of the house and Seminary over there, and head of the whole Mission in America, with the ordinary powers of Visitor, or even of Vicar General, for all cases where there is no time to write to Rome and wait for an answer; and therefore you are empowered to appoint confrères to rule the houses with the title of Vice-Superiors.

This arrangement resulted naturally in that Bishop Dubourg, residing in New Orleans, had direct charge of the southern part of the Diocese, whereas the administration of the northern portion of it was allotted to the Coadjutor, under the high jurisdiction of the Ordinary.

That this was the *modus vivendi* agreed upon between the two prelates, just the first few words of the testimonial letter given by the Coadjutor to Father Niel, pastor of St. Louis, who was then leaving for Europe both to restore his health and get some material help for the Church of Upper Louisiana, will be sufficient evidence:

Joseph Rosati, of the Congregation of the Mission, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of Tenagra and Coadjutor of Monsignor Dubourg Bishop of New Orleans.

Whereas nearly all the missions and parishes established in the State of Missouri and in the neighboring States have been *entrusted in a special manner to our care*, etc.

A little over two years after his consecration, Bishop Rosati became practically the rule of the whole Diocese. How this came about is well known.

On Thursday, April 20, 1826, Bishop Dubourg, then on his way to Europe, arrived at the Seminary. A note in the Coadjutor's *Diary* informs us that:

Epus Neo-Aurelianensis extrema suae Dioeceseos necessitate per-motus, incoepa perficere volens, atque nostrae Congnis foundationem in hisce regionibus stabilem reddere desiderans, in Europam iter aggredi decrevit, 1^o ut a Superiore Genli saltem duos Congnis Sacerdotes ad Superioris officium exercendum idoneos, 2^o ut ex Religionis propagationis amicis media ad Seminarii in Luisiana foundationem necessaria obtineat, etc., etc.¹⁰

¹⁰ Rosati's *Diary*, April 25, 1826.

This was all—or nearly all—that Bishop Rosati knew of the plan. He entertained Bishop Dubourg at the “Barrens” for three days, invited him to preach in the parish church on the Sunday, and, the Monday morning (April 24), accompanied him to St. Genevieve. Bishop Dubourg “reached St. Louis on the eve of Ascension Day, May 3, 1826. On the following day he preached; and immediately after Mass went to the steamboat—to which he would permit no one to accompany him—on his way to France.”¹⁷ From New York he wrote to his Coadjutor,¹⁸ and on the first of June sailed for Havre—never to return.

Meantime, at the request of the departing prelate, Bishop Rosati had gone down to Louisiana (May, 17), where the presence of a responsible person was needed. He returned home, July 19, just on time to celebrate the Feast of St. Vincent de Paul, and still under the persuasion that he was merely Coadjutor of the Diocese. What was not, therefore, his surprise when, on October 5, he received from Father Niel intelligence of Bishop Dubourg’s resignation?

“On hearing this,” he wrote two weeks later to Father Baccari, “I was absolutely bewildered, and could not persuade myself it was true; because the conversations which I had with the prelate before he left here, and the letters which he wrote me before sailing made me expect something quite different from his resignation; accordingly I considered the report as absurd and a pure invention.”

He was all the more inclined to this view that, at the same time he received the information, it was appearing in the papers of New York, Charleston, St. Louis and New Orleans—in this last place with very disparaging comments. The information, nevertheless, was exact; and a few weeks later, on November 4, Bishop Rosati, who had gone to St. Louis for the consecration of Bishop Portier,¹⁹ received, in a letter of Cardinal De Somalia, Prefect of Propaganda, and in a Pontifical Brief, dated July 14, official notification that Bishop Dubourg’s resignation had been accepted, that Louisiana has been divided, and that he himself

¹⁷ SPALDING, *Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 254. Louisville, 1852.

¹⁸ He had already written to him from St. Genevieve, after Bishop Rosati’s return to the “Barrens,” on April 27.

¹⁹ November 5, 1826.

has been appointed Administrator of the two Dioceses of New Orleans and St. Louis.

It might be asked here what were the causes which induced the Bishop of Louisiana to resign his See. Shea's verdict in this matter is unanimously accepted: "Discouraged at the difficulties which arose to thwart him, and confronted by bitter malevolence, he at last lost all heart and energy."²⁰ This is true, but incomplete. That indeed the old fractious spirit had not disappeared, many facts might be adduced to prove.²¹ "The very name of Dubourg," wrote Father Borgna on October 17, 1826, "has an irritating sound in the ears of a great portion of the inhabitants of this new Babylon. You cannot imagine all the abominations which fill the newspapers of this city."²² Even of the *sanior pars* of the clergy some had gradually become disaffected. The Bishop's preposterous proposal of Father Anthony de Sedella for Coadjutor had offended them. Neither could they help protesting against what they deemed a shocking disregard of propriety and blind partiality to smooth-tongued intriguers, when he recommended the wily Inglesi for the purple; nor were they to forget, if they forgave, the violent terms of the circular letter wherewith he had most unjustly lashed them, when they were simply trying to disillusion him. Again, several felt that, if the financial condition of the Diocese had become alarming, the remedy was not a wholesale multiplication of collections overtaxing the good will of priests and people alike, but rather more business-like methods of administration,²³ and, above all, less indulgence in the impracticable schemes of his too fertile and ever active fancy.²⁴ There were other difficulties, too; and in these difficulties the Coadjutor was involved; in consequence it will not be out of place to rehearse them here briefly. The two Bishops held opposite

²⁰ Vol. iii, p. 390. Cf. CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA, Art. *New Orleans*, p. 11; HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, pp. 179-180. New York, 1916.

²¹ That spirit was existing outside of New Orleans; as late as 1827, there was still at St. Michael's an *intrusus* whom Bishop Rosati declared himself unable to oust.

²² Letter quoted by SHEA, *l. c.*

²³ SHEA, *l. c.*

²⁴ These facts are gathered from a letter of Father Martial, New Orleans, July 13, 1822, *Arch. di Propag. Scritture Referite nei Congressi*. Codice No. 7. *America Centrale*.

views on two points, namely, the opportuneness of the division at the appointed date, and the transfer of the Seminary from the "Barrens" to Louisiana. Whilst each was absolutely convinced of the justice of his contention, still the mutual friendliness of the two prelates never seemingly underwent any change, although it would appear that, towards the end, Bishop Dubourg's hyper-sensitiveness to contradiction made him somewhat reticent with his Coadjutor. It would seem that the division of the Diocese had never appealed very much to the Bishop. As the time appointed for its execution drew nearer, the Prelate became more restless. For, failing to realize the possibilities for Catholic development of Missouri and the neighboring territories, he called to Louisiana priests working in the North, and some who had gone South to renew their impaired health he retained. In the case of one of the priests of the Congregation thus disposed of in a manner contrary to right and to the contract, Bishop Rosati had even to remonstrate.

In 1825, Bishop Dubourg sent to the Pope a petition asking that the division be postponed for the time being. Bishop Rosati, on being requested to sign this document, at first demurred, firmly persuaded that the delay of the division was hurtful to the interests of the Church in Missouri. At length, however, Bishop Dubourg became so insistent that the Coadjutor, reluctantly and for no other motive, as he explained later, than the respect he professed for the Prelate, yielded to the latter's entreaties and signed the memoir. Never again was the subject mentioned again by either: for whilst Bishop Rosati's grief was extreme, he knew that Bishop Dubourg was so bent upon his scheme, that any doubting reference to its advisability would be unwelcome.

No less divergent, towards the close of the year 1825, were the views of the two prelates on the subject of the transfer of the Seminary. On this point, however, Bishop Rosati could be more outspoken, as he was responsible for the interests of his Congregation.

The question had grown gradually from a desire of certain priests in Louisiana to have a Seminary established in the South, yet without detriment to the one already existing at the "Barrens." As early as May, 1823, Father Cellini, C.M., then at Opelousas,

had broached the subject in a letter to Father Rosati; his ambitions were then limited to the foundation of a preparatory seminary for which, as he stated, Mrs. Charles Smith, the widow of the founder of the church of St. Charles at Grand Coteau, was ready to make the donation, under easy conditions, of a large tract of good land. At first, the offer looked fair to Father Rosati; on second thought, however, he revoked his acceptance; and although he was severely criticized at the time,²⁵ he soon had good reason to congratulate himself on the course he had pursued.

If the proposed new foundation was thus abandoned, its idea, nevertheless, remained in the air. At the time of Bishop Rosati's consecration, Bishop Dubourg opened his mind on the subject. In view of the coming division, Southern Louisiana should have its own Seminary: a donation of 1,000 acres of good land had already been secured; moreover, a zealous priest was offering \$4,000 for the erection of the buildings. Bishop Rosati went to see the place: he found the location "one of the most desirable in Louisiana," and, on returning home, reported the project very favorably to the Vicar General of the Congregation.²⁶

So far not a word had been said about suppressing the Seminary at the "Barrens": the plan was to have two Seminaries. But scarcely had a year elapsed when developments took an alarming turn. In the summer of 1825, Bishop Dubourg expressed the desire to see his Coadjutor and to talk with him *de gravissimis negotiis nostrae Congregationis et totius Dioecesis bonum spectantibus*.²⁷ Leaving, therefore, Missouri on July 22, Bishop Rosati met Bishop Dubourg at Assumption, La., on August 16. What were the *gravissima negotia* then treated, we learn from our oft-cited *Diary*:

The Bishop and I had a long and exhaustive talk on the business for which I had undertaken this journey. Moved by the grave difficulties besetting the progress of the Seminary at the "Barrens" on account of the latter's scanty income, and wishing to provide Lower Louisiana with

²⁵ Some of the priests of the Congregation wrote to Rome, accusing him of "neglect, if not ill-will" with regard to the interests of the Congregation in this affair.

²⁶ Letter to Father Baccari, July 14, 1824.

²⁷ *Diary*, July 22, 1825.

another Seminary of our Congregation, the Bishop spoke at length on the necessity of such a foundation, and asserted it would give great help to the churches and the Seminary in Missouri. His opinion was, therefore, that I should as soon as possible devote all my energies to this foundation; that I should leave at the "Barrens" one, or may be, two priests with the boys of the lower classes, and go with all the rest to Lower Louisiana and conduct the Seminary and College there to be built.

My soul was pierced to the quick at hearing this; and I represented to the eager prelate the dismal condition into which the Church of Missouri was to be plunged by this move, depriving it, as it would, of all spiritual help. But on his retorting with vehemence that my refusal to consent to this capital project was tantamount to bringing ruin upon the whole Diocese, I found it impossible to resist longer: I gave my consent, and have written to the Vicar General of our Congregation to obtain his approval.²⁸

Bishop Dubourg's new project, quite different from that agitated before, would have sounded the death-knell of the Seminary at the "Barrens"—that establishment which Pope Pius VII had declared to be of vital interest to the Church in Upper Louisiana.²⁹ At any rate, the half-hearted consent of Bishop Rosati soon caused him a great deal of anxiety; still this consent was not, and could not be final, since the matter had to wait the approval of higher authority. As often as he returned to the consideration of the subject, the more it seemed beset with difficulties; and he warned his Louisiana friends not to be oversanguine about it, and above all to show the utmost caution *ne Seminarium aere alieno gravetur antequam existere incipiat*.³⁰

On November 8, just as Bishop Rosati, then at St. John the Baptist's, La., had written to the Bishop of New Orleans, the latter arrived quite unexpectedly. The topic of the conversation of August 16 was, naturally, resumed:

I urged upon the Bishop the difficulties besetting the contemplated foundation; and after weighing them carefully, we concluded that it is of the utmost importance that, before anything be done, I should find out what our priests in Missouri think of the matter.³¹

Bishop Rosati lost no time in making the promised inquiry. He arrived at the "Barrens" on November 21. Four days later he

²⁸ *Diary*, August 16, 1825: the letter of Father Baccari is dated August 17.

²⁹ Brief of July 14, 1823.

³⁰ Letter to Father Bigeschi, November 5, 1825. *Diary*, same date.

³¹ *Diary*, November 8.

summoned to a council the priests of the Seminary: Fathers De Nekere, Dahmen, Permoli and Odin. The letter written the next day to Father Baccari rehearses most opportunely for us the progress of affairs since August 16:

After my first conversation with Bishop Dubourg at Assumption, we separated, he to visit the parish to Natchez, and I to go down to New Orleans, and wait there for an opportunity to return to the Seminary. On account of the excessive summer heat I had to delay longer than was anticipated, and I paid tribute to Louisiana by being sick two weeks. Meanwhile, speaking of the new foundation with Father Borgna and the other priests of the City, I began to doubt the feasibility of the project. To carry it out, the Bishop of New Orleans is reckoning on a subscription; now, according to the judgment of all these ecclesiastics, this subscription will not net much; nay more, it would be unwise to launch it, because, as subscriptions have already been resorted to this year to build two monasteries in Louisiana, another would be too much of an imposition on Catholic generosity.

When Bishop Dubourg came back from his Visitation, which produced much good, I laid before him my difficulties; whereupon he told me that, in order to make the foundation of the Seminary a success:

1. He intended to buy a house and a plantation, that is, cultivated land, adjacent to the uncultivated land which has been donated for the foundation of the Seminary: this purchase might be concluded by the immediate payment of \$3,000, and the obligation to pay a yearly life interest of \$1,200 to the owner, who is a man 74 years of age, but enjoying good health.

2. In order to have the funds necessary to build the College and furnish it, he would ask a loan from the State Bank; this establishment exacts an interest of 7 per cent and the annual payment of one-fifth of the principal.

3. To put in cultivation the land on which sugar-cane may be raised, he would enter into partnership with some one who would attend to the cultivation; the surplus realized over and above the expenses would be equally divided.

All this appeared to me very objectionable, and I communicated my misgivings to the Bishop, telling him that, before coming to any definite conclusions I would have to consult our priests on my return to the "Barrens."

Thanks be to God, after a steamboat trip of eleven days, I reached the Seminary on the 21st inst. I convened the Council, laid before them what has been explained above; and their observations were as follows:

1. It would be too dangerous for us to run so much into debt: crops are uncertain; we might expose ourselves to bankruptcy, and would be

forced to sell everything to the disgrace of the Congregation and Religion at large.

2. The number of our priests is too small to be divided into two houses; it will be difficult to find one capable of being Superior; this division will oblige us to withdraw the priests from the missions where they are now so fruitfully employed; again it would be unjust to do violence to the reasonable inclination these confrères have for the works of the holy ministry, if we were to compel them to spend the greater part of their lives in teaching reading, writing, spelling, etc.

3. It looks like downright injustice to abandon Upper Louisiana, that is to say, the State of Missouri, and practically to deprive of workers a country where there is such immense fruit to harvest.

4. Finally, we ought to write you about this whole affair, and wait for your answer.

Observations as just as the above cannot be wantonly disregarded. In consequence, I have written to Bishop Dubourg to wait a few more years before establishing this new Seminary: in the meantime we may come by the means and the subjects that will enable us to undertake the work without running into debt and ruining the house already established.³²

How Bishop Dubourg received this request for delay, we do not know. Letters from him were delivered to his Coadjutor on January 5 and February 23, 1826; but the *Diary* does not disclose their contents. At all events, long before receiving these letters Bishop Rosati had been worrying considerably. His return home in November had been anything but cheerful:

I have found every body in good health, but the affairs of the house in wretched shape: debts have been contracted: the provisions are exhausted, and the barns empty. Rain failed to come in due time; hence, the Indian corn was dried up and scorched before maturity; moreover, this summer's unprecedented intense heat burned up all harvests, and whatever grain could be saved and stored up was devoured by wheat-worms. We had to buy at once corn and wheat: hence, almost all the money which had been given me by priests of New Orleans, I have spent in buying a few necessities, and paying some of the outstanding debts. What I shall do after this, how I will be able to meet the necessary expenses, I know not. But *Tua, Pater, omnia Providentia gubernat*. This is my only gleam of hope. *In Domino speravi, non confundar*.³³

³² The *Diary* contains, indeed, on November 27, mention of a letter to Bishop Dubourg.

³³ Rosati's *Diary*, November 22, 1825.

What may have been the reflections of Bishop Rosati, amidst these dire straits, is not hard to surmise. Since the present distress was in his mind linked in some way to Bishop Dubourg's various projects, the gloom hovering over the former naturally cast its shadow on the latter. Surely this was no time to purchase property, to borrow money, and to plunge headlong into a doubtful venture. Then there appeared in the Bishop's whole scheme such a want of considerateness! For if the Seminary at the "Barrens" was, particularly just now, in distressing circumstances, was it not, after all, because of its doing the possible and the impossible for the Bishop and the Diocese? This is precisely what some self-appointed advisers had censoriously represented. What was to be done? On the one hand, to close the "Barrens" was to treat unjustly the Church in Missouri, and to give semblance of reason to the plea that this part of the Diocese was not worth bothering about. It meant, moreover, running hopelessly into debt;—on the other hand, to retain the Seminary, though at the cost of privations, and to do the right thing by the Catholics of Upper Louisiana, was to incur the Bishop's displeasure and appear ungrateful. The more Bishop Rosati weighed the alternative, the more firmly convinced he became that Bishop Dubourg's plan was ill-advised. Still he would not trust his own judgment; and as he thought of none more prudent, more unbiased and, at the same time, more conversant with the existing conditions, than Bishop Flaget and his Coadjutor, Bishop David, he accordingly laid the whole matter before them, ready to acquiesce.

The two prelates examined the affair with the attention it deserved; and so strong was their conviction that Bishop Rosati's demur was well-founded, and that something must be done at once to relieve his unbearable position, that the Bishop of Bardstown resolved to write without delay to Father Baccari. This he did on January 1, 1826. After explaining Bishop Dubourg's project to do away with the Seminary at the "Barrens," and to establish a new one in Lower Louisiana, and rehearsing the wrong done by the Bishop in calling South some of the priests of Upper Louisiana, Bishop Flaget thus concludes:

1. My Coadjutor and I firmly believe it is not only expedient, but urgent, to make the division: because, until it is made, all the zeal and talents of Bishop Rosati are kept, as it were, in concealment; and

for this cause, the time-limit stated in the Bull for the division ought not to be extended.

2. Our firm conviction is, that the projects explained by Bishop Dubourg to Bishop Rosati are prejudicial in every respect. If, indeed, the transfer of the Seminary takes place, the blow will be fatal to Religion in Upper Louisiana, entailing a loss that cannot be easily repaired.

3. We are convinced, moreover, that the project is fraught with danger, because it involves the contracting of debts without any hope of being able to meet them. Furthermore, we believe it necessary that the division should be made as soon as possible, so that Bishop Rosati may have the right to call back such clergymen as he may deem fit to help him in his administration. This recall will have, of course, to be made with prudence; but it is absolutely imperative.

This is our conclusion, grounded principally on the perfect knowledge we have of Bishop Dubourg. When Father Martial, V.G., arrives in Rome, you may get more information touching Bishop Rosati's situation, which will enable you to take prompt measures to extricate him from his painful position.

Bishop Dubourg could not be long kept in ignorance of this formal disapproval of his various designs. The moment that he learnt it must have been one of bitter disappointment: his endeavor to have the division delayed was criticized, his administration was found fault with, his projects were denounced as unsound and harmful—and that, by his best friends, by Bishop Flaget in particular! A few months before, the Bishop of Bardstown and he had already been at variance on the subject of certain episcopal nominations;³⁴ but the present difference was far more serious. The shock, we may well believe, exasperated the smarting pain caused by the manifold difficulties besetting him at home. He must have felt it all the more keenly since the constant strain wrought by these troubles upon his West Indies Creole sensitiveness had undermined his health. In this disheartening mental and physical condition, his long broodings over what he considered a total misunderstanding of his actions and intentions gradually overcast his mind with unfair suspicions, to which he, at length, gave vent in a letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, describing the "persecution" which he suffered from his clergy, and ending by a request to accept his resignation (February 27, 1826). His resolution to go to Europe

³⁴ SPALDING, *Sketches*, p. 253.

was a logical consequence of this first step. What would his jaded sensibility have not suffered, had he seen the letter written to Propaganda just a few days after his departure from America, by Archbishop Maréchal, yet a staunch friend of his?

Certior factus sum RR. Dubourg Novae Aureliae Epum prima die praesentis mensis vela secreto dedisse e portu Neoeboracensi, intendens directe Roman adire. Quibusnam motivis ductus tam longum iter suscepit? Certe nescio. Cum tamen rumores vagentur, qui probabilitate non destituuntur, mihi officium incumbit submittendi S. Congni. quasdam observationes, ne videlicet decepta *romanticis* coloribus quibus iste Praelatus sua schemata adornat, aliquid decernere inducatur prosperitati Religionis nocivum. . . .³⁵

On landing at Havre, on July 3, Bishop Dubourg notified the Secretary of Propaganda of his arrival in Europe, once more begging that his resignation be accepted. The matter was already settled, as we learn from the minutes of the meeting of Propaganda held on June 26, and approved by Leo XII on July 2.

When the first news reached New Orleans, it gratified foes and friends alike: to the former it meant "good riddance"; to the latter the solution of a well nigh inextricable situation. "No one expected this change," wrote Father Borgna in a letter already quoted, "yet all who know that most worthy Prelate praise his resolve and rejoice to hear it. It was time to put an end to his sufferings; and just, above all, that in the decline of his life he may enjoy a little peace and repose."

As soon as Bishop Rosati received the Pontifical Brief of July 14, 1826, he informed all the pastors of Bishop Dubourg's resignation and of the division of the Diocese by the following letter:³⁶

St. Louis, November 6, 1826.

Reverend dear Sir:

You may have been wondering why I remained silent whilst several newspapers in the United States announced that Bishop Dubourg had resigned his See. But I could take no step before receiving reliable information about a report which I had every reason to disbelieve, until I had official notification of it. My doubts in the matter ceased only

³⁵ *Arch. di Propag. Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* Codice No. 8. This letter is dated Baltimore, June 4, 1826.

³⁶ The original is in French. *Copiae Litterarum et Documentorum officialium a Rmo Josepho Rosati Epo.* Archives of the St. Louis Diocese.

yesterday. Two briefs wherewith His Holiness has honored me confirm most unfortunately the rumor which for several weeks has caused me very painful anxiety. Bishop Dubourg has actually resigned, and his resignation has been accepted. The former Diocese of New Orleans, as Pius VII, of holy memory, had decided by the brief of my election as Coadjutor of the same Diocese, has just been divided: the one part including the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and the other the State of Missouri and the adjacent territories. The See of the one shall be New Orleans; and of the other, St. Louis. The Holy Father has entrusted to me, until further orders, the care of them both and grants me the necessary faculties.

You will certainly share in my regrets for the departure of the illustrious Prelate to whom the Diocese owes its priests, its colleges, its monasteries, its Seminary, in a word, all the good done in it since Divine Providence had confided it to him. I hope likewise that your zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls will press you to obtain from the supreme Pastor of our souls, by your fervent prayers and those of your parishioners, the graces necessary for those on whom this tremendous burden will eventually be imposed.

I am sincerely, etc.

Whilst the announcement of the division was gratifying news to Bishop Rosati, the prospect of going to New Orleans filled him with apprehension. True, Leo XII did not strictly command his choice; yet to a "child of obedience" a mere wish of authority is law; and the Pope's wish in the matter was so worded, his appeal to the prelate's zeal so earnest, that the voice of personal likes and dislikes should simply be stifled.

However, there was here more than a question of personal likes and dislikes: before God and his conscience, Bishop Rosati was persuaded of his unfitness for the See of New Orleans. The welfare of that Church was consequently at stake. His sense of obedience, on the one hand, and, on the other, the consciousness of his unfitness and of the interests of the Church, plunged him once more in a great perplexity. Like the year before, he thought of turning for counsel to his trusted friends of Bardstown; but as he wished to have with them a candid and complete discussion of the case, he dismissed the idea of a letter, and determined to go to Kentucky.

He could not, however, start at once: his parochial duties at the "Barrens" prevented. The exercises of the Jubilee had been announced for the first two weeks of Advent (December 3 to 17);

moreover, he intended to lay the corner-stone of the new parish church on December 26, and severe weather delayed the latter ceremony until January 1. Severe weather delayed, likewise, his departure for a few days. This enforced leisure he availed himself of to explain to Father Baccari the reasons which, according to his judgment, militated against his accepting New Orleans. Here is part of his letter dated January 6, 1827²⁷:

My motives are the following:

I am now perfectly inured to the climate of Missouri, whereas that of Louisiana does not agree with me, as I have experience in my various trips there: as I am now rather stout, the excessive heat prevailing there is so hard on me, that I am then unable to study or apply myself to anything; and, moreover, it occasions me great inconvenience.

New Orleans is a large city, the population of which is for the most part made up of unbelievers and other enemies of Religion. There is needed there a man capable of speaking the language eloquently, so as to impose respect for the Word of God, and not expose it to the danger of being scoffed at in the newspapers by such as go to listen to the preacher *ut capiant eum in sermone*. Now I have not the talent requisite for a ministry so important and, in that city, so difficult. On the other hand, in Missouri people are more religious, they come to church with upright intentions, and, on that account, no such bad effects are to be feared as in New Orleans, and some good is actually done.

Moreover, all here know and esteem me.

Word came on the morning of Sunday, January 7, that it seemed possible to cross over to Illinois. Accordingly, early in the afternoon Bishop Rosati, together with Brother Blanka, who was to accompany him on the journey, started for St. Genevieve. Father Dahmen decided to go along; and crossing the Mississippi River with extreme difficulty on Tuesday, the three travellers set out on their three hundred mile trip. The Bishop's *Diary* enables us to trace every step of this journey most difficult and trying during that particularly severe winter. Suffice it to mention here their Sunday stop (January 14) at Union County, with Father Durbin and the Kentucky Sisters of Charity, to whom the Bishop promised a painting of their Patron Saint. On the following Friday, January 19, at 3 p. m., they arrived at Bardstown. "There," writes Bishop Rosati, "we were welcomed most cordially by the Bishops of Bardstown and of Mauricastrum,

²⁷ *Archives of the Proc. Gen. C. M., Rome. America, P. II. Monsignor Rosati, p. 51.*

and by all the clergy, viz., Fathers Derigaud, Cellini, Elder, Reynolds, Foucher, Evremont, Kenrick, Cooms jun. and Cissel."

The Cathedral, the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, St. Thomas Seminary, Loretto, all these hallowed spots which, eight years before, they had learnt to know and to love, were visited in company with their episcopal hosts. In the intervals, particularly on January 26, the three Prelates had long and earnest conferences on the subject so near to Bishop Rosati's heart. The conclusion was that his motives to decline the See of New Orleans were adjudged *maximi momenti* by his two friends, who decided to write to Rome to this effect.³⁸

Nothing further detained the Missouri pilgrims, and they started, without delay, their homeward journey. Toilsome and dangerous as had been the route they came by, it was now even more perilous on account of persistent bad weather: accordingly they decided to return by way of Vincennes. At Nazareth, on January 29, they took leave of Bishop David; and at Bethany, two days later,³⁹ of Bishop Flaget. Here it was that took place the touching scene described by Archbishop Spalding, so characteristic of the faith, humility and child-like simplicity and candor of the two prelates. "So deeply," says the historian, "was Bishop Rosati impressed with the sanctity of his revered friend, that on taking his leave he fell on his knees, and refused to arise until he would receive a blessing. Bishop Flaget, taken by surprise, on the impulse of the moment imitated the example of the other prelate; and the scene closed with a mutual benediction imparted to each other, and a parting embrace."⁴⁰

The return journey, though on the whole as fatiguing as the trip eastward⁴¹—at every line of the *Diary* we read but of very cold weather, heavy snow, ice, overflowing rivers, etc.,—was interrupted by a four days rest at Vincennes, the first scene of Father Dahmen's missionary activity. At length, on February 20, they were back at St. Genevieve; and on the twenty-second,

³⁸ Rosati's *Diary*, January 26, 1827.

³⁹ Bishop Flaget would not let them go on January 30, "timens ne ob pluviam quae nocte praecedenti abundanter ceciderat fluvii qui trajiciendi sunt aquis redundantes impedimento essent." *Diary*.

⁴⁰ *Sketches, etc.*, p. 261.

⁴¹ Brother Blanka came near being drowned on the fourth day.

in company with venerable Father Donatian Olivier, who was going to the Seminary to spend in retirement the sunset of his laborious days, Bishop Rosati and Brother Blanka arrived at the "Barrens."

The two Kentucky prelates had advised addressing to the Pope a memoir in which the administrator should set forth his arguments. But scarcely had Bishop Rosati returned home, when he was compelled to undertake another journey, this time to Louisiana.⁴² There the memoir, also recommended by Bishop Portier,⁴³ was written, and sent through Father Baccari, who was urged to support its conclusions:

I pray you to go in person to present this memoir to the Pope, and to impress upon him that sending me to New Orleans would spell the ruin of our community in this country; that, moreover, I could not last long, both on account of the climate which does not at all agree with me,⁴⁴ and by reason of the anguish which will shortly befall me in a place where I can do no good, and even may run the risk of losing my own soul. Finally please explain to the Pope that even though I have done no good here in America, still I have constantly desired eagerly to do as much as my poor strength permits me; and that I ask for no other favor than to be left here, where I hope to be able to do some little good, and where I prefer to continue to eat cornbread and suffer all kinds of privations, rather than to enjoy every comfort in Louisiana.

The last lines of this letter contain a touching and dramatic entreaty:

If they insist on compelling me, I will go and throw myself at the feet of the Holy Father, and ask leave to go back to one of our houses in Italy and be employed in some of our functions. Ah! a person realizes the price and value of this our holy vocation only when he is not in condition to profit by all its advantages!

Nor was it to Father Baccari alone he had recourse to plead his cause at Rome. He besought Bishop Dubourg also to interpose in his favor; which the prelate did, in fact, in a letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda in date of May 1, 1827.

Leo XII was moved by all these pleas. A Pontifical Brief was sent, May 20, whereby Bishop Rosati was appointed to the

⁴² Departing from the Seminary on March 1, and from St. Genevieve on the third, he was in New Orleans the eighth of the same month.

⁴³ Letter received by Bishop Rosati March 9.

⁴⁴ On reaching New Orleans he had again a spell of sickness. *Diary*.

See of St. Louis, with, however, the duty to look after the Diocese of New Orleans as Administrator, until the appointment of a Bishop; he was requested, in consequence, to submit the name of a suitable candidate.

The brief was delivered at the "Barrens" on July 12,⁴⁵ At the sight of this document relieving him of his long anxiety, Bishop Rosati wrote in his *Diary*:

Per publicum tabellionem accepi . . . 4^o Breve SS.D.N. Leonis Pp. XII quo me ex Episcopatu Tenagrensi ad Sanctiludovicensem transfert, relicta etiam mihi administratione Dioecesis Neo-Aurelianensis usque dum. . . . Deo gratias. *Ipse mortificat et vivificat.*

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C.M.,
Kenrick Seminary,
St. Louis, Mo.

⁴⁵ Bishop Rosati appointed Father de Neckere, C.M., his Vicar General for New Orleans, and recommended him to Rome as Bishop for that See. Bishop de Neckere was consecrated in 1830, and died September 5, 1833.

CATHOLIC PIONEERS OF THE OREGON COUNTRY

The first quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a struggle for the control of the fur trade in the Oregon Country. The Hudson Bay Company, which ultimately captured the field, had the advantage of immense capital and thorough organization. The Northwest Company of Montreal, through the untiring energy and wonderful explorations of Alexander Mackenzie (1789-93), and Simon Frazer (1806), who discovered and explored the rivers which bear their names, obtained a foothold west of the Rocky Mountains.

On the return of Lewis and Clark with information concerning the possibilities of fur trade on the Columbia, John Jacob Astor, a New York merchant, who had long been engaged in the fur trade, decided to enter the new field. His first ship arrived at the mouth of the Columbia in March, 1811, and the crew, after many hardships, selected a site for a fort and founded the first American settlement in Oregon, giving it the name of Astoria. Astor's overland party arrived within a year with reinforcements for the new trading post of the Pacific Fur Company. Learning that the Northwest Company was actively establishing its trade connections among the Indians, the Astoria traders determined on an energetic campaign for control of the business. The year 1812 brought success to their efforts, but it also brought news of impending disaster. War was on between England and the United States. Before the end of 1813, a British warship entered the Columbia, took possession of Fort Astoria and put an end to the American fur trading. The Northwest Company retrieved its position and controlled the Oregon fur trade until 1821, when the Northwest Company became merged in the Hudson Bay Company. It was on the occasion of this coalition that Dr. John McLoughlin was sent to Oregon (1824) as chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company.

In 1818, a convention between Great Britain and the United States provided that citizens and subjects of the two nations should have equal access to the Oregon country for ten years. This arrangement was subsequently extended and it was not until 1846 that the northwest boundary was finally fixed. The

years between 1818 and 1846 are known as the period of "joint occupancy." It can readily be seen that the administrative problems arising under such conditions would be of an extremely delicate nature and would tax the highest executive powers. During this period the history of Oregon is largely the story of the life of Dr. John McLoughlin (1784-1857).

Establishing Fort Vancouver near the confluence of the Willamette and the Columbia Rivers as his headquarters, Dr. John McLoughlin took charge in 1824 of the immense commercial interests of the Hudson Bay Company in the Oregon country. The employes of the Hudson Bay Company at its score of forts in Oregon were, for the most part, Catholics. The old Northwest Company, representing as it did, the French Canadian traders, had practically none but Catholics in its employ. And even Astor's expedition was accompanied by Canadian *voyageurs*. Indeed, it was three members of this latter company who formed the nucleus of the Canadian settlement that later became known as St. Paul on the Willamette. Besides the settlement of St. Paul, four families were settled on the Cowlitz River north of the Columbia and about seventy-five individuals of French Canadian extraction lived at Fort Vancouver.

When these Canadians began to settle down to a quiet home life, there dawned on them a sense of the lack of religious instruction and spiritual ministration. The nearest ecclesiastical Superior was Bishop Provencher, who had his residence at what is now St. Boniface, Manitoba, being the auxiliary of the Bishop of Quebec and Vicar Apostolic for the district of the Northwest with the title of Bishop of Juliopolis *in partibus*. It was only in 1818 that the Bishop of Quebec had sent Abbé Provencher and an assistant to the Catholic settlers in the Red River country; and now the Canadians in Oregon, 1,500 miles farther west, turned to him for priests to reanimate their faith and reconcile themselves, their Indian wives and their children to the Church. At this time Monseigneur Provencher wrote to Monseigneur Joseph Signay, Bishop of Quebec, concerning the expressed wish of the Catholics of Oregon for missionaries. It was decided to send two priests to the new field and he at once entered into correspondence with Governor Simpson, of the Hudson Bay Company in London, for their transportation. Meanwhile, by an indult

of the Holy See dated February 28, 1836, the Columbia country had been annexed to the Vicariate Apostolic of Bishop Provencher.

The Oregon question had come to be a critical issue between the American and British governments at this time (1837), and the officers of the Hudson Bay Company in London objected to the establishment of a mission in the Willamette Valley which, lying south of the Columbia River, was in disputed territory. Governor Simpson suggested that the mission be established north of the Columbia and Monseigneur Provencher acquiesced in the suggestion.

In the meantime the Bishops had selected the priests who were to carry the light of the Gospel into the new field. The Bishop of Quebec gave charge of the mission of Oregon to Father Francis Norbert Blanchet, who was laboring in the diocese of Montreal. By letters dated April 17, 1838, he was appointed Vicar General to the Bishop of Quebec, over the territory "which is comprised between the Rocky Mountains on the east, the Pacific Ocean on the west, the Russian possessions on the north, and the territory of the United States on the south." Special caution was given him not to establish missions in the territory south of the Columbia, "the possession whereof is contested by the United States." (The Willamette settlement which requested missionaries was situated south of the Columbia.) Father Modeste Demers, a young priest who had been sent to the mission of the Red River country, was appointed assistant to the new Vicar General of Oregon.

The two missionaries arrived at Fort Vancouver after a slow and tedious descent of the Columbia, on November 24, 1838. They had arrived at the scene of their future labors and began, without delay, their missionary activity among both the Catholic Canadians and the Indians. No flattering picture of the condition confronting the missionaries is drawn by the future Archbishop. He writes:

Many of the servants (of the Hudson Bay Company), and settlers had forgotten their prayers and the religious principles they had received in their youth. The women they had taken for their wives were pagans, or baptized without sufficient knowledge. Their children were raised in ignorance. One may well imagine that in many places disorders, rudeness of morals, and indecency in practices answered to that state of ignorance.

We have already noted the express stipulation on the part of the Hudson Bay Company that no mission was to be established south of the Columbia. It will be remembered, however, that the appeal for missionaries came from the Canadians on the Willamette. These settlers had erected a log church in 1836 as soon as they had received promises of missionaries from Bishop Provencher. This was the first church built in the Oregon country. On Sunday, January 6, 1839, Vicar General Blanchet solemnly blessed the church under the patronage of the Apostle St. Paul, and offered the Holy Sacrifice for the first time in the present State of Oregon. Before the close of the first year of missionary activity, notice was received from the Hudson Bay Company that the Governor and Committee had reconsidered their objection to the establishment of a mission south of the Columbia, and that the missionaries were at liberty to make such a foundation on the Willamette. The change of attitude on the part of the Company was effected by the representation of Dr. McLoughlin while in London. McLoughlin returned to Fort Vancouver in the Fall of 1839 and paid a visit to the mission of St. Paul, where he was greeted as a father by the devoted Canadians. This was the occasion of his first meeting with Father Blanchet.

During the years which followed the two became close friends and McLoughlin was brought to investigate the claims of the Catholic Church. The following account of the circumstances surrounding the conversion of McLoughlin was given many years later by Archbishop Blanchet in his *Historical Sketches*:

When he (McLoughlin) was once on a visit to Fort Nesqually, *The End of Controversy* by Dr. Milner, fell into his hands. He read it with avidity and was overcome and converted by it at once. On his return to Fort Vancouver he made his abjuration and profession of faith at the hands of the Vicar General on November 18, 1842. He made his confession, had his marriage blessed on the same day and prepared himself for his First Communion by fasting during the four weeks of Advent, which he passed on his claim at the Willamette Falls, now called Oregon City. Being thus prepared, he made his First Communion at Fort Vancouver at Midnight Mass on Christmas. From the time of his conversion till his death, Dr. McLoughlin showed himself a true and practical Christian and a worthy member of Holy Church; never missing Divine Services of Mass and Vespers on Sundays and

Holydays; going to Holy Table nearly monthly and preaching strongly by word and by example. On going to church each Sunday he was often accompanied by some Protestant friend; one of them inviting him to go and assist at the services of their church, he answered him: "No, sir, I go to the Church that teaches truth, but not to a Church that teaches error." On hearing of this great man, the Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI, sent him the Insignia of the Knights of the distinguished Order of St. Gregory, which Archbishop Blanchet delivered to him on his return from Europe in August, 1847.

We have traced briefly the beginnings of Catholic missionary activity on the lower Columbia and we must now turn our attention to an entirely separate and independent movement which lead to the evangelization of the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains. It was natural that the Canadians should have turned to Quebec in their quest for missionaries, but the Apostle of the Rocky Mountain Indians was to come from the United States, and the instrumentality which was to bring him to Oregon was the Iroquois Indians, among whose tribe the seeds of faith had been sown at an early date by Father Jogues. About 1816 a band of some twenty-four Catholic Iroquois from the Caughnawaga Mission near Montreal wandered into and across the Rocky Mountains as far west as the Flathead Valley in what is now Northwest Montana, and being pleased with the country and with the Selish or Flathead tribe, concluded to remain there and intermarry with them. The leader of this band was Ignace La Mousse, better known among the Indians as Old Ignace. He became prominent among the Flatheads and, being a zealous Catholic, taught them what he could of that faith and excited among them so strong a desire for "Black Robes" that in the spring of 1831, the Flatheads together with their neighbors, the Nez Percés, sent a deputation of two Indians from each tribe to St. Louis to obtain priests.

It was to St. Louis rather than to Montreal that the Indians turned for assistance, for since the days of the great travelers, Lewis and Clark, the traders had renewed their relations annually with that city. The four Indians in the delegation found General Clark still living in St. Louis. Two of the company took sick and died after receiving baptism and the last sacraments. The return of the remaining members of the deputation is uncertain. They had repeated the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help

us!" The Catholic missionary forces were too weak to respond at once to the appeal. But the presence of the Indians in St. Louis from far-distant Oregon on such a mission was the occasion of a movement with far-reaching results. The incident was given publicity in the Protestant religious press and aroused wonderful enthusiasm, setting on foot one of the most remarkable missionary campaigns in the history of this country, a campaign which was fraught with important consequences for Oregon.

The Indians, however, were not discouraged in their quest for Catholic missionaries. They sent a delegation to Bishop Rosati at St. Louis in 1835 and again in 1839. It was on this occasion that Father DeSmet came into view for the first time in connection with the Oregon missions. The Indians paused at Council Bluffs to visit the priests at St. Joseph's Mission, where Father DeSmet was stationed.

In 1833 the second Provincial Council of Baltimore petitioned the Holy See to place the Indian missions of the United States under the care of the Society of Jesus. In the following year the Holy See acceded to the request. Hence, Bishop Rosati turned to the Jesuit Fathers for missionaries to the Flatheads. Father DeSmet, deeply impressed by the visit of the delegation from the Rocky Mountains, offered to devote himself to the Indian Missions. The offer was gratefully accepted by his Superior and by the Bishop, and DeSmet set out on his first trip to the Oregon country late in March, 1840.

After two months among the Flatheads, DeSmet returned to St. Louis for assistance, reaching St. Louis University on the last day of the year 1840. On the Feast of the Assumption, 1841, he had again penetrated the Oregon country as far as Fort Hall on the Snake River. He was accompanied by two priests and three brothers of the Society. He had been successful too in securing financial aid for his missions from the bishops and clergy of the dioceses of Philadelphia and New Orleans. On reaching the Bitter Root Valley in Western Montana, the home of the Flathead tribe, DeSmet undertook to lay the foundations of a permanent mission. He chose a location on the banks of the Bitter Root River between the site of Old Fort Owen and the present town of Stevensville. St. Mary's Mission among the Flatheads had an eventful history. It was closed from 1850 to

1866, when it was reopened in charge of the venerated Father Ravalli. It is today a point of interest for the visitor of the Bitter Root Valley.

In April, 1842, Father DeSmet set out from his Rocky Mountain missions to visit Fort Vancouver and the Willamette Valley, a journey of 1,000 miles, to make the acquaintance of Vicar General Blanchet and to confer with him "on the interests of the great mission of the Pacific Coast." Father Demers tells us of how Blanchet and DeSmet ran to meet each other, both prostrating themselves, each begging the other's blessing. At the conference it was decided that Father Demers should proceed to open a mission in New Caledonia (now British Columbia), leaving the Vicar General at St. Paul while DeSmet should start for St. Louis and Belgium in quest of more workers and material assistance for the missions of Oregon. Dr. McLoughlin, though not then a Catholic, strongly encouraged Father DeSmet to set out for the East and Europe to secure recruits and supplies for the Catholic missions. Two years later, Father DeSmet returned, sailing from Antwerp on the brig *Infatigable*, rounding Cape Horn and bringing to reinforce the Oregon mission four fathers and a lay brother of the Society and six sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. After a terrifying experience, they crossed the Columbia Bar on the thirty-first of July, the Feast of St. Ignatius, 1844. A few days after the Feast of the Assumption, Father DeSmet and his company reached St. Paul and laid the foundations of St. Francis Xavier mission, which he intended should be the base of missionary activities for the Jesuits in Oregon. The Sisters of Notre Dame also took possession of the Convent which was under construction in preparation for their arrival.

Beginning with 1842 a tide of American immigration set toward Oregon. The 125 Americans who arrived in 1842 were given very generous assistance by Dr. McLoughlin, and when nearly half of their number set out for California, a few months later, he furnished them with supplies for which few of them ever paid. The first great influx of home-builders came in 1843. The company, consisting of nearly nine hundred persons, set out from Independence, Mo., on their long and tedious journey across the plains and mountains. They were led by Hon. Peter H. Burnett, who became the first Governor of California, and

J. W. Nesmith, afterwards United States Senator from Oregon. On reaching the Columbia River they followed its course. Their greatest difficulty was in getting from the upper to the lower Cascades. As the rafts could not be taken over the rapids, it was necessary to cut a trail around the cascades. Meanwhile the rains set in. The condition of the immigrants became desperate. They had not anticipated such hardships and were ill prepared for them. Few had sufficient clothing or food, and many were absolutely destitute. Dr. McLoughlin came to their relief. He furnished boats to carry them from the Cascades to Vancouver. He sold supplies to those who were able to pay, and gave credit, without collateral, to all who were in want. By his orders the sick were nursed and cared for in the Company's hospital at the Fort.

When the immigrants arrived at their destination, their trials did not cease. They had come in the fall of the year and were without provisions. The problem was to provide for their needs until the next harvest. McLoughlin came to their assistance without solicitation. He furnished the necessary supplies, gave credit, supplied food and clothing, and loaned the settlers seed wheat and farm implements. He assumed personal responsibility for the payment of these debts to his subsequent sorrow.

In forming any adequate estimate of the assistance rendered by McLoughlin to the early immigrants, two facts must be borne in mind, namely, that his action was in direct opposition to the policy of his Company, and that while he was performing these works of kindness he was aware that members of the Methodist Mission were trying to rob him of his extensive land claim at Oregon City. Of this injustice we shall speak presently. In answer to the question whether the secular department of the Methodist Mission assisted the early immigrants in a way similar to what was done by Dr. McLoughlin, Mr. Holman writes in his *Life of McLoughlin* (page 89):

If so, I have found no trace nor record of it. Undoubtedly, Methodist missionaries, individually, did many kind acts to destitute immigrants. Had Dr. McLoughlin acted with the supineness of the Methodist Mission towards the immigrants of 1843, 1844 and 1845, and especially that of 1848, the consequences would have been terrible.

McLoughlin's action in assisting the Americans was naturally very distasteful to the Hudson Bay Company and caused a very bitter correspondence between McLoughlin and Sir George Simpson, who was Governor-in-Chief of the Company. McLoughlin declared that no person possessed of common humanity could do otherwise than he had done. This brought back the command from Simpson to render no more assistance to the immigrants under any circumstances. McLoughlin replied with his resignation: "If such is your order, I will serve you no longer." That was in 1845. A year had to elapse before the resignation became effective. In 1846 he retired to Oregon City to pass his remaining days on his land claim at the Falls of the Willamette. His resignation meant the sacrifice of \$12,000 annually, a princely salary in those days.

While these political developments were taking place, a change in ecclesiastical administrations was likewise being effected. The Bishops of Quebec and Baltimore, acting in concert, recommended to the Holy See to erect the Oregon Mission into a Vicariate Apostolic. The suggestion was accepted and by a brief of December 1, 1843, the new Vicariate was created with Father Blanchet as its Vicar Apostolic with the title of Philadelphia *in partibus* (subsequently changed to that of Drasa to avoid confusion). The news of this action did not reach Oregon until November 4 of the following year. The bishop-elect decided to go to Canada for the purpose of receiving Episcopal consecration. Appointing Father Demers administrator, Father Blanchet crossed the Columbia Bar December 5, 1844, on a ship bearing the name of the river. He reached Montreal towards the end of June and on the twenty-fifth of July, 1845, he received his consecration at the hands of Right Rev. Ignatius Bourget, Bishop of Montreal.

Immediately after his consecration, Bishop Blanchet determined to go to Europe to obtain from Rome the appointment of other bishops for the vast territory under his jurisdiction, to secure new missionaries and more sisters and to collect funds to enable him to build the churches and schools which he saw would be necessary in the immediate future. Acting upon the advice of influential friends in Rome, he decided to request of the Holy See the establishment of an ecclesiastical province with an

Archbishop and several suffragans. To this end he presented to the Congregation of the Propaganda an extended memorial dealing with the history and conditions and needs of his vast Vicariate. The result of his petition was that, by a Brief dated July 24, 1846, the Vicariate was erected into an ecclesiastical province with the three Sees of Oregon City, Walla Walla and Vancouver Island. Five other districts were also named in the Brief, namely, Fort Hall, Fort Colville, New Caledonia, Nesqually and Princess Charlotte Island, but these were associated in administration with the three already mentioned. Bishop Blanchet was promoted to the position of Archbishop of Oregon City and Father Demers to that of Bishop of Vancouver Island, while a brother of the new Archbishop, the Rev. A. M. Blanchet, Canon of the Montreal Cathedral, was selected as Bishop of Walla Walla.

Right Rev. A. M. Blanchet, who had been consecrated Bishop of Walla Walla in Montreal on September 27, 1846, arrived on September 5, 1847, at Fort Walla Walla after a long journey of five months in wagons across the plains by way of St. Louis. The Bishop was accompanied by four Oblate Fathers of Marseilles and Father Brouillet as Vicar General. The Bishop and his party were received very cordially by Mr. McBean, Commandant of the Fort, who with his family were Catholics, and who figured in the Whitman disaster which was then imminent. The Bishop of Walla Walla established his mission a short distance from the American Board Mission of Dr. Whitman among the Umatilla Indians at Wailatpu. Meanwhile the Archbishop, on November 30, 1847, consecrated Bishop-elect Demers for the Episcopal See of Vancouver Island. The outlook for the new ecclesiastical province was bright, and as the pioneer Bishops looked over the field which they had so toilfully entered nine years earlier, there seemed to be promise on every hand of a bountiful harvest to crown their labors.

The day before the consecration of Bishop Demers, the Whitman massacre occurred in Eastern Oregon and brought the Catholic missions to the brink of ruin. In 1836 Dr. Whitman established his mission among the Cayuse Indians and became medical adviser to the savages. His work progressed satisfactorily for a time, but soon the savages became suspicious of the

encroachment of the whites on their land, and their suspicions were aggravated by the fatal termination of an epidemic of measles which spread among them and which Dr. Whitman vainly attempted to cure. It was the custom among the Indians to kill the Medicine Man who failed to bring relief to the sick. Internal dissensions brought about the decadence of Whitman's mission. The work, however, continued until the dreadful massacre of November 29, 1847, in which Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and twelve others were slain, and fifty-three others, mostly women and children, were taken prisoners. The following day, Vicar General Brouillet, ignorant of what had happened, came to the camp to baptize some sick children. Being apprised of the atrocious outrage, he buried the bodies of the dead and hastened away to warn Mr. Spalding, the Mission minister, that the Indians intended also to take his life. Father Brouillet met Spalding, told him what had occurred, warned him of the danger and, giving him his own supply of food, urged him to leave the neighborhood at once. Mr. Spalding took to flight. No sooner had he reached a place of safety than he began a systematic vilification of Bishop Blanchet and Father Brouillet, charging them with instigating the massacre. His charges were generally believed and aroused the intensest prejudice against the Catholic clergy. As a matter of fact, the leaders of the massacre were members of Spalding's own mission, as is confessed in a letter of Spalding to Rev. D. Greene under date of January 24, 1848:

Most of these murderers were from the camp of Joseph who, you will recollect, was one of the first two received into our church and who, up to this event, has sustained a good Christian character.

As a result of the anti-Catholic prejudice, the work of Catholic missionaries in eastern Oregon was destroyed for two decades and greatly retarded even in the Willamette valley.

Many years later, Mr. Spalding invented an heroic narrative of Whitman's services to Oregon in which the Catholic clergy were held up to public view as enemies of American domination. The story told of Whitman's ride from Oregon across the Rocky Mountains in the winter of 1842 to place before President Tyler the importance of Oregon to the United States and to lead an immigration from the eastern states back to the Northwest in 1843. "Thus was Oregon saved to the Union," runs the legend,

"and the nefarious plan of the Catholic missionaries frustrated by Whitman's heroism." The Whitman legend enjoyed universal popularity for practically half a century, but today all historians are agreed that it is false in every important particular.

We have already related how McLoughlin extended the most open-handed hospitality to Jason Lee and other members of the Methodist Mission party when they arrived at Fort Vancouver, assisting them in the foundation of their mission work and treating them personally, as Lee himself says in his diary, "With the utmost politeness, attention and liberality." They showed no disposition, however, to return gratitude for his generosity. Particularly after he became a Catholic in 1842, prominent members of the Methodist mission strove to take possession of McLoughlin's land claim of Oregon City at the Falls of the Willamette. In 1844, McLoughlin, in order to avoid trouble, bought up their pretended claims. During these years he had been assisting the American immigrants and in 1845 he broke with the Hudson Bay Company, planning to spend the declining years of his life in Oregon City. In 1849 Samuel Thurston was elected territorial delegate to Congress through the efforts of the Methodist Mission party. Oregon needed legislation by which settlers could obtain legal title to their land, and it became Thurston's duty to secure the passage of such a Land Bill. The Oregon Donation Land Bill was so framed as to secure to the early settlers a title to their lands with one exception. By the terms of Section 11 of the Bill, the Oregon City claim, that is, Dr. McLoughlin's property, was to be put at the disposal of the Legislative Assembly for the establishment of a university. The effect of this section of the bill was simply to confiscate by act of Congress all of McLoughlin's claim, amounting to nearly six hundred and forty acres, including the site of Oregon City. All persons who had secured pieces of land from McLoughlin, previous to March 4, 1849, whether fraudulently or by purchase, were to be confirmed in their title. To secure the passage of a bill containing such an iniquitous provision required more than ordinary duplicity. Thurston came to the task fully prepared to carry out the behests of those to whom he must look for re-election. To compass his ends he issued a letter to the members of the House of Representatives concerning the proposed bill in which he charged

McLoughlin with wrongfully wresting the Oregon City claim from the Methodist Mission, and of driving American citizens out of the country under threat of letting the savages loose upon them. "Having at his command the Indians of the country he has held it by violence and dint of threats up to this time." These lies were so outrageous that Thurston thought it best to keep his letter from becoming known in Oregon until after the passage of the bill. The one copy that reached Oregon before that date had on the reverse side in Thurston's handwriting the following note:

Keep this still till next mail when I shall send them generally. The debate on the California Bill closes next Tuesday, when I hope to get it passed—my Land Bill; keep dark till next mail.

June 9, 1850.

THURSTON.

As soon as it became generally known that Thurston was resorting to falsehood and calumny to deprive Dr. McLoughlin of his land, a public mass meeting of protest was held in Oregon City. A resolution was drafted repudiating the selection of McLoughlin's property for a university reservation, declaring that McLoughlin "merits the gratitude of multitudes of persons in Oregon for the timely and long continued assistance rendered by him in the settlement of the territory." A memorial was sent to Congress setting forth that McLoughlin was justly entitled to his land claim. But the bill had become a law before the memorial reached Washington and the attention of Congress was being devoted to more important concerns than the property rights of an old man in the wilds of Oregon. Shortly after the passage of the bill, a mass meeting was held at Salem, the stronghold of the Methodist Mission party. Resolutions were drawn up strongly upholding the action of Thurston; declaring that "The Hudson Bay Company, with Dr. McLoughlin as their chief fugleman, have used every means that could be invented by avarice, duplicity, cunning and deception to retard American settlement, and cripple the growth of American interests in Oregon." And the framers of this resolution were the men whom Dr. McLoughlin had fed and clothed and housed. He had cared for their families and nursed their sick. He had loaned them thousands of dollars which they had never returned.

He had saved them from the cruelty of the Indians. And this was their expression of gratitude.

Fortified by the last rights of the Church, Dr. McLoughlin died in Oregon City, September 3, 1857, an impoverished and broken-hearted man. His body lies in the churchyard there and the place is marked by a simple stone. In October, 1862, three years after Oregon had become a State, the Legislative Assembly did tardy justice to the memory of McLoughlin by returning to his heirs the confiscated land claim.

Thus three events, following in close succession, brought disaster to the Church in Oregon. These were the Whitman massacre, the gold rush to California in 1849, and the decay of Oregon City due to the confiscation of McLoughlin's property in 1850. The religious prejudice aroused by the first event has already been mentioned. The exodus to California in 1849 drained Oregon of a large part of its Catholic population and resulted in the closing of the Jesuit Mission at St. Paul and the schools conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame. The two religious communities withdrew from Oregon and devoted themselves to the new field of labor in California. The third event—the decay of the settlement at Oregon City—went forward rapidly after 1850. The town-site became territorial property and lots could not be bought or sold. A church and convent had been built at Oregon City at great expense to the young Archdiocese and the church burdened with a considerable debt. The decline of Oregon City withdrew all possible financial support and the credit of the Archdiocese was very seriously impaired. Saint-Amant, an envoy of the French Government, who visited Oregon in 1852 and spent some days with Archbishop Blanchet at Oregon City, reports that “the archiepiscopal palace was worthy of John the Baptist.” From 1855 to 1857 the Archbishop toured the South American states for financial assistance. After two years' absence, he returned with a collection that enabled him to meet the more pressing debts of the Archdiocese.

The Archbishop now sought for Sisters to open schools. With the decline of Oregon City, the town of Portland rapidly grew in importance. A church was begun in 1851 by Rev. James Croke, a brother of the Archbishop of Cashel, and it was to Portland that the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary

came in 1859 under the advice of their founder, Bishop Bourget of Montreal, and in response to the appeal of the Archbishop. Twelve devoted Sisters opened St. Mary's Academy in humble quarters on the site of the present location of their Academy and College and again lighted the torch of Christian education in the Archdiocese. The same year, 1859, saw the admission of Oregon into the sisterhood of States and may be said to mark the close of the Pioneer History of the Oregon Country.

On June 18, 1883, the patriarch of the northwest passed to his reward. We may appropriately conclude this article with the following well-deserved words of eulogy pronounced by Archbishop Seghers at the obsequies of the first missionary, first bishop, first metropolitan of the Pacific Northwest:

Do you realize it, beloved brethren? He is the apostle of this coast, the foundation of this Mission, the corner-stone of this Church; and the seed that was sown here and grew into a large lofty tree was sown by his hand; to him under God we owe the flourishing condition of Christianity in this country; and he is dead. . . . Do you know, beloved brethren, that a time will come when the name of Archbishop Blanchet will be coupled with those of Las Casas, the first missionary of Central America, of Marquette and Breboeuf, the Pioneers of the Cross in Canada and the States of the Atlantic!

Why? Because he was the first missionary, the apostle of Oregon; he is to Oregon what St. Boniface was to Germany, what St. Augustine was to England, what St. Patrick was to Ireland! And, believe me, our children will envy us the blessing of having seen him, of having conversed with him, of having listened to his voice!

REV. EDWIN V. O'HARA, LL.D.,
St. Mary's Cathedral,
Portland, Ore.

MISCELLANY

THE VERY REV. JOHN EV. MOSETIZH VICAR-GENERAL OF PITTSBURGH, PA. A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Although the subject of this sketch played a fairly important part in our church affairs in his day, our historical records seem to have preserved but little more than his name. Therefore, in order to save his memory from undeserved oblivion the writer of these lines has resolved to gather up as far as possible, all the data still left on the subject, and what he succeeded in collecting after almost incredible difficulties, he respectfully presents here to the kind reader.¹

Father John Ev. Mosetizh (or Mozetic) was born 120 years ago at Bilje, a village at the foot of the now famous Carso plateau, about 5 miles south of the city of Gorizia or Goerz, Austria, November 13, 1797. Therefore he was neither an Italian nor a German but a Slovenian by birth. He completed his studies with distinction at Gorizia and was ordained to the priesthood, September 22, 1822. Thereupon he was appointed assistant of St. Ignatius' Church in the city of Gorizia, a position which he held till December 31, 1824. In 1823 he made a very successful concursus examination in moral theology. As he was highly gifted he was sent by his Archbishop to Vienna to take a post-graduate course in the famous Augustineum. He stayed there a little over a year, but could not finish his studies, for he was called home and made professor of Biblical sciences of the Old Testament and of the oriental languages in the Central Theological Seminary at Gorizia. He filled this position for twenty years, from April 10, 1826, until his departure for America. Moreover he acted as vice-rector of the imperial Academy of the gymnasium in the same city, from January 10, 1837 to 1846. In 1845 he was selected by the newly founded General Commission for the Holy Land in Vienna, to visit Syria and Palestine for the

¹ Most of the data found in this sketch is taken from the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich*, Reports XIX-XXIV, and the *Gedenkbuch des Goldenen Jubilaums der St. Marien Kirche in der Stadt Allegheny, Pa.* Pittsburgh, 1898. Thanks for valuable information are due also to Father Remigius Burge-meister, O.S.B., of Erie, Pa., and Dr. Andrew Pavlica, professor of theology at the Central Theological Seminary of Gorizia, before it was destroyed by the Italian guns in the present European war. Whether the precious archives of the archdiocese of Gorizia that furnished the writer with the data on Father Mosetizh's life in Austria were saved or not, is not known

purpose of investigating the condition and wants of the monasteries and missions of those places. Having completed this task during the following winter, he made his report to the prince-archbishop of Vienna.

However, he desired to devote himself to the service of the North American missions long before he undertook this journey. Hence he obtained admission into the Diocese of Pittsburgh through Father H. Lemke, of Loretto, Pa., who visited Vienna in March, 1845.² Soon after his return from the Holy Land he resigned his positions in Gorizia, left his native country, and departed for America.

His journey as well as his early activity in America were described by himself in a report written from Birmingham near Pittsburgh to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, January 1, 1847:

I left my residence and my post at Gorizia on August 17, of last year, and set out upon my journey through Villach, Salzburg, etc., for Havre de Grace, where I boarded the mail boat, *Baltimore*, September 17, for America, as the land which after mature consideration I had with God's assistance chosen, with the intention of temporarily devoting my feeble services to its Catholic missions, the needs of which I had become acquainted with through so many descriptions and appeals. After a long, stormy and fatiguing sea voyage of thirty-six days, I stepped upon the soil of the western continent at New York, October 21, and after a few days of rest which I was very much in need of, I prepared forthwith to continue the journey to the place of my new destination at Pittsburgh in western Pennsylvania, arriving there by the way of Philadelphia and Baltimore, on October 30. As the Right Rev. Bishop O'Connor was just absent on a canonical visitation in some section of his diocese, the fathers of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer here, now presided over by the much praised missionary, Father John Nep. Neumann, from the Diocese of Budweis in Bohemia, as their superior, had the kindness to give me temporary lodging in their little home.

Hardly had I heard of the Right Reverend Bishop's return from his official journey, when I went to introduce myself to him, and was received by his Lordship with genuine joy and most hearty kindness. He invited me immediately to establish myself in the Bishop's house until I received my appointment. In the course of our conversation which we carried on in Italian, there came up the important question of what position I should like to have in the Diocese, to which I naturally replied, that I had come over here to be entirely at his free disposal; thereupon the kind Bishop took me by the hand and said: "You shall stay

² *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, Report XIX, p. 13 note. Dr. Joseph Salzbacher has April for March (cf. *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842*, p. 420. Vienna, 1845.). He calls Father Mosetizh *Doctor of Theology* (*ibid.*).

with me here in Pittsburgh, in order to give the necessary instruction to the theologians in my seminary, opened only two months ago, which—had you not come—I would be obliged to do myself.” Consequently, I am again teaching theology, that is to say dogma and moral, four hours every day, and in addition to that I am explaining Sacred Scriptures four hours a week. I go from the cathedral of Pittsburgh to Birmingham, a distance of 4 miles, where the seminary building stands, and back again, four times a day. The seminary consists in a small farm house amidst an orchard, comprising 37 acres of land, extending along the slope of the hill on the other side of the Monongahela and fenced in by boards. The Right Reverend Bishop has bought the whole estate for 9,500 dollars, on credit, and hopes in the future to get the necessary financial means enabling him to erect a regular suitable building on this very healthy place, free from the smoke of Pittsburgh. The house, bordering on the Bishop’s residence, and destined for the seminary in the beginning, did not prove suitable for this purpose; hence it was left to the teaching brothers who had come from Ireland last year, for the use of their schools. In the aforementioned small seminary building there are lodged fourteen pupils, seven of whom are studying theology and the other seven philosophy. I am presiding over the former in the capacity of a prefect and professor, and a young Irish priest is presiding over the latter in the same capacity. The whole house contains but four apartments: a study room which has to serve also the purpose of a house oratory, two sleeping apartments, and a room divided by a board partition into two chambers wherein the two teaching individuals are staying. There is no school-room proper; for, the one is giving instruction in his sitting-room and the other sometimes in the study room and sometimes in the refectory. The desks of the students are book-cases at the same time, but unfortunately almost without books; for the present it would be well, if they contained at least ordinary good text-books, but even these are yet wanting.³

From this letter it is evident that Father Mosetizh was made president of the theological department of St. Michael’s Seminary immediately after his arrival in Pittsburgh. Moreover he exercised great zeal for souls in the city and the surrounding country when his ordinary duties would permit, especially among the Germans, who then migrated to western Pennsylvania in considerable numbers, for there was a great lack of German-speaking priests. Owing to his remarkable zeal, learning, and prudence, he was appointed Vicar-General of the Diocese by the Bishop, soon after his arrival.

It seems difficult to determine the exact time, when this was done. Monsignor Lambing’s “Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese,” page

³ *Berichte*, Report XX, pp. 17–28.

242, states that Father Mosetizh's name first appears as vicar-general in the "Directory" for 1847, which would mean that he was appointed vicar-general in 1846; however, this could hardly be proved from the above mentioned source, which seems to make no reference to the office in connection with Father Mosetizh. I addressed his Lordship, the Right Reverend Bishop of Pittsburgh, requesting him kindly to consult the archives of his diocese and thus clear up the point in question, if possible, and received the following answer:

There are but scanty records of the official appointments of Right Rev. Michael O'Connor. After a diligent search I must report that I can find nothing that would enable us to fix the date of the appointment of Rev. John E. Mosetizh, Vicar-General. It was probably in 1847. . . .

Bishop Canevin's opinion is undoubtedly correct, for Father Mosetizh actually signed himself Vicar-General as early as September, 1847, if not earlier. He held this office at first only for the German Catholics of the Diocese, while Father James A. Stillinger was Vicar-General for the remaining faithful. But when the latter resigned in November, 1848, Father Mosetizh became Vicar-General for the entire Diocese and remained such till his final departure for Europe.

He took up the duties of this new position with admirable zeal and energy, for he fully realized its responsibility. He was always willing to lend a helping hand either to organize new congregations, or to build up those already in existence, wherever necessary. Thus he took charge, temporarily, of Erie and its missions in the latter part of September, 1847, attending them up to the middle of May, 1848, as there was no other priest to do it. During his stay of seven months and a half he had forty-nine baptisms, thirteen marriages, and twenty-three funerals which were not exclusively of the city of Erie, but also of the surrounding towns and villages.

In addition to this, his activities extended over many other places of the diocese, as is evident from the letter written by Bishop O'Connor to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, January 10, 1848. With respect to our subject matter, this letter is rather incoherent, because it deals with the conditions among the German Catholics of the diocese and their religious needs in general. Yet it seems advisable to give those parts of the letter referring to Father Mosetizh just as they were written, because the conditions described there are interesting in themselves, and, moreover, they immediately concern our subject.

In this letter Bishop O'Connor emphasizes the need of two more German churches in the suburbs of Pittsburgh, one in Allegheny and the other in Birmingham. Then he goes on to say: "The Rev. Father

Mozetizh has already made all the preparations for the erection of a church at Birmingham, opened the necessary subscriptions of the faithful, and there seems to be every appearance of being able to make the start on it this year. Of course, the need of a church is still greater in Allegheny, but since there is no priest that could or would undertake the work, nothing can be done there.

"In the counties of Erie and Crawford there are about 1,500 German Catholics. These have a separate church in the city of Erie which in the meantime is attended to by Father Mosetizh whom I have sent thither from the seminary for a while in order that the faithful residing there may not be altogether deprived of the necessary care of their souls till I find a priest suitable for their spiritual guidance and direction. The church there is unfortunately very limited in space, and efforts are being made to enlarge it as soon as possible. Since I know this myself to be extremely necessary on account of the number of the faithful of the town as well as because of those meeting there from the neighboring villages, I have resolved to have a part of the donation from the Leopoldine Association sent to that parish. Father Mosetizh is making arrangements for the enlargement of the building and, trusting in his prudence, he may spend half of the aforesaid donation for the erection of a church in Birmingham, if he finds it advisable.

"The Germans living in Crawford County are attended to by the missionary of Erie. They just came from Germany, and intend to put up a church at Meadville, the main town of this county. I have left the matter to Father Mosetizh, and the building may be started with the coming spring."

Referring again to the money sent him by the Leopoldine Association the Bishop says: "I left \$950 to Father Mosetizh's free disposal to use it either for the erection of a church in Birmingham, or Meadville, or for the enlargement of the church at Erie according as he will deem it well."

"I number," continues the Bishop, "forty missionary priests in my diocese. Of these sixteen are German and seven understand the German language, at least so as to be able to minister to such parishes. In order that the German congregations may enjoy all care, I have appointed Father Mosetizh, Vicar-General for them in my diocese. He is at the same time president of the seminary and professor in several branches of theology. As I was forced to send him to Erie for some time, I am acting meanwhile as his substitute in the seminary, but only till he returns."⁴

Father Mosetizh returned from Erie to Pittsburgh in May, 1848. Whether he enlarged the church at Erie and built one at Meadville, I could not ascertain. Probably he did both. At least, the church of

⁴ *Berichte*, Report XXII, pp. 12-21.

St. Agatha at Meadville was founded in 1849,⁵ which would indicate that his efforts there were crowned with success.

A considerable number of German Catholics had settled around the seminary at Birmingham. As they possessed no church of their own, Father Mosetizh organized them in 1847, and began to take up subscriptions among them. On his return from Erie, a church was built upon a lot, donated by Bishop O'Connor, near the seminary. The cornerstone was laid, July 16, 1848, and the church blessed in honor of St. Michael the Archangel, by the Bishop, November 24, of the same year. Soon afterward this congregation was separated from the church of St. Philomena, Pittsburgh, where it had belonged, and became an independent parish when Father Mosetizh provided it with a pastor of its own in the person of a diocesan priest, the Rev. M. Schifferer. Thus the parish of St. Michael was formed which today is one of the largest parishes in Pittsburgh.

The city of Allegheny, then containing a population of some 20,000 souls, was still without a Catholic church. Its numerous inhabitants as well as the faithful from the surrounding country were obliged, like those of Birmingham, to go to Pittsburgh to fulfill their religious duties. Since there was no other priest to do anything for them, Father Mosetizh took the matter into his own hands. In the summer of 1848, he bought a piece of ground 150 feet square in the middle of Allegheny for the sum of \$6,000, and began to build a church upon it partly of brick and partly of wood. The structure was completed in three months, and solemnly blessed by Bishop O'Connor in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, December 17, 1848. A parishioner wrote on that occasion: "The Bishop preached a short and unctuous sermon wherein he expressed his delight in the zeal of the Catholics of this place, and our reverend pastor, Dr. Mosetizh, preached during the high Mass in his well-known excellent manner in the German language."⁶ This church was not large, measuring but 90 feet in length and 40 feet in width, and was destined for temporary use only; but it was neat and would do honor to many a parish even nowadays. The expenses of the church and lot were covered by the contributions of the people and partly by a loan.

How large this parish was when founded cannot be said with certainty. However, if we consider the fact that it numbered 194 baptisms, 27 marriages and 89 funerals from the dedication of its church to the

⁵ *Schematismus der kath. Geistlichkeit deutscher Zunge in den Vereinigten Staaten Amerikas*, p. 113. Milwaukee, 1892.

⁶ *Wahrheitsfreund*, Vol. xii, pp. 234-5.

close of 1849, we will be able to form some idea of the amount of work Father Mosetizh had to do. Hence he was given an assistant to share the burden with him in 1849. During his stay at Allegheny he lived in a private house.

We may well imagine that a congregation of such size had many children of school age. Special schools were opened for these at Allegheny by the Redemptorist fathers of Pittsburgh a few years before the arrival of Father Mosetizh, who now took possession of them and endeavored to keep them up to date. He succeeded all the more easily as he himself was an excellent teacher and a great lover of children.⁷

He had scarcely organized St. Mary's parish and provided it with the things most necessary when he left for Europe in compliance with the wish of his Bishop in order to secure some German-speaking priests for the diocese. For this purpose he visited several dioceses in Germany, and went to Austria in the beginning of 1850. He succeeded in obtaining a number of missionaries for America. For the diocese of Pittsburgh he secured four secular priests, among them Fathers George Gostenzhnik, John Stibiel, and J. B. Schaffleitner, and a Carmelite priest, Joseph Theresius Gesowsky. Three Franciscan priests, Accurtius Gaertner, Firmin Eberhard, and Anselm Koch, were destined for the diocese of Nashville, Tenn.; Father Leo Susan went to Milwaukee, Wis.; Joseph Schneider, a theological student, joined the diocese of Chicago, Ill., etc. Some of these priests accompanied Father Mosetizh to America, others followed him shortly afterwards.

After his return from Europe, Father Mosetizh did not stay long in Allegheny. He left St. Mary's parish to his successor and former pupil, Father Stibiel, on the latter's arrival in October, 1850, and returned to St. Michael's Seminary where he thenceforth resided and labored as Vicar-General, rector and professor. From that place he wrote a report to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, dated March 21, 1851,⁸ in which he states, among other things, the following:

My journey to Europe, which I undertook at the wish of my Right Reverend Bishop, Michael O'Connor, D.D., during the winter of the past year, to recruit laborers for the German portion of this waste vineyard of the Lord, has been crowned with the desired success, particularly in Austria, for there were assigned to me 3,000 florins from

⁷ *Gedenkbuch*, pp. 23-7, 142. He erected no school or residence at Allegheny; the building of 1851, mentioned by Monsignor Lambing (*History of the Diocese of Pittsburgh*, p. 165; *Foundation Stones*, Vol. i, p. 242), was put up by Father Stibiel, his successor.

⁸ *Berichte*, Report XXIV, pp. 59-71.

the fund of the Leopoldine Association in Vienna to defray the diocesan wants for me as well as for the missionaries enlisted, and from the dioceses of Linz, Lavant and Gorizia I was followed to America by priests who are working with the greatest zeal and best success for the welfare of the rather forlorn German Catholics of this country. With these five new secular and religious priests from Germany, added to those who were here already, the diocese of Pittsburgh has, thanks be to God! tolerably well provided for the needs of its German faithful for the present.

Then he runs briefly over the history of the Catholic Church in western Pennsylvania, mentioning different missions, religious societies and institutions of the Pittsburgh diocese, and adds:

Provision for the new generation of the diocesan clergy is made with the erection of a diocesan seminary already since the year 1846. This has also a small foundation fund; nevertheless, in order to secure its existence, it has to be supported by yearly collections to be taken up throughout the whole diocese. There are twenty young men in it during the current year, one half of whom are studying theology, the other half, philosophy.

This letter was published in the "Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung" for 1852. In a note attached to it by the editor we read:

The Vicar-General reports with this letter to have contracted a grave disease which has broken his strength in such a manner as to render him unfit for further service in the missions of North America. According to this and further information he has, on account of his shattered health, actually left his missionary charge, and has again returned to his native Archdiocese of Gorizia.

He left Pittsburgh probably at the end of the spring of 1851. Shortly after that cholera broke out with great violence in the city, and compelled the seminary to close. Its students were sent to other institutions, and the seminary building was turned into an orphanage.

Father Mosetizh arrived in Austria, in 1851, and owing to the mild and invigorating climate of his native country he soon regained strength enough to be made pastor of Cernice in the valley of Vipava near Gorizia. On May 18, 1853, he was appointed Dean of the Cathedral Chapter in Gorizia, a most important position which he held for ten years. As such he died at Gorizia, September 7, 1863, aged 65 years.

Father Mosetizh was, as far as he is still remembered by the old priests, a man of great talents and an accomplished scholar.

REV. JOHN L. ZAPLOTNIK,
Omaha, Nebr.

DOCUMENTS

THE MEDIEVAL AMERICAN CHURCH

Some twenty years ago, the present Bishop of Sioux Falls, S. D., the Right Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, D.D., at that time Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Catholic University of America, published the first synthetic account in English of the rise and fall of the Church in Greenland.¹ His studies in this little known period of American Church History were based upon two works: the *Flatey Book* (*Flateyjarbok*), issued by the Royal Danish General Staff, in Copenhagen, 1893; and the *Documenta Selecta*, printed in facsimile at Rome in 1893, by J. C. Heywood, as a contribution to the World's Fair of Chicago. At the time of the publication of these manuscripts, American antiquarian lore had attracted the attention of ethnologists, historians, and archeologists in different parts of the scientific world, and had given rise to numerous works having for their purpose the elucidation of what is generally known as the Pre-Columbian epoch of American history.² The manuscripts which Heywood has published from the *Vatican Archives* form almost a complete series of authenticated sources for the history of Norse christianity in America before Columbus. His folio volume containing these documents in photographic facsimiles was a rare work from the beginning, only twenty-five copies being printed. For that reason we reproduce them in these pages in order that all lovers of early Catholic Americana may have them at their disposal.

¹ *The Medieval American Church*, article, in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, Vol. i (1895), pp. 415-427.

² The most valuable contribution to the subject is RAFFN, *Antiquitates Americanarum*. Hafniae, 1837. The best account in English is by DE ROO, *History of America before Columbus*. Two volumes. Philadelphia, 1900. Source material on the same subject will be found in the following works: ADAM BREMENSIENSIS, *Historia seu Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae* (*Monumenta of Pertz, Scriptores*, Vol. vii); BEAMISH, *The Discovery of America by the Northmen*. London, 1841; ID., *Voyages of Northmen to America*, Boston, 1877; BEAUVOIS, *La découverte du Nouveau Monde par les Irlandais et les premières Traces du Christianisme en Amérique avant l'an 1000*, in the *Compte-rendu du Congrès international des Américanistes* at Nancy, 1875; ID., *Origines et Fondation du plus ancien Evêché du Nouveau Monde, le Diocèse de Gardhs en Groenland*, in the *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire, d'archéologie et de littérature de l'arrondissement de Beaune*, 1878; ID., *La découverte du Groenland par les Scandinaves au X^e Siècle*, in the *Museon* (Louvain) 1892; ID., *Les derniers vestiges du Christianisme prêché du X^e au XIV^e siècles dans la Markland et la Grande Irlande*, Paris, 1877; ID., *La Chrétienté du Groenland au Moyen Age*, article in *Revue des Questions Historiques* (Vol. lxxi (1902), pp. 538-82), which sums up all his former studies on Medieval America; RICHARD H. CLARKE, *America Discovered and Christianised in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. xiii (1888), pp. 211-237; ID., *The Conversion of the Northmen. The First Christian Northmen in America*, articles in the *ACQR*, Vol. xiv (1889), pp. 487-504; 598-615. CRANZ, *History of Greenland*, London, 1820; DE COSTA, *The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen*, 3d ed., Albany, N. Y., 1901; FISKE, *The Discovery of America*, New York, 1902; GRAFFAREL, *Etude sur les Rapports de l'Amérique et de l'Ancien Continent avant Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1869; GRAVIER, *Decouverte de l'Amérique par les Normands au X^e siècle*, Paris, 1874; JELIC, *L'Evangélisation de l'Amérique avant Colomb*, Paris, 1891; REEVES, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, London, 1890; WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, 1869. The best bibliography on the subject will be found in JOSEPH FISCHER, S.J., *The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America with special relation to their early cartographical Representation*. Trans. by B. H. SOULSBY. London, 1903.

I

The "Omnium Fidelium" of Gregory IV

A. D. 835

(Greenland and Iceland placed under the See of Hamburg)

The first document in which the names Iceland and Greenland occur is in the Apostolic confirmation by Pope Gregory IV, in the year 835, of the erection of Hamburg into an archepiscopal See, having jurisdiction over all Scandania. This document has been attacked as wholly spurious by Lappenberg, Klempin, and Dümmler, while other writers admit its authenticity but hold that the words *Greenland* and *Iceland* are interpolations.³ A strong point in favor of the Bull is the number of confirming documents from the Papal See between 835 and 1133.⁴ The imperial rescript issued by King Louis the Pious, on May 15, 834, gave to the whole church of Scandania an ecclesiastical organization and nominated St. Anschar (801-865), the "Apostle of the North," as its first Bishop, with Hamburg as his episcopal See.⁵ In conformity with the royal wish, Gregory IV (827-844), issued the Bull *Omnium Fidelium*, the following year (835), appointing St. Anschar to the See and making him papal legate "to all the surrounding nations"—*in omnibus circumquaque gentibus*—namely, to the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Finlanders, Greenlanders, Helsingers, Icelanders, etc., etc.

Gregorius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Omnium fidelium dignoscentiae certum esse volumus, qualiter beatae memoriae praecellentissimus Rex Karolus, tempore praedecessorum nostrorum, divino afflatus Spiritu, gentem Saxonum sacro cultui subdidit, jugumque Christi, quod suave ac leve est, ad usque terminos Danorum sive Slavorum, corda ferocia ferro perdomans, docuit; ultimamque regni ipsius partem, trans Albiam inter mortifera Paganorum pericula constitutam, videlicet ne ad ritum relaberetur gentilium, vel etiam quia lucrandis adhuc gentibus aptissima videbatur, proprio episcopali vigore fundare decreverat. Sed quia mors affectum prohibuerat, succedente ejus praecellentissimo filio, Hludewico Imperatore Augusto, pium studium sacri genitoris sui efficaciter implevit.

Quae ratio Nobis per venerabiles Ratolphum sive Vernoldum Episcopos, necnon Geroldum comitem vel Missum venerabilem relata est confirmanda.

Nos igitur omnem ibi Deo dignam statutam providentiam cognoscentes, instructi etiam praesentia fratris filiique nostri Anscharii primi Nordalbingorum Archiepiscopi, per manus Drogonis Metensis Episcopi consecrati, sanctum studium magnorum imperatorum, tam praesenti auctoritate quam etiam pallii donatione, more praedecessorum nostrorum roborare decrevimus; quatenus tanta auctoritate fundatus praedictus filius noster ejusque successores lucrandis fidelibus insistentes, adversus tentamenta diaboli validiores existant, ipsumque filium nostrum jam dictum Anscharium et successores

³ For a complete discussion on the genuinity of the *Omnium fidelium*, cf., DE ROO, *op. cit.*, Vol. pp. 45-67; DE COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 25; CLARKE, in the ACQR, Vol. xiv (1889), pp. 598-615.

⁴ These confirmatory documents, especially the Papal Briefs of Popes Anastasius III (912), John X (920), and Innocent II (1133), will be found in the original Latin in DE ROO, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 527-43.

⁵ The Rescript will be found in the *Diplomatarium Islandicum* edited by S. L. Møller, Reykjarik 1857, and in DE ROO, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 522-25.

ejus Legatos in omnibus circumquaque gentibus Danorum, Sueonum, Northehorum, Farriae, Gronlandan, Halsingolandan, Islandan, Scridevindum, Slavorum, necnon omnium septentrionalium et orientalium nationum quocunque modo nominatarum, delegamus. Et posito capite et pectore super corpus et Confessionem Sancti Petri Apostoli, sibi suisque successoribus vicem nostram perpetuo retinendam, publicam evangelisandi tribuimus auctoritatem, ipsamque sedem Nordalbingorum, Hammaborch dictam, in honore Sancti Salvatoris ejusque intemeratae Genitricis Mariae consecratam, Archiepiscopalem esse decrevimus. Consecrationem vero succedentium sacerdotum donec consecrantium numerus ex gentilibus augeatur, sacrae palatinae providentiae interim committimus. Strenui vero praedicatoris persona tantoque officio apta in successione semper eligatur; omnia vero a venerabili principe ad hoc Deo dignum officium, deputata nostra etiam auctoritate, pia ejus vota firmamus, omnemque resistentem vel contradicentem atque piis nostris his studiis quolibet modo insidiantem, anathematis mucrone percutimus atque perpetua ultione reum diabolica sorte damnamus, ut culmen Apostolicum, more praedecessorum nostrorum, causam Dei pio affectu zelantes, ab adversis hinc inde partibus tutius muniamus.

Et quia te, charissime fili, Anschari, divina clementia nova in sede primum disposuit esse Archiepiscopum, Nos pallium ad missarum solemniam celebranda tribuimus, quod tibi in diebus tuis, uti et Ecclesiae tuae perpetuo statu manentibus privilegiis, uti largimur. Sancta Trinitas vitam tuam conservare dignetur incolumen, atque post saeculi amaritudinem ad perpetuam perducatur beatitudinem Amen. (Datum 835).

(Translation*)

Gregory, Bishop, servant of the servants of God; to all the faithful be it known that the most excellent Emperor Charles, in the time of our ancestors, being influenced by inspiration of the Divine Spirit, subdued the race of the Saxons to the Christian religion, and imposed upon them Christ's yoke, which is easy; and that he subdued the fierce hearts as far as the boundaries of the Danes or Slavi, by the sword; and that, in order that the part of the Empire lying beyond the Elbe might not, lying as it did between great perils, go back to the heathen religion, or perhaps because it seemed best adapted to the care of nations yet to be gained over, he so decreed to establish it by his own imperial authority. But death having hindered his plans, his son and most excellent successor, Louis the august Emperor, effectually carried out his father's wishes, which cause is to be confirmed to us by the venerable Racobfius or Vernoldus, Bishop or Count Geroldus. Therefore, all of us recognising in all this an appointment worthy of Divine Providence, and also instructed by the presence of our good Brother Ansgar, the first bishop of the Nordalbingians, consecrated by the hands of Deago Mateasis Bishop, and the holy seal of honored emperors, both by these presents and by the delivery of the Episcopal Pallium, according to the ancient custom of our forefathers, have resolved to confirm by whatsoever valid authority we possess, the said Ansgarius and his successors in office, in order that in winning over the nations they may be the more mighty against the wiles of the Devil, and they are hereby appointed over Legates Apostolic among all the nations round about—the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Faroese, Greenlanders, Helsingers, Ico-

* DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220.

landers, Slavi, as also all the northern and eastern nations of whatever name they may be called, and resting head and heart upon the body of the faith of St. Peter, we give them public authority to preach the Gospel, and to occupy the Episcopal See itself. We decree that the See of the Nordalbingians, called Hamburg, shall be consecrated in honor of the Saviour and His Immaculate Mother as an Archi-episcopal See. And until the number of bishops shall be increased, we commit the consecration of bishops, provisionally, to the care of the Palatinate. But let the person elected for so great an office and apt thereto, always be that of an earnest preacher, that we do by our authority confirm and establish his pious wishes and vows; and everyone who shall resist or gainsay, or in any way counteract these auspicious desires, we do smite with the sharp edge of our anathema and adjudge the guilty by perpetual vengeance to the doom of devils, according to the manner of predecessors in office; and being zealous with pious effort, do all the more safely defend the Apostolic See against all adversaries.

And forasmuch, most beloved Ansgar, the Divine Grace has inclined thee in this new See to accept the office of an archbishop, we do hereby transmit the pallium for your celebration of the mass, which we authorize you to wear during your lifetime.

May it please the most Holy Trinity long to spare your life, and after the bitterness of this transitory state may you obtain eternal felicity. Amen. Datum, 835.

II

The See of Gardar in Greenland was erected in 1125, and with it begins what may be called the Medieval Epoch of American History. From 1125 until the year of the Discovery, 1492, a long line of Bishops rule this far-away northern Diocese. The *Heywood Documents* contain ten papal letters on the subject, and are here given in their proper order.

1

**Innocent III to Thorer, Archbishop Elect of Drontheim,
February 13, 1206**

(Giving Him Metropolitan Jurisdiction over All Scandinavia)

.. Nidrosiensi archiepiscopo eiusque successoribus canonice substituendis, in perpetuum. Licet omnibus ligandi et solvendi sit concessa potestas, licet unum preceptum ad omnes idemque pervenerit predicandi evangelium omni creature, velut quedam tamen inter eas habita est discretio dignitatis et dominicarum ovium curam, que omnibus imminerebat, unus singulariter suscepit habendam, dicente ad eum Domino: Petre amas me? Pasce oves meas. Qui etiam inter omnes apostolos principatus nomen obtinuit, et de fratrum confirmatione singulare a Domino preceptum accepit, ut in hoc seculare posteritati daretur intelligi, quoniam, quamvis multos ad regimen ecclesie contingeret ordinari, unus tamen solummodo supreme dignitatis locum fastigiumque teneret, et unus omnibus et potestate gubernandi et iudicandi omnes presideret. Unde et secundum hanc formam in ecclesia distinctio servata est dignitatum, et sicut in humano corpore pro varietate officiorum diversa ordinata sunt membra, ita in structura ecclesie ad diversa ministeria exhibenda diversę persone in diversis sunt ordinibus constitute. Aliis enim ad singularum ecclesiarum, aliis autem ad singularum urbium dispositionem ordinatis ac rerum, constituti sunt in singulis provinciis alii,

quorum prima inter fratres sententia habeatur, et ad quorum examen subiectarum personarum questiones et negocia referantur. Super omnes autem Romanus pontifex tamquam Noe in archa primum locum noscitur obtinere, qui ex collato sibi de super in apostolorum principe privilegio de universorum causis iudicat et disponit et per universum orbem ecclesie filios in christiane fidei firmitate non desinit confirmare, talem se curans iugiter exhibere, qui vocem dominicam videatur audisse, qua dicitur: Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos. Hoc nimirum post beatum Petrum illi apostoli et viri, qui per successiones temporum ad gerendam curam sedis apostolice surrexerunt indesinenti curaverunt studio adimplere et per universum orbem nunc per se nunc per legatos suos corrigenda corrigere et statuenda statuere summo opere studuerunt. Quorum quoque vestigia subsecutus felicitis memorie Eugenius papa, antecessor noster, de corrigendis hiis, que in regno Norveie correctionem videbantur exposcere et verbo ibi fidei seminando iuxta sui officii debitum sollicitus extitit, et quod per se ipsum, universalis ecclesie cura obsistente, non potuit, per legatum suum Nicholaum, tunc scilicet Albanensem episcopum, qui postea in Romanum pontificem est assumptus, executioni mandavit. Qui ad partes accedens, sicut a suo patrefamilias acceperat in mandatis, talentum sibi creditum largitus est ad usuram et tamquam fidelis servus et prudens, multiplicatum inde fructum studuit reportare. Inter cetera vero, que ad laudem illic nominis Dei et ministerii sui commendationem implevit, iuxta quod predictus antecessor noster ei preceperat, pallem Iohanniam antecessori tuo indulsit et, ne de cetero provincie Norveie metropolitani cura possit deesse, commissam gubernationi tue urbem Nidrosiensem eiusdem provincie perpetuam metropolim ordinavit et ei Asloensem, Amatripiensem, Bargensem, Stavangriensem, insulas Orcades, insulas Faraie, Sutrhæie et Islandensem et Grenelandie episcopatus tamquam sue metropoli perpetuis temporibus constituit subiacere et eorum episcopos sicut metropolitani suis tam sibi quam suis successoribus obedire. Ne igitur ad violentiam constitutionis ipsius ulli unquam liceat aspirare, nos felicitis memorie predicti Eugenii et Alexandri atque Clementis predecessorum nostrorum Romanorum pontificum vestigiis inherentes, eandem constitutionem auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus, statuentes ut Nidrosiensis civitas supradictarum urbium perpetuis temporibus metropolis habeatur, et earum episcopi tam tibi quam tuis successoribus sicut suo metropolitano obediant et de manu vestra consecrationis gratiam sortiantur, successores autem tui ad Romanum pontificem tantum percepturi donum consecrationis accedant, et ei solummodo et Romane ecclesie subiecti semper existant. Porro concessio tibi palleo pontificalis scilicet officii plenitudine infra ecclesiam tantum ad sacra missarum sollempnia per universam provinciam tuam hiis solummodo diebus uti fraternitas tua debebit, qui inferius leguntur inscripti: Nativitate Domini, Epiphania, Cena Domini, Resurrectione, Ascensione, Pentecoste, in sollempnitatibus beate Dei Genitricis semperque virginis Marie, Natalicio beatorum Petri et Pauli, Inventione et Exaltatione sancte Crucis, Nativitate beati Ioannis baptiste, festo beati Iohannis evangeliste, Commemoratione omnium sanctorum, in consecrationibus ecclesiarum vel episcoporum, benedictionibus abbatum, ordinationibus presbiterorum, in die consecrationis ecclesie tue ac festis sancte Trinitatis, et sancti Olavi et anniversario tue consecrationis die. Studeat ergo tua fraternitas plenitudine tante dignitatis suscepta ita strenue cuncta peragere, quatinus morum tuorum ornamenta eidem valeant convenire.

Sit vita tua subditis exemplum, ut per vā cognoscant, quid debeant appetere, quid cogantur vitare; esto discretione precipuus, cogitatione mundus, actione purus, discretus in silentio, utilis in verbo, cura tibi sit magis prodesse hominibus quam preesse. Non in te potestatem ordinis, sed equalitatem oportet pensare conditionis. Stude ne vita doctrinam destituat, nec cursum vite doctrina contradicat. Memento quod est ars artium regimen animarum. Super omnia studium tibi sit apostolice sedis decreta firmiter observare et tamquam matri et domine tue ei humiliter obedire. Ecce frater in Christo karissime inter multa alia hec sunt pallei, hec sacerdotii, que omnia facile Christo adiuvante adimplere poteris, si virtutum omnium magistrā caritatem habueris et humilitatem, et quod foris habere ostenderis intus habebis. Decernimus ergo et c. usque in finem. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum per manus Ioannis, Sancte Marie in Cosmedin diaconi cardinalis, sancte Romane ecclesie cancellarii, idibus februarii, indictione vj, incarnationis dominice anno M^oCC^oV^o, pontificatus vero domini Innocentii pape iij anno octavo.⁷

(Translation⁸)

Innocent III, to the Archbishop of Drontheim, and his canonically appointed successors in perpetuity: Though the power of binding and loosing was given to all, and although the same common command to preach the Gospel to every creature was laid upon all, a certain distinction of dignity was nevertheless decreed and only one received above all others the care of the Lord's sheep, in accordance with the Lord's words: Peter, dost thou love me? Feed my sheep. It was Peter also who attained to the preeminence above all the Apostles. He received a particular command from the Lord to confirm his brethren, that following generations might know that while many were ordained to govern the Church only one was to hold the supreme power, and be over all the others in authority and jurisdiction. Therefore, in accordance with this plan, a distinction of power is seen in the Church, and even as in the human body the various members thereof are intended for different uses, so in the Church different persons attain to different orders for different services. Some are set apart for particular churches and some are ordained to the rule of different cities, and the arrangement of different affairs. Others are set over certain provinces, others have jurisdiction over their brethren for the disposition of cases that relate to those under them. But over all these, the Roman Pontiff, like Noah in the ark, as holding the preeminence; for he, by virtue of the power granted to him from above in the person of the prince of the Apostles, judges and decides causes, and ceases not to establish in the Christian faith the sons of the church all over the world, by right seeking to prove that he has heard the voice of the Lord, saying: And thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren. The Apostles and men who have risen in regular order to the government of the apostolic see since the blessed Peter, have likewise endeavored with unfailing zeal to perform the same, and either personally or by means of their legates have endeavored to their utmost to correct whatever needed correction and to decree what was required. Our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Eugene, following in their footsteps, was desirous, in accordance with the obligations of his office, to amend in the kingdom of Norway all that seemed to demand amendment, by sowing the word of faith, and what he himself was unable

⁷ Cf. BREQUIGNY, *Diplomata*, Paris, 1791, tom. ii, 2 p., p. 834 and MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. cccv, c. 798.

⁸ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6.

to do, on account of his care of the universal Church, he entrusted for execution to his legate Nicholas, then bishop of Albano and afterwards Roman pontiff, who, having gone to that country, loaned out, obedient to the commands of his master, the talent he had received, and like a faithful and wise servant tried to derive an increase thereof. Among other things which he achieved to the glory of God's name and his ministry, according as he had been ordered by our said predecessor, he bestowed the pallium upon thy predecessor John, and lest the province of Norway should lack the direction of a metropolitan he appointed the city of Nidras, now under thy charge, as the metropolitan See in perpetuity of the said province and gave to it as suffrage Sees in perpetuity Aslo, Amatrip, Bergen, Stavangri, the Orkney, Faroe, and Subraie islands, Iceland and Greenland, commanding the bishops of the same to obey him and his successors as their metropolitans. Lest anyone should presume, however, to violate the order of the aforesaid legate, we, after the example of the aforementioned Eugene, of happy memory, of Alexander and of Clement, our predecessors and Roman pontiffs, confirm the same order by apostolic authority, and by this ordinance ordering that the city of Nidras be ever considered as the metropolitan See of the aforementioned cities; that their bishops are to obey thee and thy successors as their metropolitan, and to receive from thy hands the grace of consecration; that thy successors, however, are to come to the Roman pontiff alone, in order to receive the grace of consecration, and that they are to be subject to the Roman Church alone. Besides, thy fraternity will use the pallium which has been given thee, the emblem of the fullness of the pontifical office, within church only during the solemn celebration of mass throughout thy whole province, and on those days only which are underwritten, viz., the Lord's nativity, the Epiphany, the Lord's Supper, the Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost, on the festivals of the blessed Mother of God, Mary, ever virgin; the feasts of Saints Peter and Paul, the finding and exaltation of the Holy Cross, the nativity of St. John the Baptist, the feast of blessed John the Evangelist, on the commemoration of all saints, when consecrating churches or bishops, blessing abbots or ordaining priests, on the anniversary of the consecration of thy own church, the feasts of the Holy Trinity and of St. Olaf and the anniversary of thy consecration. Wherefore let thy fraternity do all things with diligence that the ornaments of thy administration may be in keeping with the fullness of the great dignity thou hast received. Let thy life be an example to all who are under thee, so that they may learn therefrom what they should seek after and what they are obliged to shun; be distinguished for thy prudence, chasteness of thought, purity of conduct, discretion in silence, usefulness in speech. Endeavor rather to do good to men than to rule them. In thyself thou shouldst consider not the power of order, but the equality of thy condition. Take care lest thy life render void thy teaching or thy teaching prove in contradiction to thy conduct. Remember that the government of souls is the art of arts. Strive above all things to observe faithfully the decrees of the apostolic see, and humbly obey the same as thy mother and mistress. These, most beloved brother in Christ, are some among the many obligations which pertain to thy archiepiscopal and sacerdotal office, all of which thou canst easily perform with Christ's aid, provided that thou hast charity, which is the mother of all virtues, and humility, and that thou hast inwardly what thou seemest outwardly to have.

Accordingly we decree, etc., unto the end.

Done in Rome, at St. Peter's, by the hand of John, cardinal, deacon of St. Mary's in Cosmedin, chancellor of the holy Roman church, on the thirteenth day of February, the sixth indiction, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1205, and the eighth year of the pontificate of Pope Innocent III.

2-5

John XXI to Archbishop John Rufus of Drontheim

(December 4, 1276)

(Tithes, Peter's Pence)

2

.. Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi. Tua nobis fraternitas intimavit, quod, cum tibi collectio decime Terre Sancte in regno Norwagie per litteras apostolicas sit commissum et in litteris ipsis contineatur expresse, ut omnes partes eiusdem regni debeas propter hoc personaliter visitare, idque quodammodo impossibile videatur, cum Gardensis diocesis, que de tua provincia et regno existit eodem, a metropolitana ecclesia adeo sit remota, quod de ipsa ecclesia illuc propter maris impedimenta vix infra quinquennium ire quis valeat et redire ad ecclesiam supradictam, ac ideo dubites, quod adhuc infra temporis spatium ad solutionem ipsius decime constituti apostolicum sive tuum ad partes illas non valeat pervenire mandatum; postulasti super hoc per apostolice sedis providentiam remedium adhiberi. Cupientes igitur, ut collectioni eiusdem decime sollicitis studiis intendatur, volumus et fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, si premissa veritas comitetur, aliquas personas ydoneas et fideles, super quibus tuam intendimus conscientiam onerare, ad partes illas destinare procures, que ad executionem collectionis eiusdem diligenter invigilent et intendant aliasque super hoc providere studeas, prout utilitati eiusdem decime videris expedire; nichilominus ad collectionem huiusmodi per te ipsum operose sollicitudinis studium impensurus, ita quod proinde tibi a Domino premium compares et sedis apostolice gratiam uberius merearis. Dat. Viterbii secundo nonas decembris, anno primo.

(Translation)*

John XXI to the archbishop of Drontheim:

Having received, by apostolic brief, the commission to collect tithes in the kingdom of Norway for the Holy Land, and having been expressly commanded in the same brief to visit in person all the countries of the said kingdom for this purpose, thy fraternity informs us that such visitation seems in a measure impossible, for the diocese of Gardar, which belongs to thy province and kingdom, is so far from the metropolitan see and the difficulties of navigation are so great that five years are scarcely sufficient for the whole journey; therefore, thou hast reason to doubt whether the apostolic mandate or thine will reach the said country within the time named for the payment of the tithes. Therefore, thou hast had recourse to the wisdom of the Apostolic See for a remedy in this matter. We, therefore, in our desire that the collection of the tithes be carefully attended to, do wish and by apostolic letters command thy fraternity, the above facts being true, to appoint certain capable and faithful persons, regarding whom we charge thy conscience, who shall visit that country and shall supervise and diligently superintend the said collection. Thou shalt also carefully provide whatsoever shall seem desirable in the said matter, that thou mayest obtain thy reward of the Lord and merit for thyself more abundantly the favor of the apostolic see.

Done at Viterbo, December 4th, in the first year.

*DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-9.

3

Tua nobis et c. usque in regno Norwagie sit commissa per sedis apostolice litteras speciales, et in eis contineatur expresse, ut omnes eiusdem regni partes debeas propter hoc personaliter visitare, ac plures dioceses in regno ipso tuaque provincia constitute per maris spatia adeo sint disperse ac intra suos limites dilatate, quod fere infra sex annos et absque gravissimo ecclesie tue dispendio partes omnes predictarum personaliter visitare diocesum difficile tibi foret, cum nonnunquam per dietas quinque ac plures etiam te per talia loca procedere oporteret, in quibus ob domorum defectum tecum deferre tentoria cogereris, concedi tibi, ut per easdem dioceses super collectione ipsius decime certos nuntios tuos ydoneos et discretos, mandato apostolico contrario non obstante, deputare valeas postulasti. Nos itaque tua et ecclesie tue dispendia evitantes, tibi, ut, si premissis veris existentibus expedire videris, super quo tuam intendimus conscientiam onerare, nuntios huiusmodi per easdem dioceses super ipsius decime collectione deputare valeas, tenore presentium duximus concedendum; volentes nichilominus, ut tu illas ex predictis diocesibus personaliter visites, quas absque magno incomodo poteris visitare, sollicitum studium adhibens circa collectionem decime supradicte, ita quod exinde premium expectes a Domino, cuius negotium agitur, et favorem apostolicum uberius merearius. Dat. ut supra.

(Translation¹⁰)

By apostolic brief you have received a commission to collect tithes in the kingdom of Norway for the Holy Land, and having been commanded in the same brief to visit in person all the countries of the said country for this purpose, but thy fraternity has informed us that several of the dioceses in that kingdom belonging to thy province are so widely scattered over the sea and so extensive in territory that it would be difficult for thee to visit personally all the districts of the said dioceses within a period of about six years and without heavy expense to thy see, and since thou wouldst have to journey some five or more seasons through countries where, because there are no dwellings, thou wouldst be obliged to carry tents, thou hast asked to be authorized to depute, notwithstanding the apostolic brief to the contrary, certain careful and capable commissaries to collect the tithes in the said countries. Wherefore, in order to spare thee and thy see such expense, we have concluded to allow thee, by tenor of these present, liberty to appoint such commissaries for the collection of tithes in the said diocese, in case the above be according to the facts, and if thou seest fit so to do, regarding which we charge thy conscience. We wish thee, nevertheless, to visit in person such of the aforesaid dioceses as may be possible, without great inconvenience, and to attend to the collection of the said tithes, that thou mayest expect a recompense from the Lord, whose work it is, and mayest more abundantly merit the favor of the apostolic see.

Done at Viterbo, December 4th, in the first year.

4

Intimasti nobis, quod, cum propter nimiam episcopatum diffusionem regni Norwagie, in quo tibi per apostolicas litteras collectio decime Terre Sancte deputate subsidio est commissa, duo collectores iuxta promissionem (*l. permissionem*) apostolice sedis in qualibet diocesi ordinati nequaquam

¹⁰ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-10.

sufficiant ad ipsam decimam colligendam, neo per illos posset comode colligi absque magno profluvio expensarum, tu cum consilio et assensu suffraganeorum tuorum ipsius regni pro huiusmodi utilitate negotii statuisti per rura singularum diocesum plures alios collectores, qui suis laboribus et expensis predictam decimam colligant et collectam statutis temporibus duobus collectoribus deferant, qui sunt in civitatibus deputati, unde nobis humiliter supplicasti, ut eorundem collectorum rularium (*l. ruralium*) labores et sumptus benigna meditatione pensantes, aliquam illis indulgentiam concedere curaremus. Volentes itaque, ut iidem collectores rurales fructum ex suis laboribus et sumptibus consequantur, eis illam indulgentiam impartimur, que ad promotionem negotii Terre Sancte opem et operam exhibentibus est concessa. Dat. ut supra.

(Translation¹¹)

Thou hast informed us that, owing to the great extent of the dioceses in the kingdom of Norway, wherein thou hast been appointed by apostolic letter collector of tithes for the relief of the Holy Land, the two collectors named, with apostolic permission, for every diocese, are not enough for the said work, nor can they perform the matter without inconvenience and very great cost. By the advice and with the assent of thy suffragans in the said kingdom, thou hast appointed for the rural districts of the different dioceses several other collectors, who by their own efforts and at their personal cost are to collect the tithes and then convey them to the two city collectors. Therefore, thou hast humbly besought us to regard the labor and cost to which these collectors put themselves and to grant them some relief; hence, as we desire that these rural collectors may gain some advantage from their labors and expense, we grant them the indulgence which has been accorded to those who by their labors and cooperation further the cause of the Holy Land.

At Viterbo, December 4th, in the first year.

5

Intimasti nobis, quod in regno Norwagie, in quo tibi decime Terre Sancte collectio est commissa, usque adeo vilis esse moneta dinoscitur usualis, quod extra ipsius regni limites in pretio non habetur, quodque in quibusdam partibus dicti regni monete usus aliquis non existit nec crescunt segetes neque frugum alia genera producantur, sed lacticiniis et piscibus fere dumtaxat vita inibi sustentatur humana. Quare significari tibi a nobis humiliter petivisti, quid de decima, que de lacticiniis et piscibus et moneta predictis colligitur, debeas ordinare. Nos igitur ad ea, que sunt utiliora negotio intendentes expedire videmus, ut, premissis veris existentibus, in aurum vel argentum, prout commodius fieri poterit, huiusmodi moneta et decima convertantur. De monialibus autem et personis aliis regularibus dicti regni, quorum proventus et redditus ecclesiastici adeo sunt tenues et exiles, quod ex illis sustentari non possunt, sed pro habenda vite sue substantiatione necesse habeant publice mendicare et helemosinas petere, servare poteris, quod in declarationibus super ipsius decime editis plenius continetur. Dat. ut supra.¹²

¹¹ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹² Cf. MUNCH, *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs og Dagbog, forte under Tiende-Ophraevningen i Norden 1282-1334*, p. 143. Christiania, 1864.

(Translation¹³)

Thou hast informed us that in the kingdom of Norway, where thou hast been entrusted with the collection of tithes for the Holy Land, the current money is so debased as to be of no value outside the boundaries of the kingdom, and that in some parts of the aforesaid kingdom money is not in use, also no crops are cultivated, and no fruits are grown, the people living almost entirely upon milk, cheese and fish; therefore, thou hast humbly requested us to tell thee what thou shalt do with the tithes drawn from the aforesaid milk, cheese, fish and money. Therefore, in our thought that whatever is most profitable to be done in this matter, we think it would be well, if the statement be exact, to exchange so far as practicable all such coin and tithes for silver and gold. In regard to the nuns and other religious orders of the kingdom whose incomes and ecclesiastical revenues are so small as to be insufficient for their support, thou canst proceed according to that which has been set forth fuller in the declarations relating to this collection of tithes.

Done at Viterbo, December 4th, first year.

6

Nicholas III to Archbishop of Drontheim
(January 31, 1279)

Venerabili fratri . . . archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi. Ex transmissa nobis nuper tuarum collegimus serie litterarum, quod insula, in qua civitas Cardensis consistit, propter malitiam maris Oceani, infra quod ipsa consistit, raro navigio visitantur; unde, cum nuper quidam naute ad eiusdem insule visitationem tenderent vela in altum, tu huiusmodi oportunitate captata quendam discretum virum, colligendi decimam commisso sibi officio, cum dictis nautis ad civitatem transmissisti eandem, et sub spe nostre ratificationis concessisti eidem, ut clericos ab excommunicationis sententia, quam pro eo quod huiusmodi decimam in statutis super hoc terminis non solverunt incurrerant, absolveret et cum eis dispensaret super irregularitate, si quam proinde forsitan contraxerunt. Quare a nobis humiliter postulasti, ut ratificare benignius dignaremur. Cum itaque huiusmodi postulationi, ut pote que rationis viribus non iuvatur. (*l. iuvatur, non*) acquiescere favorabiliter nequeamus, ac propter hoc cupientes huiusmodi tuis desideriis annuere et animarum periculis per consequens occurrere provisionis remedio salutaris, presentium tibi auctoritate committimus, ut absolvendi clericos tam in predicta quam aliis insulis maris eiusdem constitutos a predicta sententia iuxta formam ecclesie et dispensandi cum eis super irregularitate huiusmodi libere committere valeas officium hiis, quos propter collectionis ministerium ad predictas insulas destinasti vel forsitan imposterum destinabis. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum secundo kalendas februarii, anno secundo.

Eidem magistro Bertrando Amalricii.

Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum v idus iunii, anno secundo.¹⁴

(Translation¹⁵)

Nicholas III, to his venerable brother, the Archbishop of Drontheim:

We have learned from thy letters to us, that the island on which the city of Gardar is located is not often visited by ships, on account of the storms of the ocean where

¹³ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11.

¹⁴ Cf. MUNCH, *l. c.*, p. 146.

¹⁵ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.

it is situated. Lately, therefore, when certain sailors went to the said island to the said city, thou didst take advantage of the opportunity to send in the company of the said sailors, a careful person, whom thou didst appoint collector of the tithes. Depending upon our approbation thou didst empower him to absolve clerics from the pain of excommunication which had fallen upon them, on account of non-payment of tithes within the ordered time, and to release them from whatever irregularity they may have committed. Therefore, thou hast humbly requested us to grant our gracious approval. But since we cannot favorably assent to this desire because it is not based on reason, and desiring, on this account, to comply with thy wishes by applying a ready remedy for perils to souls, we hereby empower thee to give to those whom thou hast sent or may send in the future to the said islands to absolve clerics, whether in the aforementioned islands or others in the same ocean from the aforesaid sentence according to the order of the Church, and to dispense them from irregularity of this kind.

Done at Rome, at St. Peter's, January 31, 1279.

7

Nicholas III to Bertrand Arnabrie

(June 9, 1279)

Te nuper significante accepimus, quod in cathedralibus ecclesiis in Datie et Suetie regnis constitutis nonnulli redditus devotione fidelium deputati existunt, ex quibus per personam ad hoc specialiter deputatam clericis ecclesiarum infra eadem regna consistentium vinum et ostie annis singulis ministrantur. Quia vero, an de huiusmodi redditibus exigi debeat decima, consultationem a sede apostolica postulasti, nos tuam diligentiam commendantes discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, si proventus ipsi sint adeo magni, quod ministratis vino et ostiis multum ex illis noveris superesse, volumus, quod de illis huiusmodi decima persolvatur; si vero nihil vel parum ex predictis redditibus superesset, nichil persolvatur de ipsis propter reverentiam divini cultus et Domini sacramentum. Dat. ut supra. (Rome apud Sanctum Petrum v idus iunii, anno secundo.)¹⁶

(Translation¹⁷)

"Nicholas III, to the said Master Bertrand Arnabrie:

We have recently been told by thee that certain revenues have been apportioned by the devotion of the faithful in the cathedral churches of Denmark and Sweden for the express purpose of buying wine and altar bread for the clergy of the churches within the said kingdom. Since, however, thou hast consulted the Apostolic See in regard to whether tithes should be taken from revenues of this kind, while approving thy diligence, we do by apostolic letter leave the question to thy judgment, in order that, if the revenues be so large that thou art sure that a large sum will be left over after providing wine and altar bread, we wish that tithes be paid on that part. On the other hand, if little or nothing is left of the said revenues, nothing is to be paid out of regard for reverence for adoration and the sacrament of the Lord.

Done in Rome, at St. Peter's, June 9, 1279."

¹⁶ Cf. MUNCH, *l. c.*, p. 150.

¹⁷ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Martin IV to Archbishop of Drontheim
(March 4, 1281)

Venerabili fratri . . . archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi. Tua nobis fraternitas intimavit, quod decima, que in Islandie et Feroyum insulis in regno Norwegie constitutis in diversis rebus persolvitur, que de facili permutari vel pecunialiter vendi non possunt, propter quod decima eadem nequit ad Terram Sanctam vel ad sedem apostolicam comode destinari. Subiuncxisti quoque, quod Gronlandie decima non percipitur nisi in bovinis et focarum coris ac dentibus et funibus balenarum, que, sicut asseris, vix ad competens pretium vendi possunt. Unde, quid super premissis a te agendum existat, petiisti te per apostolice sedis oraculum edoceri. Nos itaque tue sollicitudinis studium commendantes, consultationi tue taliter respondemus, quod tam insularum quam Gronlandie decimas predictarum in argentum vel aurum, prout melius et utilius fieri poterit, convertere studeas, illud una cum (illa) alia decima in ipso regno collecta pro ipsius Terre subsidio ad apostolicam sedem, quamcito poteris, transmissurus, quid et quantum destinaveris fideliter intimando. Ceterum carissimo in Christo filio nostro . . . regi Norwegie illustri nostras regatorias litteras destinavimus, ut non impediatur nec impediri permittatur, quin decima ipsa de regno suo libere extrahatur in predictae Terre subsidium secundum apostolice sedis arbitrium disponenda, quodque prohibitionem contra eiusdem clericos regni factam, ne quis laicus ipsius regni sterlingos vel argentum aliud vendere quoquomodo presumat, studeat difficultate summota qualibet revocare. Dat. apud Urbemveterem 1111 nonas martii, anno primo.¹⁸

(Translation¹⁹)

Thy fraternity hast informed us that the tithes being paid in Iceland and the Faroe Islands in the kingdom of Norway, are composed of various commodities that cannot easily be exchanged or sold, on which account the same cannot readily be sent to Holy Land or to the Apostolic See. Thou hast said, also, that the only tithes that can be gathered in Greenland are composed of skins of the elk or the musk ox or of seals, teeth ropes of whales, which by your account, cannot be sold for any fair price. Therefore, thou hast desired instructions of the apostolic see as to what course you should take in this case. Therefore, while we admire thy pious care, we reply to the question as follows: Thou must seek to exchange the tithes of Greenland and the other islands as you best may, for either silver or gold and forward the same as soon as possible, together with other tithes collected in the kingdom for the succour of Holy Land, truly informing us in regard to the nature and the amount of what thou dost send. We also write to our most dear son in Christ, the renowned king of Norway, requesting him not to prevent or permit anyone to prevent the free exportation from his dominion of the tithes which are devoted, as the Apostolic See shall deem fitting to the succour of the said Holy Land, and to seek to repeal the order decreed against clerics of said kingdom, that forbids any layman of the kingdom selling easterlings or other silver.

Done at Orvieto, March 4, 1281.

¹⁸ Cf. MUNCH., *l. c.*, p. 153.

¹⁹ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, p. 212-13.

9

Nicholas V to the Bishops of Skalholt and Holar in Iceland

(September 25, 1448)

(Ruin of the Diocese)

Nicolaus etc. venerabilibus fratribus Schaoltensi et Olensi episcopis salutem etc. Ex iniuncto nobis desuper apostolice servitutis officio universarum ecclesiarum regimini presidentes, sic auctore domino pro animarum salute precioso Salvatoris redemptas comertio nostre solitudinis curam impendimus, ut illam non solum impietatis et errorum procellis sepius fluctuantes, sed et erumnis et persecutionum turbinibus involutas ad statum optime tranquillitatis reducere studeamus. Sane pro parte dilectorum filiorum indigenarum et universitatis habitatorum insule Grenolandie, que in ultimis finibus Oceani ad septemtrionalem plagam regni Norwegie in provincia Nidrosiensi dicitur situata, lacrimabilis querela nostrum turbavit auditum, amaricavit et mentem, quod in ipsam insulam, cuius habitatores et incole ab annis fere sexcentis Christi fidem gloriosi sui preconis beati Olavi regis predicatione susceptam, firmam et intemeratam sub sancte Romane ecclesie et sedis apostolice institutis servarunt, ac quod tempore succedente in dicta insula populis assidua devotione flagrantibus, sanctorum edes quamplurime et insignis ecclesia cathedralis erecte fuerint, in quibus divinus cultus sedulo agebatur, donec, illo permittente, qui imperscrutabili sapientie et science sue scrutinio persepe, quos diligit, temporaliter corrigit et ad meliorem emendam casgat, ex finitimis lictoribus paganorum ante annos triginta classe navali barbari insurgentes, cunctum habitatorum ibidem populum crudeli invasione aggressi et ipsam patriam edesque sacras igne et gladio devastantes solis [in] insula novem relictis ecclesiis parochialibus, que latissimis dicitur extendi terminis, quas propter crepidines montium commode adire non poterant, miserandos utriusque sexus indigenas, illos precipue quos ad subeundum perpetue onera servitutis aptos videbant et fortes, tanquam ipsorum tyrannidi accomodatos, ad propria vexerunt captivos. Verum quia, sicut eadem querela subiungebat, post temporis successum quamplurimi ex captivitate predicta redeuntes ad propria et reffectis hinc inde locorum ruinis, divinum cultum possetenus ad instar dispositionis pristine ampliari et instaurare desiderant, et quia propter preteritarum calamitatum pressuras fame et inedia laborantibus non suppetebat hucusque facultas presbiteros nutriendi et presulem, toto illo triginta annorum tempore episcopi solatio et sacerdotum ministerio caruerunt, nisi quis per longissimam dierum et locorum distanciam divinatorum desiderio officiorum ad illas se conferre valuisset ecclesias, quas manus barbarica illesas pretermisit, nobis humiliter supplicari fecerunt, quatinus eorum pio et salutari proposito paterna miseratione succurrere [*l. succurrere*] et ipsorum in spiritualibus supplere defectus nostrumque et apostolice sedis in premissis favorem impartiri benivolum dignaremur. Nos igitur dictorum indigenarum et universitatis habitatorum prefate insule Grenolandie iustis et honestis precibus et desideriis inclinati, de premissis et eorum circumstantiis certam noticiam non habentes, fraternitati vestre, quos ex vicinioribus episcopis insule prefate esse intelleximus, per apostolica scripta commictimus et mandamus, quatinus vos vel alter vestrum diligenti examine auditis et intellectis premissis, si ea veritate fulciri comperitis ipsumque populum et indigenas numero et facultatibus adeo

sufficienter esse resumptos, quod id pro nunc expedire videbitis, quod ipsi affectare videntur, de sacerdotibus ydoneis et exemplari vita preeditis ordinandi et providendi plebanos et rectores instituendi, qui parrocchias et ecclesias resarcitas gubernent, sacramenta ministrent et, si vobis sive alteri vestrum demum expedire videbitur et opportunum, requisito ad hoc metropolitani consilio, si loci distancia patietur, personam utilem et ydoneam, nostram et sedis apostolice communionem habentem, eis in episcopum ordinare et instituere ac sibi munus consecrationis in forma ecclesie consueta, nomine nostro impendere et administrationem spiritualium et temporalium concedere, recepto ab eodem prius iuramento nobis et Romane ecclesie debito et consueto, valeatis vel alter vestrum valeat; super quibus omnibus vestram conscienciam oneramus, plenam et liberam vobis vel alteri vestrum constitutionibus apostolicis et generalium conciliorum ac aliis in contrarium editis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Dat. Rome apud Sanctam Potencianam, anno etc. millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo octavo, duodecimo kalendas octobris, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.²⁰

(Translation²¹)

"Nicholas, etc., to our venerable brothers, Bishop of Skalholt and Bishop of Holar, Health, etc.:

By virtue of the apostolic charge given to us from on high, in directing the affairs of the universal church, it is our care, in God's name, to secure the salvation of souls purchased by the precious blood of our Saviour, not only by stilling the storms of irreligion and error which sweep over them, but also by protecting them when subject to misfortunes and whirlwinds of persecution. From the natives and from dwellers in Greenland, an island said to be found in the most distant parts of the ocean off the northern coasts of the kingdom of Norway, in the province of Drontheim, a sorrowful cry has come to our ears and saddened our heart. These people, nearly six hundred years ago, received the Faith from the lips of their glorious apostle, the blessed King Olaf, and kept it unchanged and pure, in obedience to the laws of the holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See. After a time animated by unflinching devotion, they built many churches besides a fine cathedral, in which the worship of God was faithfully carried on until within thirty years, by the permission of Him who, in his incomprehensible wisdom and knowledge, afflicts those whom He loves to make them perfect, barbarous people from the neighboring heathen shores sent ships to invade the island. The land was laid waste with fire and sword, churches were everywhere destroyed in all the island, said to be of vast extent. Only nine parish churches escaped, for the reason that being built among the mountains they could not well be reached. Many of the unhappy people of both sexes, who seemed strong to bear the yoke of lasting slavery, and by reason of physical strength appearing best suited for the labors of their masters, were carried away as prisoners. Nevertheless, the same adds, that, after a time, many of them returned to their native country; and having in various places rebuilt what the invaders had destroyed, they wished to establish the worship of God and restore its former splendor. Nevertheless, the misfortunes endured had left them in such a starving and necessitous condition, that they had no means of supporting a bishop and priests, and unless in their desire for Divine worship they could perform a journey of a number of days to the churches

²⁰ Cf. *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, tom III, pp. 164-74, Copenhagen, 1845, UNGER og HUIT-FELDT, *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, tom. VI, n. 527. Christiania, 1864.

²¹ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-16.

that had survived the destruction of the barbarians, they were without the comforts of a pastor and the services of priests for thirty years. Therefore, they have most humbly besought us, that, in our paternal pity we would give them aid in satisfying their devout and beneficial desires; also that we would condescend to meet the supply of their spiritual needs and exhibit our benevolence and that of the Apostolic See in this case. Therefore, moved by the proper and rightful prayers and wishes of the aforesaid natives and dwellers in Greenland, and not having perfect knowledge of the above facts and circumstances, we do, by apostolic letters, command one or both of you, whom we understand to be neighboring bishops, after having carefully investigated and comprehended the statements made above, to learn if it be true. If the is the state of things and if you find the population increased in number and resources to render the fulfillment of their desires expedient, it is our will that you ordain suitable priests of holy life and furnish rectors for the administration of the parishes that have been restored and churches for the administration of the sacraments. In addition, if to one or both of you it may seem timely and expedient, having sought the advice of the metropolitan, if the distance allows, we empower you to appoint and order as bishop for them some profitable and qualified person in communion with us and the Apostolic See, to consecrate, with the customary form of the church, in our name, and give to him the administration of spiritual and temporal things, first receiving from him the proper and usual oath of allegiance to us and the Apostolic See. Having made this a matter of conscience, we by our apostolic authority, give to one or both of you full and unrestricted jurisdiction in this case, according to the tenor of these presents all statutes and constitutions, whether apostolic or of general councils, or of any other kind whatsoever, notwithstanding.

Done at Rome, at St. Potenciana's, in the year 1448, twelfth day before the Kalends of October, the second year of our pontificate."

10

Alexander VI on the See of Gardar

(1492?)

(The Appointment of Bishop Mathias, O.S.B.)

Cum, ut accepimus, ecclesia Gardensis in fine mundi sita in terra Gronlandie, in qua homines commorantes ob defectum panis, vini et olei siccis piscibus et lacte uti consueverunt, et ob id ac propter rarissimas navigationes ad dictam terram causantibus intentissimis aquarum congelationibus fieri solitas navis aliqua ab ottuaginta annis non creditur applicuisse, et, si navigationes huiusmodi fieri contingeret, profecto has non nisi mense augusti congelationibus ipsis resolutis fieri posse non existimentur; et propterea eidem ecclesie similiter ab ottuaginta annis vel circa nullus penitus episcoporum vel presbyterorum apud illam personaliter residendo prefuisse dicitur; unde ac propter presbyterorum catholicorum absentiam evenit, quam plures diocesanos olim catholicos sacrum per eos baptismum susceptum pro dolor renasce [*l. renegasse*], et quod incole eiusdem terre in memoriam christiane religionis non habent nisi quoddam corporale, quod semel in anno presentetur, super quo ante centum annos ab ultimo sacerdote tunc ibidem existente corpus Christi fuit consecratum; hiis igitur et aliis consideratis considerandis, felix recordationis Innocentius papa VIII, predecessor noster, volens dicte ecclesie tunc pastoris solatio destitute de utili, de ydoneo pastore providere, de fratrum suorum consilio, de quorum numero tunc eramus, venerabilem

fratrem nostrum Mathiam, electum Gardensem, ordinis sancti Benedicti de observantia professum, ad nostram instantiam, dum adhuc in minoribus constituti eramus, proclamatum ad dictam ecclesiam summopere ac magno devotionis fervore accensum pro deviatorum et renegatorum mentibus ad viam salutis eterne reducendis et erroribus huiusmodi eradicandis vitam suam periculo permaximo sponte et libere submitiendo navigio etiam personaliter proficisci intendentem, eidem episcopum prefecit et pastorem. Nos igitur eiusdem electi pium et laudabile propositum in Domino quam plurimum commendantes sibi in premissis aliquo subventionis auxilio propter eius paupertatem, qua, ut similiter accepimus, gravatus existit, succurrere cupientes, motu proprio et etiam ex certa nostra scientia de fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu, dilectis filiis rescribendario, abbreviatoribus necnon sollicitatoribus ac plumbatoribus illarumque registratoribus ceterisque tam cancellarie quam camere nostre apostolice officialibus quibuscumque sub excommunicationis late sententie pena ipso facto incurrenda committimus et mandamus, ut omnes et singulas litteras apostolicas de et super promotione dicte ecclesie Gardensis pro dicto electo expediendas in omnibus et singulis eorum officiis gratis ubique pro Deo absque cuiuscunque taxe solutione seu exactione expediant et expediri faciant omni contradictione ceasante; necnon camere apostolice clericis et notariis, ut litteras, seu bullas huiusmodi dicto electo absque solutione seu exactione alicuius annate seu minutorum servitorum et aliorum iurium quorumcumque in similibus solvi solutorum [*solitorum*] libere tradant et consignent, motu et scientia similibus ac sub penis predictis committimus et mandamus, in contrarium facientes non obstantibus quibuscumque. Fiat gratis ubique quia pauperrimus.²²

(Translation²³)

A letter of Pope Alexander VI, 1492-1493, by which he appointed Matthias, a monk of St. Benedict, to the Bishopric of Garder, Greenland. The entire volume, 492 pages, is of paper, and the documents seem to have been written carelessly by a rapid hand, except a few by a firm and careful hand in an older style. We have placed Matthias with the titular bishops, yet such was not the intention. Matthias was fully resolved upon the mission.

"We learn that the church of Goder [Garder] situated on the outer boundaries of the world, in the country of Greenland, whose inhabitants are accustomed to live upon dried fish and milk, for the reason that bread, wine and oil are scarce, and for the reason that voyages are rarely made to that region, on account of the freezing of the sea no ship is supposed to have touched there during the past eighty years. We are also informed, that voyages of this kind are not thought possible except in the month of August, after the ice melts, and that no resident bishop or priest has ruled the Church for some eighty years past. Therefore, on account of the lack of priests, it has come to pass that very many of the people of that diocese, who were formerly Catholics, have, alas! denied the sacred baptism they had received. It is said that the people of that land have no other relic of the Christian religion than a corporal that they exhibit once a year, upon which the body of Christ was consecrated by the last priest who was resident one hundred years ago. On account of these and other reasons, our predecessor, Pope Innocent VIII, of happy memory, desiring

²² Cf. JELIC, *L'évangélisation de l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb* in the *Compte-rendu du Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques*, tom. V, 183. Paris, 1891.

²³ DA COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.

to furnish an able and meritorious pastor for the said church, so long deprived of that consolation, agreeable to the advice of his brethren, of whom we were one, nominated to the said see, our venerable Brother Matthias, a professed member of the Order of St. Benedict and now bishop-elect of Gader [Gardar] having been preconised on our motion, before an election.

In his intense zeal for those who had fallen away for the recovery of those who have lapsed, and for the suppression of error, he has now resolved to set out upon this most dangerous undertaking. While greatly commending, in the Lord, his holy and meritorious design, we wish to aid him in some means on account of his poverty. Therefore, on our own doing, cognisance and by the advice and consent of our brethren, we direct, under penalty of excommunication, to follow *ipso facto*, our beloved sons, the copyists, abreviators, solicitors, with the holders of seals, and the registerator, and all other officials in the various offices, both of the chancery and apostolic chamber, to forward and to have forwarded promptly and entirely free of charge, all apostolic letters concerning the advancement to the aforesaid church of Gader [Gardar] which need to be sent to the said bishop elect. Moreover, by the same, with similar cognisance and similar penalties, to be visited upon those who incur, who fail to obey, and everything to the contrary notwithstanding, we command the clerics and notaries of the apostolic chamber to give to the said bishop all such briefs and bulls without payment or requirement of any tax or any fees or gratuities ordinarily paid on similar accounting. Let all be done free in all the departments, because he is very poor."

These Documents constitute a valuable group of original sources for the story of the Norse suffragan See of Gardar. Their contents show that the Roman authorities had an intimate knowledge of the Church in Greenland; and an examination of the Archives of Rome and of Drontheim may prove the existence of many more manuscripts on this subject.

BOOK REVIEWS

Character Sketches of the Right Rev. C. P. Maes, D.D. Late Bishop of Covington, Ky. By the Sisters of Divine Providence. Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1917. Pp. 187.

Camillus P. Maes was born in Courtrai, Belgium, March 13, 1846. Left an orphan at the age of eleven, he became part of the household of a devoted uncle, a priest, who enabled him to finish his classical studies in Courtrai, and then to enter the preparatory Seminary at Roulers. Later he entered the Seminary at Bruges and then went to the American College, Louvain, in order to complete his studies and to prepare himself for the American Missions. He was ordained to the Priesthood at Mechlin, December 19, 1868, and in May, 1869, he set out for America to become a laborer in the Vineyard of Detroit. From 1869 to 1871, he was assistant priest at Mt. Clemens; in April, 1871, he became Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Monroe, Mich., and the following year became Pastor of a new church which he had organized meanwhile, that of St. Joseph's in Monroe. His activity in parish work was not so engrossing as to preclude study, and the fruit of these years at Monroe (1871-1880) was the *Life of the Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, which has been pronounced "one of the most important historical contributions on the history of Kentucky." On March 13, 1880, Bishop Borgess of Detroit appointed Father Maes secretary and chancellor of the Diocese. Two years later (1882), his name was sent to the Holy See as one of the candidates for the See of Grand Rapids. In September, 1884, Father Maes was appointed to the Diocese of Covington, Ky. Bishop Maes, we are told, always liked to recall that at this same Consistory the new Bishop of Mantua was also proclaimed, he who in later years won the love of Christendom under the title of Pius X. As Bishop-elect, Bishop Maes attended the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in November, 1884, and distinguished himself as an ardent supporter of the proposed measure for the founding of a Catholic University of America. "As a son of great Louvain, he was eminently able to gauge the importance of such an institution and to foresee its influence on both clergy and laity. Identified always with

the cause of higher education and interested in the Catholic University movement from its very inception, Bishop Maes ranks as one of the chief promoters of that noble foundation." The Bishop was a striking figure in any gathering of ecclesiastics. With his tall, spare figure, with a natural dignity of carriage which marked him out from the crowd, Bishop Maes made an impression which would never be forgotten. His intellectual powers were of the highest, and his kindliness of heart and general personal charm aroused enthusiastic admiration and affection not only in Kentucky, where he was loved, but throughout the United States. His long episcopate (1884-1915) saw a wonderful growth on the part of the Church in Kentucky, due in great part to his own powers of administration and guidance. The present Cathedral of St. Mary, in Covington, Ky., which he built, is considered, and rightly so, as one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in the world.

Like all truly great men, both within and without the Church, Camillus Maes was not understood by all. There were characteristics in his nature in which some saw a strength of will which grew impatient with any leisurely appreciation of his motives; but all recognized that it was the man of God who was acting and that it was the glory of the Master which actuated him in all he did. Knowing his disposition as we do, it can easily be admitted that the wondrous patience, the unalterable sweetness and serenity which distinguished him, were the result of a love for his fellowmen which he possessed to a remarkable degree. And this is the particular value of these *Character Sketches*. They are written with a desire to make Bishop Maes known better and loved better. They give us insights into his life and character which might be lost in the mass of details a biography would necessarily contain. His love for the Blessed Sacrament, his activity in the Eucharistic Congresses of the United States, his solicitude for the rising generation of priests, his ideas on education and family life and his own profound religious spirit are all here described with an intimate touch which makes the work a source of first value to the historian and the churchman. "Bishop Maes lived close to God; his thoughts were never far from God and heaven; simply, naturally, he spoke of God as our Father, and of heaven as our Home." His

passing removed a great figure from the ecclesiastical life of the United States, and his true place in the history of the Church here will loom up more widely as the years pass and the results of his many labors produce their fruit.

The Sisters of Divine Providence of Newport, Ky., deserve commendation for the devotion to his memory in preserving these *Character Sketches* to the future.

Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization. By Scott-Stowe. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1916. Pp. xx + 331.

The best review this welcome addition to American biography will ever receive is already written in the Preface which Theodore Roosevelt has contributed to this volume. "It is hyperbole" he writes, "to say that Booker T. Washington was a great American. For twenty years before his death he had been the most useful, as well as the most distinguished, member of his race in the world, and one of the most useful, as well as one of the most distinguished of American citizens of any race." The volume is not a biography in the ordinary sense. A complete *Life* still remains to be written. What the authors of this book have attempted to do is to present and interpret the leading aspects of the life of a great American who rose from slavery up to one of the highest positions of social and international prominence in the land. The early life of Booker T. Washington has been told for all time in his epoch-making book *Up from Slavery*, and the present volume takes up the story where the other leaves off, and seeks to tell the story of his success during the last fifteen years of his life. It contains a "record of his struggles and achievements at once accurate and readable put into permanent form for the information of the public." The opening chapter tells us of the man and his school in the making. Those early days at Tuskegee read like the beginnings of a religious community in the middle ages. Few founders ever experienced such drawbacks; few have shown more heroic, manly courage. Trouble rained in upon the little community, and not the least of them came from his own people, especially from the negro preachers who were always trying to dispute with Mr. Washington and quarrel with him; "but he just kept his mouth shut," one of

his pupils has written, "and went ahead. He kept pleasant and wouldn't dispute with them, nor argue with them, nor quarrel with them. When the white folks would come around and tell him he was 'spoiling good niggers by education,' he would just ask them to wait patiently and give him time to show them what the right kind of education could do."

In 1895, fourteen years after the founding of Tuskegee Institute, Mr. Washington began to spread the good news of his success in various parts of the South and North, and wherever he appeared, in spite of all prejudice, he won his way quickly and permanently to the hearts of his audience. His greatest speech was probably that at Atlanta, in 1895, and from this time until his death, his words were listened to by social students and educators through the country. His was a fiery logic. Facts, statistics, comparisons, analyses, syntheses, followed one another in quick succession in his talk. "He marshalled them in such a way that they were dynamic and stirring instead of static and paralyzing." Few Americans of our day have achieved a more lasting success than Booker T. Washington, and there are pages in this biographical sketch which every American boy, white and colored, should read. President Eliot of Harvard, in 1896, when conferring upon Mr. Washington the degree of Master of Arts, summed up his life in this characteristically terse way—"teacher, wise helper of his race, good servant of God and country." There is a lesson of service to all the men and women of the race to which Booker T. Washington belonged, which this book will teach them better than anything ever written about their great leader. "He was never led away," say Mr. Roosevelt, "as the educated negro so often is led away, into the pursuit of fantastic visions; into the drawing up of plans fit only for the world of two dimensions. He kept his high ideals, always; but he never forgot for a moment that he was living in an actual world of three dimensions, in a world of unpleasant facts, where those unpleasant facts have to be faced, and he made the best possible out of a bad situation from which there was no ideal best to be obtained. And he walked humbly with his God." The volume deserves to be read widely. A second edition would be much enhanced by the addition of an Index.

Patriots in the Making. What America Can Learn from France and Germany. By Jonathan French Scott, Ph.D. With an Introduction by the Hon. Myron T. Herrick, former Ambassador to France. New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1916. Pp. xvi+246.

The world-war has changed many things and will change many more. Is it to have its effect on our system of education in the United States? Professor Scott sets forth in this book the relationship that has long existed in France and Germany between the school and the national consciousness. The author himself is keenly aware of the moral lesson conveyed by his pages and of the dangers which may be looked for if the United States enters on a course of characteristic propaganda in its schools. The experiment as here described, of training the mind of youth to look on other nations as hereditary foes may be said to have had its fruition in the present world-war. The principles on which such an experiment are based are rooted, necessarily, in an exaggerated sense of nationalism and will, if carried to extremes, nullify the success of any international organization to promote the interests of all nations alike and to accentuate the claims of humanity. Whether such an experiment will ever be undertaken in the United States seems doubtful. Any prediction on the subject, however, must, of necessity, be conditioned on the state of the world when the war shall have come to an end. The historical portion of the work, that dealing with the nationalistic and patriotic purposes which found expression in the school curricula, will have a deep interest for students of education and for political philosophers. In a few well-arranged chapters the author points out the changing methods in education which have been pursued in France and in a certain degree has shed new light on the recent strife in France between Church and State. "The world has just begun to realize how well the Third Republic has carried its burdens, how zealously it has set itself to the fulfilment of its ideals. The educational system of the country did not at first respond to these new forces which were beginning to dominate the life of the nation. For more than a decade the school remained almost entirely in the hands of the Church, inculcating in the rising generation those beliefs and ideals for which the Church stood. In the

early eighties, however, the government usurped (or shall we say 'resumed') control over education, and in later years completed the work of making instruction almost a state monopoly."

The theory of government which lies behind the system of education which makes of every child a potential warrior is no less worthy of study than the methods followed in the French schools. As seen by Professor Scott the work of inculcating patriotism revolved around these points: (1) the love of France; (2) the military spirit and obligatory service; (3) the duty of inculcating physical courage. Furthermore, (4) the children have learned to know that taxation is necessary to support the army; (5) they have been given some definite information in regard to the state of the national defenses; and (6) certain writers have pointed out to them the perils of depopulation in a country menaced by increasingly powerful neighbors.

Similar aims in educational processes are found by Professor Scott to have dominated the entire educational system of Germany. "Germany," he says, "beyond all other modern states, has embodied national aspirations in its educational system, which, though not wholly free from the influences of tradition custom and conservatism, recognizes in a degree elsewhere unparalleled the value of education as a political instrument and a factor in national evolution."

The work ends with two chapters on "The Lesson for America" and "Military Training in Europe." The latter contains much impartial information that cannot fail, if read, to enlighten many of our leaders and legislators. The author submits American ideals in education to a searching test in his chapter on the "Lesson for America." It may be within the bounds of possibility that American education will become national in tone and character as a result of the war and that it may be regulated and directed by Congress and by a Federal Minister of Education.

State Administration in Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, Studies in Historical and Political Sciences. By John L. Donaldson, Ph.D. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1916. Series XXXIV, No. 4. Pp. 155.

This monograph, as we learn from the author's Preface, although a study of Administration in Maryland, is in no sense a

history. The historical development of certain factors of administration has not been neglected, but the work deals exclusively with the organization and the interrelations of the administrative departments of the Maryland government, and attempts a scientific analysis of their functions and forms. Without endeavoring to describe the entire governmental structure of the State of Maryland, the author has limited his field to "that part of the Executive branch which has to do with the actual performance of duties relating directly to the economic, intellectual, and moral welfare of the people." The volume is, therefore, divided into five chapters, dealing with Public Education, Public Health, Charities and Corrections, Finance, and General Economic Welfare. The Catholic reader will find a very fair and impartial estimate of these public functions. Catholic schools and colleges and Catholic charities do not fall within the scope of the author's researches. Recent attacks upon organized Charities give an especial interest to the chapter on *Charities and Corrections*. There is no uniform or centralized system of charities in the State of Maryland. Benevolent institutions are helped in a haphazard and irregular way, through the Board of State Aid and Charities, which was instituted in 1850. It consists of seven members, appointed by the Governor, and they give their services free. The Board has the power of investigating the condition and management of all public or other charitable institutions receiving state aid. The author is very frank in his criticism of the deficiencies of public charities. There are paragraphs on the treatment of criminals which will astonish the reader. Over the whole administrative system lies the blight of disintegration. "We may," he says, "summarize Maryland Administration needs as follows: gubernatorial supervision; intra-departmental as well as inter-departmental centralization; integration; and standardization of services."

The Japanese Conquest of American Opinion. By Montaville Flowers, M.A. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1917. Pp. xvii + 272.

International intrigue is always fascinating. When it reaches the level of attempting to control Public Opinion in a neighboring state, it may be a menace. The author of this book frankly

aims at exposing what he regards as a thoroughly organized effort on the part of the Japanese and certain pro-Nippon Americans to control and direct American Public Opinion in favor of Japan.

The work while polemical in tone, takes up many phases of the question of the relations of Japan and the United States from a religious and ethnological standpoint. In the first part of his study, Mr. Flowers discusses the Japanese Problem as found in California and the Western States and shows how the problem is one national, not local, in character. If this question, which haunts every American statesman and which can become a source of international conflict at any moment, is ever to be settled it will only be by a thorough airing of its merits in those parts of the United States which are not immediately affected by Japanese immigration. The basis of this crux in American diplomacy is expounded in the two remaining sections of the book dealing with the "Forces and Methods of the Japanese Conquest" and "Bases of Opinions, Old and New." In those two sections, the author does not hesitate to give names and to direct his charges against various individuals and organizations who are engaged in lulling the fears of Americans regarding their neighbors across the Pacific.

Holiness of the Church in the Nineteenth Century. Rev. Constantine Kempf, S.J. Translated from the German by Rev. Francis Breymann, S.J. New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1916. Pp. 415.

That the nineteenth century possessed so many holy martyrs and confessors, as contained in this book, seems at first sight incredible. We are often told that we are living in materialistic times, when the search is more for honor and wealth than for a high place in the realm of sanctity; but there are two hundred persons listed in this work with an account of their life and death, and it forms, indeed, a grand review of heroes. All classes and conditions of men and women, ecclesiastic and lay, are here represented, and the value of the work, apart from its many surprises, is that the student of nineteenth century Catholicism possesses in this volume a martyrology, containing important facts for the history of the Church for which he would

look in vain elsewhere. The volume is divided into six parts: Holy Bishops, Holy Secular Priests, Holy Religious Men and Women, Holy Laymen and Women, and Martyrs. In an Appendix the list is given chronologically, and a working bibliography is added for the guidance of those interested in the life of any particular person mentioned in the list. Among the names of those who labored in the United States are: Archbishop Alemany, Bishop Neumann, C.S.S.R., Cardinal Cheverus, Bishop Dubourg, Archbishop Carroll, Mother Seton, and others. The work is well translated, and it deserves to be made known to all our religious communities. It is one of the most interesting volumes on Catholic history of the past year.

The Life of Clara Barton. By Percy H. Epler. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916. Pp. 432.

In the year 1821, when Clara Barton was born, the strife of American political parties had sunk to rest, but the agitation of the sections had only just begun. Later, when discussions on the extension of slavery culminated in civil war, she had attained to maturity of years and as a volunteer nurse acted a noble part in lessening the amount of human suffering. She was not long in learning the needs of the sick and the wounded and hourly she grew more efficient in providing for them. Even before she was known to the soldier as "the angel of the battlefield" the trained eyes of army surgeons had perceived her courage, her resourcefulness, and her skill. But in point of fact it was not courage, for she tells us that fear had oppressed all her younger days. She was urged to the perilous edge of battle solely by her love of humanity. This ardor it was that sustained her in tattered tent and flooded field, under the guns of Charleston or in the almost tropical storms of Virginia. Love of mankind made her indifferent alike to summer rains or wintry blasts.

Quite apart from the intrinsic interest of this book, which is not inconsiderable, a knowledge of its contents would be of the greatest value to every officer who commands a company or a regiment as well as to every member of the military committees of Congress.

The observation and experience of Miss Barton prove to a demonstration the utter inadequacy throughout the Civil War of the resources of the surgeons at the front. More than a generation later, in the short war with Spain, matters had not greatly mended. At any rate, her services were not then deemed superfluous.

If the recorded experience of her long life teaches any lesson, it is that an army is still incomplete when its munitions are abundant, its officers trained, its soldiers drilled, and its commissary service efficient. In addition there must be prompt attention to the sick and the wounded, of whom many are too feeble to apply for food or for medical treatment.

If the class of citizens which shouldered the rifle and fills the ranks of marching regiments were in control of Congress, it might make unnumbered blunders, but there would be adequate provision for those disabled in line of duty.

With us it appears to be somewhat as it is with those Old World monarchs who hold that human flesh is cheap. Or perhaps it is rather that it is easy for one to bear the wounds or the infirmities of one's neighbor. If our own experience has never spoken clearly on this subject, that of Europe will suffice for instruction.

Not, of course, amongst the friends of Miss Barton, but in the popular American mind the notion seems to prevail that she conceived the idea of founding the Red Cross Association. Whereas, according to her own account the honor belongs to M. Henry Dunant, a Swiss gentleman who had witnessed human suffering after the great battle of Solferino in the summer of 1859. He afterward wrote the *Souvenir de Solferino*, which, translated into many languages, created a sensation. In it he urged the organization in every country of societies to care for the wounded. In 1864 came the International Congress of Geneva, attended by delegates from sixteen governments. A few years later, after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, Miss Barton was invited by the officers of the International Red Cross of Europe to assist them in their work. In short, long before she arrived in Europe the Red Cross had been established.

On her return to America, though in feeble health, she never

ceased to cherish her principal object, namely, to found a branch of the Red Cross Association in the United States and so to broaden its scope that it would care not only for the victims of war but for every sort of distress which is likely to afflict a nation. When official support came slowly, she was not discouraged. She must have known that for the most part the official mind is fashioned by the pressure of tradition. The world outside had overtaken her, and she was certain that her native land would soon take its place with the progressive states of Europe. It was in 1882 that she saw her endeavors crowned with success. A slight acquaintance with events since that date shows the praiseworthy activity of the association which she introduced into America and improved for humanity.

Christopher Columbus. By Mildred Stapley. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916. Pp. 240.

This attractive little volume is one of a series whose avowed purpose it is to "tell the life stories of Americans who have achieved greatness in different fields of endeavor." The authors of this series are such only as "have shown that they have an appreciation of what makes really good juvenile literature." The story of Christopher Columbus, the greatest American by adoption, certainly was written with such an appreciation; it is presented in a style that must prove attractive not only to the younger but also to the older readers. It breathes the spirit of truth and presents in their proper light the various legends that had been included in every life of Columbus until the more scientific criticism of the last decades showed them to be without a foundation. The story of the Discoverer is told vividly and with a sympathy that we would fain have had the Great Admiral himself experience.

The first chapter introduces the reader to Granada on the day of its conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella, the day of the promised royal audience for which Columbus had waited almost seven years. With the interest thus aroused, the necessary facts of his youth, his life as a sailor, his love for the sea, rumors about "lands in the west," the growing project in his mind, the encouragement received, and the many, many disappointments before

succeeding are pictured in such a way that each page adds to the interest and sympathy aroused in the reader. The great day finally arrives on which Columbus starts in quest of these "lands in the west," not of a new route to India as the popular legends would have us believe. But the goal has not yet been reached. Days, weeks, nay months of hope and despair must still be endured by the fleet of three ships, the largest of which is only twenty-five feet in width. Daily the signs of hope are noticed only to be followed by a keener disappointment, until at last land sighted dispels all rebellious thoughts and gloomy faces. After the Admiral's own ship had been wrecked through the faithlessness of his men, the return voyage was commenced and accomplished with extreme hardships. Now the Discoverer of a New World enjoyed his only real triumph. His subsequent life is told in a manner that excites still more the compassion of the reader. Columbus made a second and a third trip, remarkable mainly for the disappointments and hardships suffered, and for his return from the discovered territories, where he had been deposed and stripped of all power, in cruel chains. Popular feeling removed these chains, but further it would not go. The royal pair, indeed, remunerated him munificently but could not keep the promises he had exorbitantly demanded and had received before sailing for the first time. He made a fourth trip with a broken heart, received further cruel treatment on the part of the Spanish colonists, met hardships innumerable, and returned a weak old man to spend his last days unknown and uncared for. His death, May 20, 1506, "passed unheeded" by all Spain, and thus ended the life "whose results were more stupendous than those of any other human life ever lived."

Throughout this story, which is true history with all the interest of a lively narrative, the purpose of the volume is kept well in mind, and facts are mentioned in a way that cannot but leave an impression on the youthful mind and convey to it at the same time the wholesome lessons that the lives of all great men teach.

French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778. By Edward S. Corwin, Ph.D. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1916. Pp. 414.

A reviewer of the impressionist school would be at once struck by the prodigious amount of scholarly research displayed in Dr. Corwin's very readable study of the alliance between France and the United States. State papers, diplomatic correspondence, Journals of Parliamentary Debates, and of debates of the Continental Congress, texts of treaties and of constitutions have been searchingly scanned with critical eye for the assembling of the materials used in the unfolding of this intensely dramatic story of what the author calls—and might we not venture even to say, questionably calls?—"the one entangling alliance to which the United States has been party."

Throughout the four hundred pages of the work, the author lays particular stress upon the fact that this alliance between France and the North American Colonies was "motivated primarily by her desire to recover her lost preeminence on the Continent of Europe." While it is generally true that most writers of American History have been willing to concede that were it not for the aid which France gave to the struggling American colonies in the Revolutionary War, this conflict would probably have ended without the Colonies achieving their independence; nevertheless, American writers have been all too prone to regard this alliance as an outcome of the struggle between France and England for preeminence in the Western Hemisphere. This is but half truth. Dr. Corwin's exhaustive studies of Doniol's monumental work, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Etablissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Correspondance Diplomatique et Documents*, lead him to shift the emphasis to where it more rightly belongs. This is that the alliance was not the result of the fact that France and England were striving for colonial domination in the western hemisphere alone, but that this struggle was but an incident in the more deeply laid conflict for supremacy in Europe. Naturally enough, the Count de Vergennes plays an important role in this diplomatic drama. The character of the man, his hopes and aims, his methods, his successes and failures are all developed in the book with such narrative skill that the purely academic and scholarly motif is

occasionally carefully concealed in a style that is happily refreshing. The chapter on the Mississippi and the Western Land Question is particularly illuminating and interesting. The claim of the United States to extend to the Mississippi is studied in great detail, and, in fact, the entire chapter seems to stand out as a complete essay in itself. The work as a whole is replete with interest and rich in learning.

History of the United States. By Emerson David Fite, Ph.D., Frederick Ferris Thompson, Professor of Political Science in Vassar College. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1916. Pp. xii+55.

The tendency to make of text-books, especially those intended for use in secondary schools and colleges, a thesis expounding some pet theory of the author is by no means uncommon at the present time. One striking merit in the work of Professor Fite is in having avoided this pitfall. In addition, the work is more than usually well divided, and though written with a view to introduce the student to present day conditions, the earlier periods in the history of the country have not been slighted. The author does, however, call attention to the fact that less space than usual has been given to military history. The reason for this departure is not stated. The bibliography appended to work is by no means exhaustive and suffers from the unaccountable omission of "date and place of publication" of the books which are enumerated.

NOTES AND COMMENT

With the opening of the academic year 1917-1918, the entire educational system of the country from primary-school work up to graduate research in the universities will find itself face-to-face with a problem unique in its demand upon both teacher and pupil and unavoidable particularly in the domain of history. The relationship between the scholar and the master will undergo a vital change during the Long Vacation, and professors of history will meet with a light of inquiry in the eyes of the students which will be asking for one thing and asking with an insistence which time-worn methods of pedagogy cannot silence. The Great World War, into which our beloved land has entered and out of which America can never come, except as a victorious leader of the democracies of the world, is still in the state of vagueness for most of our people.

The pronouncements of President Wilson must needs be brought to the minds of the children in our schools, to the students of our colleges and universities and to the people at large. The multiplex cause of the War, the problems—economic, social and religious—it has created, the work of preparation on the part of a people gigantic in size but unconscious of its strength, the question of National Patriotism, and many equally important aspects of the crisis to which America has awakened, will be part of the history-teacher's work for many years to come. Direction, guidance, help, orientation, method, and organized effort are all necessary, if this is to be carried out on a patriotic scale. The present time is America's golden opportunity to bury with the dead past all traces of racial, social and religious differences which have been a blight on America's progress since the days of the First Constitutional Congress. If America is to be the land where hate expires, if the Lines of Demarcation which have kept this country a heterogeneous collection of Little Europes are to be obliterated, and if we are to arise a mighty and powerful land with one voice and one heart, it will be in a large measure due to the teachers of history. They come more closely to the heart of the nation than professors of any other branch of knowledge, and the responsibility which rests on them is a grave one.

Where responsibility looms up, the individual consciousness sometimes slackens. Many await the initiative in others. All look for a leader, but in general the "muddling-through" process which has now become famous in England, holds a supreme place at the deliberation board. Fortunately for the United States, and more fortunately still for history men and women in the land, the Declaration of War found its prompt response in the patriotic hearts of some twenty historians, who met at Washington during the last days of April, 1917, and established a *National Board for Historical Service*.

The Resolutions adopted were as follows:

As an emergency measure, to serve until action by the American Historical Association, the undersigned, meeting in Washington upon invitation by the Carnegie Institution of Washington through its Department of Historical Research, have adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved:

- I. That there be formed a National Board for Historical Service.
- II. That the headquarters of the Board shall be in Washington, D. C.
- III. That the purposes of the National Board for Historical Service shall be:

(a) To facilitate the coordination and development of historical activities in the United States in such a way as to aid the Federal and the State governments through direct personal service or through affiliation with their various branches.

(b) To aid in supplying the public with trustworthy information of historical or similar character through the various agencies of publication, through the preparation of reading-lists and bibliographies, through the collection of historical material, and through the giving of lectures and of systematic instruction, and in other ways.

(c) To aid, encourage and organize State, regional and local committees, as well as special committees for the furtherance of the above ends, and to cooperate with other agencies and organizations, especially in the general field of social studies.

IV. That the Board shall be composed of at least nine members who shall select a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer from their own number, and that the said Board shall have power to add to its membership, to fill vacancies, to appoint advisory and associated members, to organize affiliated or subsidiary boards of committees, to receive and disburse moneys, and to perform such other acts as may be necessary for the accomplishment of the purposes herein stated.

V. That the Board, until further action by itself in conformity with these resolutions, shall be composed of the following:

Victor S. Clark, of Washington; Robert D. W. Connor, of Raleigh, N. C.; Carl Russell Fish, of Madison, Wis.; Charles D. Hazen, of New York City; Charles H. Hull, of Ithaca, N. Y.; Gaillard Hunt, of Washington; Waldo G. Leland, of Washington; James T. Shotwell, of New York City; Frederick J. Turner, of Cambridge, Mass.

Adopted at Washington, D. C., April 29, 1917.

Henry E. Bourne, Edmund C. Burnett, Victor S. Clark, George M. Dutcher, Guy S. Ford, Charles D. Hazen, Charles H. Hull, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, H. Barrett Learned, Waldo G. Leland, Albert E. McKinley, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Thomas Walker Page, Frederic L. Paxson, James T. Shotwell, Frederick J. Turner.

The following statement which appears in the current July issue of the *American Historical Review* (Vol. xxii, pp. 831-835) has been courteously given to the editor for simultaneous publication.

HISTORICAL SCHOLARS IN WAR-TIME

Apart from such services as can be rendered equally well by any other able-bodied or intelligent man, what can the "history man" do for his country in time of war, of things for which he is especially fitted by his professional acquirements and habits of mind? Many historical scholars, with the summer vacation before them, are asking the question, of themselves or of others. Many have not found a satisfying answer. It seems relatively easy for the scientist to provide himself with a task that offers good prospects of direct usefulness. He can invent a new range-finder or a new explosive. He can improve the quality of optical glass. He can seek new sources of potash. He can make two potatoes grow where one grew before. And, what is quite as important, the public and the authorities are abundantly aware of the usefulness of what he is doing, while both are prone to regard the historian as occupied only with the dates and detail of remote transactions having no relation to the fateful exigencies of the present day.

Against such an opinion the mind of the virile historical student protests with all his might. What is more essential to the successful prosecution of a great national war than an enlightened, unified, and powerfully-acting public opinion? Why is France so heroically strong a combatant, and Russia, with the four times the population, so weak? All the munitions that could be piled on the banks of the Dvina or the Sereth could not give military strength to a nation that does not know its own mind, to a population in which, outside a small percentage, public opinion has no existence. The American gun may be the best that science can make it, the man behind it unsurpassed in quality, but how long will he persist in his fearful struggle if the people at home do not see why he should?

But how can public opinion in America be enlightened, homogeneous, and powerful, in a crisis which is in the plainest way the product of historic forces, if it is not informed in the facts and lessons of history? It is notorious how large a part, in giving to German public opinion its marvellous unity and cohesion, has been played by the chauvinistic history lessons of the German school-master. Heaven forbid that we should imitate their chauvinism; the American enters the war distinctly as a citizen of the world. Rather, he enters the war with that intention; but to make him truly such a citizen requires an enormous expansion of his political education, a quick shift of his point of view, rapid reinforcements to his knowledge of European conditions. In the supply of such knowledge, vital alike to intelligent prosecution of the war and to intelligent assistance in the settlement of peace, the historian cannot doubt that his part may rightly be a large one, seeing how largely those European conditions are results of history, inexplicable without its light.

Such a state of the facts calls loudly upon the historical scholar to come out from his cloistered retirement and to use for the information of the public whatever knowledge of European history he may possess—and to use it energetically and boldly. He is conscious of its imperfection; he is accustomed to write slowly, supporting every sentence with a foot-note; he is already, as his daily duty, pressing excellent historical information, by re-

finer methods, upon youthful minds, and hopes thus to ensure that the next generation shall be more historically minded, better fitted for citizenship of the world. But meanwhile the war is to be won or lost, the future peace of the world ensured or jeopardized, by the adult generation now on the scene. Let him come out into the market-place, and make his voice heard by the men of his own age. If they do not receive his message with the docility with which he is accustomed to see it received by his undergraduates, so much the better for him. His training being what it has been, he is much less likely to be found offering worthless wares with bold presumption than to be keeping valuable knowledge to himself, with needless modesty, "And that one talent that is death to hide, Lodged with him useless."

If, for instance, the historical student knows more than most of his fellow-citizens about the history of Servia and its neighbors, or that of Poland or Belgium or Alsace-Lorraine; if his historical studies have brought him that knowledge of Russian character and its possibilities which many would be glad to possess; if his familiarity with recent Austro-Hungarian history enables him, better than others, to estimate the centrifugal and centripetal forces in the Dual Monarchy; if he has studied with some care the history of German economic policy in general, or of the Bagdad Railway in particular, of the Social Democratic party in Germany, of the workings of the imperial constitution, or of the character and results of German rule over non-German populations; if he can show how great alliances against aspiring *Weltmächte*—against Charles V, Louis XIV, Napoleon—have worked in the past, what can be expected of them in the way of unity, what can not; if he knows the history of Pitt's subsidies, or of neutral export of munitions to belligerents; if he can so set forth the condition of Europe after Waterloo as partially to illuminate the dark questions of recovery after universal war; if he can cast historical light on the problems of American Christian missions in the Turkish Empire or of Japanese encroachments in the Pacific—let him by all means, "by printing, writing, or advised speaking," bring his knowledge forward, for the information of a public which eagerly desires to act with intelligence. Many other topics, instructive in war-time, will occur to the historical mind as the changing phases of the war develop.

Still more urgent are the reasons, and much wider the opportunities, for the exercise of the same function in the field of American history. If in the actual warfare of the trenches, under conditions so different from those of previous wars, we must be chiefly guided by the experience of those who for three years have been sustaining the conflict, yet in the thousand and one matters that must be transacted on this side of the ocean, on the soil of the United States and among the masses of its people, no experience can be so helpful to American action as American experience, whenever any that is apposite can be adduced. It is easy to say that times, methods, and the nation itself have changed, that the conditions of our present warfare are unprecedented, that we must look at the facts as they are, not as they once were. Yet in all these problems of legislation and execution that lie before us, some of the elements are permanent; some of the methods used in former wars worked well or ill for reasons still operative. Neither ingenuity nor experience is alone sufficient, for man or nation; he is best guided who makes use of both.

At all events, history *will* be invoked, whatever we do, is being invoked every day, and if the public is not guided by sound historical information, it will be guided by unsound. When the bill for a selective draft was under debate in Congress, several members of that body sought to adduce our experience with conscription in the Civil War, but it was plain, even to Congress, that they did not know what that experience was. If persons of adequate historical knowledge would seasonably inform them and the public as to the actual merits and demerits of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, as to the experience of the United States with political generals, with army contractors during the Civil War, with "conscientious objectors," with newspaper disclosures of military information, with pension frauds, with the income tax, they might be sure that much of the seed sown would fall on good ground.

The final application of the lessons of experience lies mostly in other hands than those of the historian. His function, as historian, may be confined to the presentation of correct historical information, and it is not for an historical journal to offer advice as to how he or others may apply it. Yet the historian is also a citizen, and as such is entitled to speak his mind upon the issues of the hour. It is for him to judge, according to personal and local circumstances, whether he will do most good by speaking or writing solely as an historian, presenting the facts of history without suspicion of *Tendenz*, or by using them in advocacy of policies which he feels impelled and qualified to defend. The main matter is, that he shall not be withheld, by needless modesty or by timidity, from making use, in one helpful way or another, of such knowledge of the past as he may possess. If he has better knowledge than his fellows, or knows better how with brief labor to acquire it, upon the bond and treasury-note operations of the Civil War, upon its varying effects on wages and prices respectively, upon the blockades and other commercial restrictions of Napoleonic times, upon the history of German or Irish or Polish opinion in the United States, or even upon minor topics like the Sanitary Commission or the Christian Commission or the New England Loyal Publication Society, by all means let him speak up. Anything that helps the public to see the present conflict in a wider perspective is an aid toward intelligent national conduct in war-time. If the cloistered student has never had the habit of addressing the general public, it is no matter; it will do him good to try.

As to the means and methods, they are many—books, pamphlets, articles in magazines and newspapers, lectures and addresses. Especially let it be remembered that the great metropolitan magazines and dailies are by no means the only agencies by which American public opinion is formed. The professor may have, or may easily obtain, access to the columns of papers more local in circulation, and through editorial or other articles may take part in the great work of informing local opinion, which everywhere has its peculiar qualities and needs, qualities and needs which he perhaps understands better than they can be understood by writers in some distant metropolis. As for speaking, a little thought will show him that, with our numberless summer schools and teachers' institutes and similar assemblies, there is no lack of opportunities for laying good history before interested audiences.

If the historical scholar finds no chance to do any of these things, at the least he can encourage and advise neighboring librarians and historical

societies in respect to the collecting of materials upon the war, to the end that the future historian may find the means for treating it with all possible breadth of view and in all its varying aspects; for the historical scholar of the present day should surely be better able than others to foresee what kinds of material, economic and social as well as political and military, will be desired by those who come after.

But in respect to all these methods of approach, the historical scholar would do well to communicate first with the National Board for Historical Service, and who are desirous and prepared to be of use in respect to all the lines of activity which have been indicated above. The address of its secretary is Mr. Waldo G. Leland, 1183 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.
J. F. J.

The *Catholic Historical Review* voices its entire sympathy with this noble enterprise. All Catholic scholars can share in the work; and among the various bodies of scholars throughout the country to which appeal can justly be made for cooperation, is the Priesthood of the Catholic Church of America. To assist in the work of collecting, preserving, and making accessible the records and source-material for the history of the country during the War, and to aid more directly in the historical outlook by writing articles, pamphlets, or books on topics connected with the War, are two of the opportunities of which such a scholarly group of men, whose training has given them a surety of judgment and an intense love of country, may easily avail themselves. The Catholic historical magazines, the powerful Catholic press of the country, and the Catholic Reviews will find ample material upon which to work in this great design of making America predominantly American. It may be too soon to organize upon lines similar to those by Catholics in France and England, There is, for example, a British Catholic Information Society, of which Father Martindale, S.J., the biographer of Robert Hugh Benson, is the general editor, which issues *Catholic Monthly Letters*. The topics treated so far are:

1. English Catholics to their Fellow Catholics.
 2. Catholicism under the British Flag.
 3. The Catholic Church and its Place in the British Empire.
 4. Teuton against Roman; From Luther to Haeckel.
 5. The Part played by Catholic Women in National Life.
 6. England, Ireland and the Catholic Church.
 7. British Catholic Writers and Artists.
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There are many who think, and perhaps, rightly, that Catholics ought not to act in a separatist way in problems which affect the whole nation and that any accentuation of their religious position, which must always remain rigid in its relation to the principles of non-Catholic religious societies, would only tend to confuse the Catholic attitude of toleration towards the members of these societies. Consequently, some may deem it imprudent for Catholic scholars to organize upon independent lines. Meanwhile, however, all can help the *National Board for Historical Service* by collecting material, and by putting into practice the suggestions Dr. Jameson makes in his letter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

III. HISTORICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

The purpose of this department, as outlined in the first number of the REVIEW, has been to introduce the student of American Church History to the principles and practices of the science itself. So far, seven papers have been published in these pages, and we have come far enough on our way to afford a moment for retrospection. To gather from the books already published on Method, on Introduction, on Historical Research, and on Historical Bibliography, the elements of a Guide or Manual for the direction of the student, and to place in the hands of the student who has chosen for his special field of research-work the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, a Manual containing an Introduction and a Guide to the source-material of his subject is a task which, although successfully carried out by scholars in other branches of historical activity, is by no means easy of accomplishment. Such a Manual should be confined as far as possible, to the strict needs of the student. Those needs may be summed up in various ways. Collins, following the plan of Langlois-Seignobos, has treated them under two heads in his *Study of Ecclesiastical History*: namely, the Process of Analysis and the Process of Synthesis. The work of Analysis usually consists of two distinct operations: (1) Collection of the Material, "which may be of all kinds: actual vestiges of the past, pictures, engravings, inscriptions, laws, canons, state papers, letters, narratives of eyewitnesses, chronicles, poems, sermons, treatises, and so forth, according to the nature of the subject." (2) Examination of the Documents, which must be taken one by one and carefully appraised. The work of Synthesis is the process of uniting into narrative form the isolated facts found in the analytical process. The student has "to draw together this digested and critically appraised material, to reintegrate it with the help of the insight he has acquired in the process of analyzing it, and to reconstruct out of the chaotic elements before him a narrative of events which shall be absolutely faithfully to this evidence and yet not merely jejune and skeleton-like." There are, naturally, many systems of approaching this problem of method in historical research, but all meet upon the common ground of the conditions governing the scientific procedure of historical work in its three basic operations—research, criticism, and composition. The proposed Manual, which has already been suggested in these pages, may be constructed on the following tentative plan:

I. Research Work.—Search for the Materials (Heuristics).

I. Introduction to the Historical Method.

II. The Auxiliary Sciences.

III. Historical Bibliography.

II. Historical Criticism.—Analysis of the Materials.

I. External Criticism (Provenance)

1. Testing the Genuineness of the Source.

2. Localizing it in time and place.

3. Analyzing, editing, or restoring it.

II. Internal Criticism (Exegesis).

1. Determining the Value of the Source.
2. Interpreting its contents.
3. Establishing the historicity of its facts.

III. Historical Composition.—Synthetic operations.

1. General and Special Historical works.
2. Monographs.
3. Historical Dissertations.
4. Publication of Sources, etc., etc.

So far, our papers have covered in a brief and concise way the questions of Historical Introduction and the Auxiliary Sciences. This present paper on Historical Bibliography completes the first group of subjects which must be treated under the general heading of Heuristics, or the search for the Source-Material.

A tentative definition of Historical Bibliography would embrace three elements: the different classes of source-material, the different instruments of research, and the practical organization of research-work. The science of Historical Bibliography has for its object to indicate the method to be followed, and the helps to be used, in research-work. The different classes of research-material may be roughly divided into Sources and Historical Works. Sources may be either narrative, documentary, literary, or archeological. Historical Works may be either general or special; that is, without any given limits, or, restricted to the limits of time, place, and idea. The instruments of bibliographical research may be Guides, Manuals, Repertories, Dictionaries, Encyclopedias, or Bibliographies, all of which are destined to enable the student to learn quickly and accurately what source-material exists upon any given subject, and to suggest to his imagination other possible *dépôts* for such material. To take a practical example: let us suppose that a student has chosen for his subject, *The Rise of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States (1763-1808)*. His first duty is to understand clearly the limits of time, place and idea contained in that title. He must understand why the years 1763-1808 are selected. He must visualize graphically either in his mind or upon a map which he has drawn up specially for that purpose, the extent of the "United States" during those years. He must have a very definite idea of what he means by the term—*Rise of the Catholic Hierarchy*. Following the simplest division of bibliographical helps—Repertories, Didactic Books, and Periodicals, a search through the articles cognate to his subject in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, for example, would give him a more or less clear idea of the subject and would introduce him to the historical works on the subject. These he would quickly learn are either general or special. A general work would be SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. ii (*Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*), New York, 1888; a special work would be RUSSELL, *Maryland, the Land of Sanctuary* (Baltimore, 1907). Both these works would lead him into the realm of source-material, and by diligent search, he would soon draw up a bibliographical list of all the printed and unprinted material for his subject. For printed material the student would find as indispensable, the Roman Documents on the question published

by Professor Haskins in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. xv (1910), pp. 800-29—*Documents relative to the adjustment of the Roman Catholic organization in the United States*. A further search would reveal the translation of these documents by Father Devitt, S.J., in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. xxi (1910), pp. 185-236. Step by step, the student would clear a pathway for himself through all the printed material on his subject, and would bring his researches up to date by ransacking all the historical periodicals in order to make sure that he had missed nothing for his subject. There would remain still the real field of his research work—the unprinted material. With the aid, for example, of the *Carnegie Guides* he would be quickly put in possession with the location of this material, and personal search in such collections as the Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives, the Westminster (London) Archdiocesan Archives, and other local collections, such as those at Georgetown University, and the Catholic Archives of America (Notre Dame University), would round out his researches. With photograph-copies from Rome, Paris, Simancas, and Seville, of all documents bearing on his subject, the next problem would be the practical method of putting all this material into shape for the work of Historical Criticism, and later, of Historical Composition. These two operations will be treated briefly in subsequent papers. We confine ourselves now to some general directions for Historical Bibliography, again restricting it to the field of American Church History.

The bibliographical helps for Ecclesiastical History in general, or what are called the *Instruments de travail*, are entirely too numerous to be mentioned in detail. It will suffice to say to the student who has a definite object in view in his research-work that with a little systematic effort, he can sieve the whole realm of source and book material in such a way as to be practically certain that nothing has escaped his notice. The Instruments of Bibliographical Research ready for his use are usually divided as follows:

I. General Bibliographies (for all the sciences).

1. Universal bibliographies.
2. Historical bibliographies.
3. Chronological bibliographies.

II. Special Bibliographies (for a particular science. We restrict our division to Bibliographies for the Historical Sciences).

1. Bibliographies of the historical method.
2. Bibliographies of the auxiliary sciences.
3. Bibliographies of the philosophy of history.
4. Bibliographies of the universal history.
5. Bibliographies of the particular history.
 - A. Bibliography of general history.
 - B. Bibliography of special history (Institutions).
 - (a) Constitutional or political history.
 - (b) Law.
 - (c) Economic problems.
 - (d) Literature.
 - (e) Art.
 - (f) Sociology.
 - (g) Religion.

Under this last division of Religious History, which, in general, is the history of the different creeds of humanity, we have in a restricted sense Ecclesiastical History, or the History of the Christian Church. The only noteworthy attempt to cover the whole field of Ecclesiastical History from the bibliographical viewpoint is the work of CHARLES DE SMEDT, S.J., *Introductio Generalis ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam* (Ghent, 1876). The modern text-books, especially those of Hergenröther and Funk, contain bibliographical references in abundance; but no complete Bibliography of Ecclesiastical History, containing a systematic guidance for the student, has ever been published. The reason is obvious. One has only to make use of CHEVALIER, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 4 vols., 1879-99), to realize that it is folly for any one scholar to attempt such a work. Each student of ecclesiastical history is, practically speaking, obliged to make his own set of cards. Beginning with a Universal Bibliography, such as STEIN, *Manuel de Bibliographie Général* (Paris, 1897), the student quickly sees that the first, and one might say, the indispensable, volume for his desk is LANGLOIS, *Manuel de Bibliographie Historique* (Paris, 1904). With the aid of Langlois, he learns the best book to be consulted for General Bibliography (Catalogues, Collections, Repertories, Periodicals, etc.), and is further orientated into the field of National Bibliography. Here he learns that what Pirenne, Monod, Dahlmann-Waitz, Wattenbach, Gross, and Altamira have done for other countries, the authors of the *Guide to American History* have done for the United States. With this last volume in his hands, he can quickly learn the best books on any subject of American History from the three viewpoints of time, place, and idea. Beyond this, there is but little scientific guidance. Such necessary works as:

1. *Collections of Printed Sources for American Church History.*
2. *Guide to the Source-Material for American Church History.*
3. *Bibliographia Americana Catholica*, containing lists of books for the study of American Church History

are not in existence, and it becomes a matter of personal direction on the part of the teacher. This grand lacuna might be avoided if each parish priest were to collect all the source-material for the history of his own town and parish; if each bishop were to found a Diocesan Library containing all the published books which in any way deal with his Diocese; if a National Catholic Library were to be instituted containing all the source-material for American Church History. Then a select Bibliography could be compiled. In the next issue, the books dealing with the question of *Historical Criticism* will be discussed.

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ORIGIN OF AMERICAN ABORIGINES: A FAMOUS CONTROVERSY

In the century and a half following the discovery of the New World by Columbus, the ships returning to Europe brought back tales of things hitherto unknown, of monsters of the deep and of ambiguous shapes of man and beast. It taxed the ingenuity of the Europeans to discover whence came that boundless multitude of beings, who were the natives of the New World, from what lands they had set forth, how they in their ignorance reached the New World, and what had changed them so much from their supposed origin. To have shown the origin of so many peoples was considered no less praiseworthy than to have discovered the lands themselves.¹ Attempts were made to connect the New World with Solomon's Ophir and Plato's Atlantis; some even made the claim that the Spaniards in their flight from the Moors had come to America, basing their arguments on the crosses found in Yucatan.² And while these attempts, on first sight, may seem crude and puerile, it must be remembered that even now the question of the origin of the Indians is a matter of conjecture.³

Many other queer theories were evolved to account for the inhabitants of the New World. Theophrastus Paracelsus, says Horn,⁴ exhausted all foolishness, when he asserted that two Adams had been created, one in Asia and one in America. Most of the theories, however, did not go back to Adam, but started

¹ HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 6. For Bibliography, see p. 275.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ AD. F. BANDELIER, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. i, p. 411, s. v. *America*.

⁴ HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

from the Deluge or the Confusion of Tongues. There is scarcely a nation to which some share in the original peopling of America has not been attributed: Icelanders, Celts, Welsh, Norse, Spaniards, Romans, Jews, Chanaanites, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, Egyptians, Abyssinians, Polynesians, East Indians, Chinese, Tartars and Scythians—all have been put forward on one pretext or another as the ancestors of the Indian nations.

The most famous of the early discussions of the various theories was that of the Dominican, Gregorio Garcia, a missionary for twenty years in South America, who reviewed the question in his *Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo*, published at Valencia in 1607. He reviews the supposed navigations of the Phoenicians, the identity of Peru with Solomon's Ophir, and the chances of African, Roman, and Jewish migrations, only to reject them all and to favor a coming of Tartars and Chinese.⁵ Edward Brerewood, in his *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages and religions*, published at London in 1632 and 1635, also claimed a Tartar origin, although he thought that certain groups of Indians in New England came originally from Iceland.⁶

A little over twenty-five years before, Marc Lescarbot, a French lawyer, sailed for Port Royal in Acadia, to satisfy his curiosity concerning the wonders of the New World, and, after spending a year with the Indians there, helping them in various ways, returned to France. Two years later (1609), he published a narrative of his voyage under the title *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, in which he gives a summary of all the French attempts at colonizing in America, notably Florida, Brazil and Acadia.⁷ In this work, Lescarbot claims that, when Joshua entered the land of Chanaan and took possession of it, the Chanaanites were so astonished that they lost courage and took to their ships, and were finally cast up by storms upon the American shores.⁸ He further contends that Noah had shown the way

⁵ WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 369. Tartars were understood to embrace all those barbarous tribes dwelling between the Caspian and Black Seas in the West and the Pacific Ocean and Behring Strait in the East, although Behring Strait had not been discovered at that time and it was not known whether Asia and America were connected or not.

⁶ DE LAET, *Notas*, pp. 122 et seq.; HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁷ LINDSAY, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. ix, p. 190, s. v. *Lescarbot*.

⁸ DE LAET, *Notas*, pp. 110-111; HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

to America to some of his sons and had assigned to them as their abode, "those lands to the West, in which, perhaps, he had been born."⁹

In 1569, a Spanish Jesuit, José de Acosta, was sent by his provincial to South America. Here he remained for sixteen years, teaching and travelling, studying and making copious notes.¹⁰ In 1588, after having spent three years in Mexico, he returned to Spain and published his notes in Latin under the title *De Natura Novi Orbis*, and two years afterwards in Spanish under the title *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*.¹¹ In this work, Acosta paid attention particularly to a way whereby the Indians *could* have reached America. The gist of his opinion is that the Americans came from Asia, which region is either contiguous to America or separated from it by a very small strait. He proves this from the animals, because in no other way could they have entered America. Some men, he says, were cast upon American shores by storms and some came there by chance, but, that anyone through a preconceived plan had sailed to America, he denies absolutely.¹²

The chief literary controversy, however, over this question was that which took place between Hugo Grotius and Johan De Laet, two Dutchmen, the one born in Delft in 1583, the other in Antwerp about 1582,¹³ and if the fame of Grotius depended upon the results of this controversy, he would be almost entirely unknown today. Much has been written about Grotius, because of the fame he attained as an ambassador and international lawyer. It was he who gathered together the scattered members (*membra disiecta*) of the body of international law and united them in his epoch-making work: *De jure belli ac pacis*, published at Antwerp in 1625. Of De Laet, however, very little has been written, although his services to the early geography of America and to history can scarcely be over-estimated.

⁹ DE LAET, *Notae*, p. 117; HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁰ AD. F. BANDELIER, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. i, p. 108, s. v. *Acosta*.

¹¹ WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 262.

¹² HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 12; DE LAET, *Notae*, pp. 72 et seq.

¹³ So WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 2; HUBERT (p. 737) says 1593; and NICÉRON (p. 539) says "about the end of the sixteenth century."

A story¹⁴ is told of him that is very characteristic of the esteem which he enjoyed. He had deciphered the handwriting of Claude Saumaise for the printers, when they were publishing the latter's works. Saumaise had written so fast that his writing was extremely illegible and the printers had not been able to read it until they received De Laet's aid. Shortly after De Laet's death, when Saumaise was passing by the shop of the Elzeviers, Louis Elzevier, who was on the door-step, put his hand to his hat to salute Saumaise without the latter perceiving him. Whereupon the famous printer called out to Saumaise: "What's the matter there? Why don't you return the salute to your best friends?" Saumaise replied: "Ha, am I now in condition to give a salute to anyone? Don't you know that, in losing De Laet, I have lost my hand?"

Since almost nothing is known of De Laet's life except what he himself has accidentally set down in his own works, a slight digression may be pardoned here to consider these works. From these it is evident that he was a geographer, historian, philologist and naturalist of no little skill. In 1624, he was established at Leyden and for twenty-five years thereafter he was busy publishing and editing books for the Elzeviers. As director of the Dutch West India Company, he had, of course, ready access to its records, while as co-patroon of Rensselaerswyck he had an especial interest in the country where his daughter, Johanna, and his son-in-law had made their home.¹⁵ Therefore to popularize the knowledge of foreign lands connected with that company, he wrote his *Nieuwe Wereldt*,¹⁶ which is an excellent compilation made from the works of a great number of foreign geographers and navigators. This was issued from the Elzevier Press at Leyden in 1625. Five years later there appeared a second revised

¹⁴ NICÉRON, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

¹⁵ WINBOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, which contains a facsimile of De Laet's signature; cf. also *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, second series, Vol. i, p. 285.

¹⁶ For complete title, see WINBOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 4; *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, second series, Vol. i (New York, 1841), p. 284; and BRUNET, Vol. iii, col. 741. See also HUBERT, FOPPENS, and NICÉRON. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. A translation of extracts from the Dutch edition and of the additions in the Latin and French editions concerning New Netherlands has been published in the *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, second series, Vol. i (New York, 1841), pp. 281-316, and Vol. ii (New York, 1849), part ii, pp. 372-373.

and enlarged edition, which contained several new maps. Among these was a map of *Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia*, in which are to be found such names as *Patawomecque* (Potomac) and *Sasquesahanough* (Susquehanna),¹⁷ and in which De Laet for the first time, placed Lake Champlain with fair accuracy and gave to Cape Cod a shape more nearly its own.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that this work also contained a map of the Orinoco River and the *Laguna Parima* with its city, Manoa, or El Dorado.¹⁹ De Laet's intention to give to his fellow-citizens as perfect a description of the New World as circumstances would allow, was carefully carried out, so that a Latin translation²⁰ and a French translation²¹ followed within the next ten years. This was followed later by a history or yearly account of the proceedings of the Dutch West India Company from its beginning to 1636.²²

Meanwhile, the Elzeviers were busily engaged in publishing a series of historical monographs on the countries of Europe and Asia, which, because of their appearance in extremely small form, were called the "Little Elzevirian Commonwealths." In the publication of these volumes, De Laet played no small part, so that Struve,²³ writing about a century later, says that De Laet's must be considered the best of all that had appeared.

¹⁷ WINSOR, Vol. iii, p. 125, which contains a facsimile of this map.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 381-382.

¹⁹ WINSOR, Vol. ii, p. 587; the following page contains a facsimile of this map.

²⁰ For complete title, see WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 4; and BRUNET, Vol. iii, col. 741, and Supplement, Vol. i, col. 742. See also HUBERT, FOPPENS, NICÉRON, and the *Nouvelle Biographie*. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. "In preparing the Latin edition of the 'New World' De Laet recomposed the work anew, condensing many chapters, interweaving new materials collected in the interval." (*Collections of the New York Historical Society, op. cit.*, p. 287.)

²¹ For complete title, see WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 4; and BRUNET, Vol. iii, col. 741, and Supplement, Vol. i, col. 742. See also HUBERT, FOPPENS, NICÉRON, and the *Nouvelle Biographie*. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. The French translation was made from the Latin edition (*Collections of the New York Historical Society, op. cit.*, p. 287). A translation into Spanish of that part of the "New World" which concerns Porto Rico was made by Segundo Ruiz Belvis and published in *Biblioteca Histórica de Puerto-Rico, que contiene varios documentos de los siglos XV, XVI, XVII y XVIII, coordinados y anotados por D. ALEJANDRO TAPIA Y RIVERA* (Puerto-Rico, 1854).

²² For complete title, see WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 5; *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, Vol. iv, p. 192; and BRUNET, Vol. iii, col. 741.

²³ STRUVE, p. 853; cf. also NICÉRON, p. 343.

The first of these was that on England, which was issued in 1625.²⁴ Almost half of this work was taken up by a Latin translation (not De Laet's²⁵) of Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*.²⁶ Three years later the volume on Italy²⁷ appeared. The editing of this volume had been entrusted to Thomas Segeth and he had already finished a translation of an anonymous Italian work on the princes of Italy, when his death in the latter part of 1627 forced the Elzeviers to fall back upon De Laet, who is responsible for the rest of the work.

In 1629, the volumes on Spain²⁸ and France²⁹ were published,

²⁴ *Thomae Smithi Angli De Republica Anglorum Libri tres. Quibus accesserunt Chorographica illius descriptio aliquis politici tractatus. Editio ultima prioribus multo auctior* (Lug. Batavor., Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1641). There is a copy of this in the Library of Congress. As the title indicates, this edition is more complete than that of 1625 or that of 1630. See also NICÉRON, pp. 342-343; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

²⁵ (ALSTON's edition of SMITH's *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 146). "The Latin of De Laet's edition is a mere reproduction of John Budden's translation (1610?) without acknowledgment."

²⁶ Smith wrote it in English in 1565 (cf. ALSTON's edition, p. xiv) and it was published six years after his death under the title: *De Republica Anglorum. The maner of gouvernement or policie of the Realmes of Englande*. [London, 1583.] There is a copy in the Library of Congress. The Latin translation used by De Laet was made from one of the many editions which followed and contained additional matter, chiefly two chapters in the third book, which it has been supposed that Smith never wrote. See preceding note.

²⁷ *De Principatibus Italiae, Tractatus Vary* (Lugd. Bat., Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1628). This contains [1] *Incerti Auctoris De Principibus Italiae Commentarius, ex Italico in Latinum versus a Thoma Segetho* and [2] *Tractatus de Territoriis, Potentia, Familiis, Foederibus Principum, Rerumpublicarum, et eorum qui hodie in Italia rerum potiuntur: e variis et probatissimis authoribus magna cura et labore collectus*, which is the work of De Laet. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. See also NICÉRON and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

²⁸ *Hispania, sive de Regis Hispaniae regnis et opibus commentarius* (Lugd. Bat., Elzevir., 1629). There were two editions of this in the same year, the second of which contains considerable additions (see NICÉRON, p. 341; and *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, vol. iii, p. 207). NICÉRON says: "There are many faults in this little work, but they ought to be less attributed to De Laet than to the authors whom he copied." See also STRUVE, p. 858; the *Nouvelle Biographie*; and FOPPENS.

²⁹ *Gallia, sive de Francorum Regis Dominiis et Opibus Commentarius* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1629). There is a copy in the Library of Congress. The preface states that this is different from that work which appeared from the same press under the title: *Respublica sive Status Regni Galliae, diversorum authorum*. See also STRUVE, pp. 857-858; NICÉRON; FOPPENS; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

and a year later, that on the Belgian Confederation.³⁰ The latter which may be of interest now, in view of the present war, treats of the following provinces of the present Netherlands and Belgium: Geldria (Gelderland), Hollandia, Zelandia (Zeeland), Traiectensis Diocesis (Utrecht), Frisia (Friesland), Transisalanian (Oberysse), Groninga et Umlandia (Groningen and Drenthe), Brabantiae Pars, and Flandriae Pars. Under each of the first seven of these headings, De Laet describes the geographical situation and boundaries; climate and soil; customs, characteristics and language of inhabitants; chief cities and towns; civil government of the entire province and of individual cities; trials and tribunals; and laws.

In the following year came the volume on the Empire of the Grand Mogul or *True India*,³¹ that is, not the one discovered by Columbus. It is dedicated to "Daniel Heinsius, Knight of Saint Mark; Counsellor and Historiographer of the most Serene Gustavus Adolphus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals; Professor of Civil Government, Librarian and Secretary in the very celebrated Academy of Leyden." This work contains ten chapters, the nature of which may be judged from the following subjects: topographic description; climate and soil; nature, customs, institutions and superstitions of natives; political and civil government; money, weights and measures; wealth of the Grand Mogul; his military forces; kings of India; and history of India.

Besides being responsible for other volumes of the "Elzevirian

³⁰ *Belgii Confoederati Respublica: seu Gelriae, Holland., Zeland., Traject., Fris., Transisal. Groning. chorographica politicae descriptio* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1630). There is a copy in the Library of Congress. NICÉRON says that there were three editions in the same year, the second and third being alike, but containing more than the first (cf. the *Nouvelle Biographie*). See also FOPPENS; and *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, Vol. iv, pp. 460-461.

³¹ *De Imperio Magni Mogolis sive India Vera Commentarius, e variis auctoribus congestus*. (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1631). There is a copy in the Library of Congress bound together with GROTIUS' *De Mari Libero* and MARULA'S *De Maribus* (Elzevier, 1633). There were two editions in the same year, equally good, neither containing more than the other (see NICÉRON, p. 342; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*). See also FOPPENS.

Commonwealths," namely, those on Persia,³² on Portugal,³³ on Poland, Lithuania, Prussia and Livonia,³⁴ and on Turkey,³⁵ De Laet also published notable works along other lines. In 1635, he edited the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder.³⁶ Twelve years later, he published a book *On Gems and Precious Stones*, to which was prefixed the work of Theophrastus on the same subject.³⁷ In the following year, De Laet gathered together and put in order the notes of the celebrated naturalist, Margraff, who died on his return from a voyage of exploration to Brazil.³⁸ The last work published by De Laet was an edition of Vitruvius on architecture together with the works of several minor writers

³² *Persia, sive Regni Persici Status variique itinera excerpta* (Lugduni Batavorum Elsevier, 1633 and 1637). The second edition has one more chapter than the first, and article 8 of part 1, which in the first edition was at the end, is put in its place in the second edition (see NICÉRON, p. 342; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*). NICÉRON (p. 343) says: "That of Persia is particularly esteemed, being an extract of many curious voyages, made with taste and choice." See also FOPPENS.

³³ *Portugallia sive De Regis Portugalliae Regnis et Opibus Commentarius* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officina Elseviriana, 1641). There is a copy in the Library of Congress. There is nothing in the work itself to indicate its authorship, but STRUVE (p. 859), NICÉRON, FOPPENS, and the *Nouvelle Biographie* agree in attributing it to De Laet. A second edition appeared in 1644, (see NICÉRON and the *Nouvelle Biographie*).

³⁴ *Respublica Poloniae, Lithuaniae, Prussiae et Livoniae* (Amst., 1642). This work is listed only by FOPPENS.

³⁵ *Turcici Imperii Status seu discursus varii de Rebus Turcarum*. This work is listed only by FOPPENS and no place or date of publication is given.

³⁶ *Plinii Historia Naturalis* (Lugduni Batavorum, Elsevier, 1635). 3 vols. This work is listed in NICÉRON, HUBERT, and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

³⁷ *Ioannis de Laet Antwerpiani De Gemmis et Lapidibus Libri Duo; quibus praemittitur Theophrasti Liber De Lapidibus Graece et Latine cum Brevibus Annotationibus* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Ioannis Maire, 1647). There is a copy in the Library of Congress, bound together with *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia, quam olim edidit Anselmus Boetius de Boot* (Lugduni Batavorum, Maire, 1647), which occupies the first half of the volume. The pages of Theophrastus's work are unnumbered; De Laet's work begins on page 1 and is dedicated to "Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Frederick, King of Bohemia, Count Palatine, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; the most excellent gem of her sex." De Laet may have been the editor of the third edition of De Boot's work mentioned above. See BRUNET, Vol. i, col. 1108, s. v. *Boot*; NICÉRON; FOPPENS; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

³⁸ *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae, in qua Guil. Pisonis de Medicina Brasiliensis Libri IV et Georgii Maregravii Historiae Rerum Naturalium Brasiliae Libri VIII, cum annotationibus Joannis de Laet* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1648). See BRUNET, Vol. iv, col. 677, s. v. *Pison*; HUBERT; NICÉRON; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

on the same subject.³⁹ This was published in 1649, the year in which De Laet died. In all these works De Laet proves his vast and profound knowledge, but he was rather a popularizer than a savant.⁴⁰

But to return to the controversy on the origin of the Indians: it was while Grotius was at Paris as the Ambassador from Sweden that he published his *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*,⁴¹ a brochure of fifteen pages. In this work, Grotius says by way of preface that he had often wondered that none of the many learned men of his time had made a careful investigation into the origin of those peoples who, before the advent of the Spaniards, inhabited those lands which some called America, others West India. No one, he claims, had done for the Indians of the New World what Sallust had done for the ancient Africans, Tacitus for the ancient Britons, and Strabo for many other ancient peoples. "Since," he continues, "I have read some works of Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Dutchmen, who have been there, I thought I would be doing no useless thing, if I communicated to those living and to come the more probable opinions on the subject, with a view that those who, through their travels or perusal of books I have not seen, have a greater knowledge of those matters, might confirm my opinions or, for good reasons, reject them."

³⁹ *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Libri X cum notis; praemittuntur Elementa Architecturae collecta ab Henr. Wottono; accedunt Lexicon Vitruvianum Bern. Baldi Urbinatis et ejusdem Scamilli impares Vitruviani; De Pictura Libri III Leon. Bapt. de Albertis; De Sculptura excerpta ex Pomponio Gaurico; Lud. Demontiosii Commentarius de Sculptura et Pictura; omnia collecta a Jo. de Laet (Amst., Elzevier, 1649).* This is the title, as given by FOPPENS; NICKERON gives a slightly different wording. See also HUBERT; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

⁴⁰ HUBERT, p. 737.

⁴¹ *Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (n. p., 1642). There is a copy in the Library of Congress. De Laet republished it, when he published his reply (*Notae*). For other editions, see next two notes. It must have been written at least eight months before published (see below, p. 270). There is an English translation in the *Bibliotheca Curiosa* entitled: *On the Origin of the Native Races of America, A Dissertation by Hugo Grotius. To which is added A Treatise on Foreign Languages and Unknown Islands. By Peter Albinus. Translated from the original Latin, and enriched with Biographical Notes and Illustrations by Edmund Goldsmid* (Edinburgh, 1884). There are only 350 copies of this translation, one of which is in the Library of Congress. "The translation is unfortunate in its blunders" (WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 369, n. 1).

Grotius held that the Americans were not a very ancient race and had come to America chiefly from Europe. He argued that all North America, except Yucatan (which had an Ethiopian stock), was peopled from the Scandinavian North; that the Peruvians were from China, and that the Moluccans peopled the regions below Peru. He deprecated the attempts of those who, like Acosta, claimed a Scythian origin, and concluded by saying: "These are the opinions I was able to gather together concerning the origin of the American peoples, partly from tradition, partly from conjecture; and if anyone has more certain opinions than these, I shall enjoy the gain of an exchange of views, and for that gain shall give him thanks."

That the question discussed in this work of Grotius was of overwhelming interest is attested by the fact that three editions of the pamphlet appeared in the same year,⁴² as well as by the number of replies and counter-replies which it evoked. The new race with which the Dutch had come in contact through the operations of the Dutch West India Company, had sufficiently excited the interest of Johan De Laet, a director of that company, to induce him to study their habits and speculate upon their origin, so that when Grotius published his treatise on the subject, De Laet was quick to enter into the field to combat Grotius' theories.

In a dissertation⁴³ published at Amsterdam in 1643, De Laet chides Grotius for saying in his introductory paragraph that no

⁴² "Sabin mentions three editions of this year: Amst., Paris, and the above edition," says the Library of Congress card for the copy mentioned in preceding note.

⁴³ There is a copy of this work in the library of Rev. Dr. H. Hyvernât at the Catholic University of America (see title below, in Bibliography). The same volume also contains De Laet's second dissertation (see title below, in Bibliography). The Library of Congress has a copy like this and also another like this with the exception of the first title page, which differs only in the style of type used. The *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana* (Vol. iii, p. 390) gives the title as: *H. Grotii Dissert. Duæ de Origine Gentium Americanarum, cum notis et observ. J. de Laet*. The Library of Congress also has a copy of this first dissertation of De Laet bound separately, in which two folios (4pp.) follow the title-page and precede p. 3, containing a letter from Nicolaus Herouart, which belongs in a work of Robert Comte on the same subject (see below, note 52). See also BRUNET, Supplement, Vol. i, col. 743; the *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, Vol. v, p. 50; HUBERT; NICÉRON; FOPPENS; WINSON, Vol. i, p. 370; and the *Nouvelle Biographies*.

one had made a careful investigation of the subject, and shortly thereafter contradicts himself by mentioning some who claimed that the aborigines came from Scythia. With regard to the latter opinion, De Laet says that Grotius has misstated the argument.

For two questions must be considered here: "Who could have come to the New World?" and "How could they have come?" Both questions must have a satisfactory answer, if the puzzle is to be solved correctly. Those who hold that the Indians came from Scythia or Great Tartary do not necessarily mean that they were Scythians or of Scythian origin, for they may mean peoples dispossessed and driven out by the Scythians, of which kind of transmigration history furnishes us with many examples. Consequently, the arguments which Grotius bases upon this hypothesis, arguments which are drawn from the genius and customs of the Scythian people, do not refute the opinion intended.

But, granting Grotius' supposition for the sake of argument, he went too far in basing his claim against the Scythian origin on the statement that there were no horses in America before the arrival of the Spaniards, although Scythia was always full of horses and the Scythians used them even to the extent of sometimes using their blood as drink. The fact that Scythia was then full of horses does not prove that such was always the case or that such was the case when the supposed transmigration occurred, which must have happened many centuries ago, because the vast multitudes of men in America differ so much in their geniuses, languages, customs, and morals, and the propagation of such vast numbers must have taken many centuries. Consequently, the inference is easy that that transmigration took place long ago, and immediately after the dispersion in Asia, on account of the confusion of tongues.

In this way, De Laet takes up each point in Grotius' argument and comments upon it, until he comes to Grotius' conclusion. To this he replies:

From what I have said I think it is sufficiently clear that the illustrious man did not make good use of tradition or conjecture in explaining the origin of the American peoples, and, moreover, that others have made more probable statements. This only shall I add in place of an epilogue, that he is to be praised for his attempt and to be thanked for having been willing to disclose his opinion on a question of such difficulty.

For my part, I am of the opinion that, since America is as extensive as our own world and was not less densely inhabited than Europe or Asia or Africa, it is altogether to be believed that it did not begin to be inhabited first 500 or 1,000 years ago, but that, immediately after the confusion of tongues and the consequent dispersion of families, there

was a migration even to America. For I see no other ways whereby a suitable account can be rendered for such a great multitude of inhabitants everywhere in America and the almost infinite number of different languages, which differ *toto caelo* from themselves and from European languages.

And yet I think it undeniable that new strangers came also in subsequent centuries, whether they came to this part or that part by chance or by intention. I cannot make myself believe that this happened after the reception of the Faith of Christ, because not even the slightest vestiges of Christianity have been found anywhere in these places. Now, no example can be found, I think, of any nation or people, after accepting properly the Christian mysteries, having thereafter obliterated them to such an extent that no vestige remains. That some provinces or regions, which contained Christians once, have none now, is due to the fact that the inhabitants have changed their abode, or have been altogether wiped out by newcomers.

In the next place, I think we ought especially consider the ways by which the aborigines could have come to America; for they came either by land or sea. That they could not have come by sea in those first ages or for a long time after is proved by the lack of knowledge of navigation in those centuries. Wherefore, we must believe that they came especially by land, and investigate the separation between Asia and America, whether there is any or how little it is, and likewise the relationship of South America to New Guinea. For in other parts, the two oceans make too vast a separation. For this purpose attention must be given to the statements of historians, since they treat of the migrations of peoples, whether voluntary or forced. Here, I think, the least credence should be given to conjectures, unless to those which are extremely probable.

With reference to Grotius' concluding sentence, De Laet says:

But, although I cannot yet merit thanks from the illustrious man on account of more certain opinions, yet I hope he will not be ungrateful, because I have shown that what he had persuaded himself was certain is partly uncertain, partly false, and because I could not allow him to be deceived any longer. But in order to be able to merit greater thanks, I shall add an examination of other opinions and a few observations, which might be able to lead to a fuller solution of this most difficult question.

Then follow the opinions of José de Acosta, Marc Lescarbot, and Edward Brerewood, with comments thereon, and twelve observations, which De Laet thought it would be worth while to add. In these, he considers anything that he thinks might throw light on a question "still so obscure and difficult." Pliny, the Azores, and the Canaries; Wales, Ireland, the Orcades, with

David Powell's story of Madoc; the characteristics and customs of the Scythians and the Polynesians; de Moraës' argument about the Carthaginians and the Jews—all come in for some consideration. Moreover, De Laet discusses the language, religion, form of government, physical characteristics, marriage and family relations, mode of living and dwellings, and method of reckoning time of the Indians in every known section of North and South America. An interesting point in this connection is his comparison of the Irish, French, Icelandic, Huron, Iroquois and Mexican languages.

De Laet's contention, therefore, was briefly this: the Scythian race furnished the predominant population of America; the Spaniards went to the Canaries and thence some of their vessels drifted to Brazil; the story of Madoc's Welshmen is probably true; it is not unlikely that the Polynesians may have floated to the western coast of South America; and minor migrations may have come from other lands.

The opposition of De Laet brought forth a second dissertation⁴⁴ from Grotius, who wrote in a very bitter vein. Since De Laet wore a beard like the Capuchins, perhaps to affect greater authority,⁴⁵ Grotius writes his reply "against an envious detractor, whom a shadowy beard makes good."⁴⁶ Grotius thought that De Laet did not write very elegant Latin and laughed at him in the following epigram,⁴⁷ which would lose its point if translated:

Latius haud Latius satis est: nec scribere cessat
Latius; ut sileat Latius, est satius.

A large part of this second dissertation of Grotius is taken up with bitter invective. He calls De Laet by way of reproach *obtrektor*, *presbyter*, and *exercitor* and says that "he is of such a character that whatever he himself has not read or does not wish to believe, he says is false," and that "everything he has written

⁴⁴ *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio Altera adversus obtrektorem, opaca quem bonum facit barba* (Paris, 1643). This is the title given by Nicéron, p. 344 (cf. FOPPENS, p. 672). De Laet republished it, when he published his reply (*Responsio*).

⁴⁵ FOPPENS, p. 672.

⁴⁶ See title in n. 44, above.

⁴⁷ FOPPENS, p. 672.

against me, he has written with a desire, not for truth, but for detraction." Near the end of his treatise, Grotius repeats the assertion made in his first treatise to the effect that he would be grateful, if anyone would put forward more certain opinions. "But let him do it," he continues, "as good men should, not after the manner of vilifying controversialists."

Of course, this called for a defence from De Laet, which made a prompt appearance in 1644.⁴⁸ After answering Grotius' strictures point for point, De Laet finally comes to the sentence just quoted, in which his good faith is impugned. This causes him to burst forth in righteous, yet mildly expressed, indignation and incidentally adds a new and personal touch to the controversy. Therefore, it may be pardonable to quote De Laet's words:

I have not acted otherwise than good men should. I have shown with many reasons that your opinions were not probable. But you received them so angrily, so contumeliously, that, although I had hoped you would be grateful to me, you censured me in unworthy ways and abused me on nearly every single page—which is not acting as good men should. And that all may know that I have done nothing as a vilifier or detractor, I shall disclose here what moved me to publish my *Notae*.

About eight months before you published your first dissertation, it was handed to me without the name of its author by a relative, who said he had been requested to give it to me to read and consider, yet he did not tell me then from whom he had received it or whose it was. I gave it a cursory reading, and, when I noticed that there was much in it which either was not true or was not sufficiently proved, I briefly noted it down, and handed it back, together with the books of Acosta in Spanish and a Mexican vocabulary, thinking that the treatise was the work of an author living in Holland or perhaps at The Hague, whence my relative had received it from your brother. A little while after, I learned that it was the child of your brain, and that my relative had received it from your brother.

Now when that dissertation was published under your name and had arrived here, I promptly seized upon it, eager to know whether you had given any account of my observations. But seeing that nothing had been altered by you, as far as I could remember (for I had not kept a copy of my observations), I did not think you would receive it in evil part,

⁴⁸ See title below, in Bibliography, and *note* 43. The Library of Congress has a copy of this second dissertation of De Laet bound separately. FOPPENS (p. 672) says a second edition appeared in 1646. See also BRUNET, Supplement, Vol. i, col. 743; NICÉRON; WINSON, Vol. i, p. 370; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

if I were to examine a little more diligently what had occurred to you as probable or otherwise. And I did this modestly and with a desire for searching out the truth, not for vilifying and irritating you.

Let unbiased readers judge, then, whether any fault remains with me and whether you were grateful to me. For I frankly admit that, if you had altered ever so little of it or at least had given an account of my friendly admonitions, never would I have written a word upon this subject, but, on the contrary, had you requested it, would willingly have furnished all my opinions. For my desires are elsewhere, nor have I any wish to contend with anyone on subjects, which, without prejudice to faith, can be determined either way.⁴⁹ And what I now reply, I do so under compulsion. But for the future, I shall not descend further into this controversy, but shall patiently bear whatever you pour forth upon me.

In reply to Grotius' assertion that "Certainly unless those priests who have been made for the sake of time,⁵⁰ make better criticisms than those of yours are, they could be done without," De Laet replies:

Certainly so, if they make criticisms such as yours; whether mine are such, impartial readers will judge. When I added my notes to your conjectures, I no more performed the functions of a priest than you the functions of an ambassador when you published them. Wherefore, there is no reason why one should object to my order, even if I have erred

⁴⁹ Grotius, in one place (DE LAET, *Responsio*, p. 47), claimed that De Laet's opinions were very dangerous to piety.

⁵⁰ It is difficult to understand the full significance of this phrase and the answer thereto, unless it be inferred that De Laet was a Catholic priest (or, at least, in minor orders) or a Protestant minister. None of his biographers mentions either of these possibilities. The absence of any mention of him in either HURTER's *Nomenclator* or the *Catholic Encyclopedia* seems to indicate that De Laet was not in Catholic Orders, although the fact that he had a daughter does not necessarily preclude this possibility. It seems more likely, however, he was one of those Protestants, who charged Grotius with becoming a Catholic, after the latter had published his *Via et votum ad pacem ecclesiasticum* in 1642. "You must finally show your odium against the Church from which you have departed," says De Laet to Grotius. Now it is known that an Amsterdam minister, James Laurent, published his *Grotius papizans* in 1642 and that it was continually being announced from Paris that Grotius had "gone over" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. xi, p. 195c). It is also known that Joost van Den Vondel, the celebrated Netherland poet and friend of Grotius, openly joined the Catholic Church in 1641 (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xv, p. 507d). It seems proper to conclude, therefore, that De Laet was a Protestant minister. This interpretation may account for FOPPENS' statement that De Laet wore a beard like the Capuchins in order to effect greater authority and also to Grotius' charge that De Laet was an envious detractor, whom a heavy beard made good. However, the evidence at hand is not conclusive.

imprudently in those notes (a thing which, nevertheless, you have not shown). Moreover, it was not sufficient that you raged against me in all your writing; you must finally show your odium against the Church from which you have departed. This is not the place to speak of this subject, nor do I claim that such diverse matters ought to be commingled. But in order that it may be clear that my notes on your first dissertation were correct, I shall briefly repeat here, in place of a conclusion, the points which have been controverted between us.

First, I denied that there was any reason why the division of the migration of the peoples to America should be determined at the Isthmus of Panama; for nothing prevented the peoples on one side from going back and forth to the other without hindrance. Here you only take exception by saying that there were mountains and narrows; which, even if it were so (a thing which, nevertheless, I deny), yet cannot prevent the going back and forth of the men on both sides.

Then you said by way of a new opinion: "I think that almost all the peoples, who are on this side of the Isthmus of Panama, originated from Norway." I showed by many arguments, not even one of which have you refuted in this second dissertation, that this was less probable, since the Mexicans (of whom you wished this especially to be believed) had come to the Mexican Lake before the Norwegians could have moved from Greenland; nay even that they had found at the Lake and in more remote regions other nations and of different origin, who had dwelled there many years before. Therefore, it is indeed clear enough that not only not "almost all the peoples, who are this side the Isthmus of Panama," but not even those whom you especially intended, the Mexicans, Chichimecs, Otomis, and others, originated from Norway.

Thereupon, you gave only this response: "Since it is agreed between us that the Greenlanders originated from Norway, at least a part of North America is considered to have been cultivated by Norwegians; and because Herrera writes that those who live next to the Bacallaos are like the Lapps in worship and other respects, even on this score it is probable." But look you, I beg, whether with these words of yours that saying of Horace does not properly square: "Amphora coepit institui" or "Parturiunt montes," etc. For when the reader was expecting something grand and unknown in previous centuries, such as in truth would be the showing of the origin of so many peoples, which inhabit the northern part of America, now at length recourse is had to the claim that the Greenlanders and the Bacallaos originated from the Norwegians and the Lapps.

Thirdly, you asserted that those who occupied Yucatan and certain neighboring places were of a different origin, namely, that they were carried thither from Ethiopia by the tossing of the ocean, "which could easily have happened to some fishermen borne away from their own shores, then snatched away by those fierce winds, which blow straight towards America," etc., and then you intended the origin to be from the

Abyssinians. To this I gave a lengthy reply, which would take too long to repeat here, but especially that the Empire of the Abyssinians never did extend to the ocean. You reply that it extended to the Congo Kingdom, which neither is true, nor, if it were, would it follow therefrom that the Empire of the Abyssinians extended to the ocean. But to make you believe the more that that Empire never extended to the ocean, I shall add here two passages from the first book of the *De Abyssinorum Rebus* of Father Nicholas Godingius, S.J.

Here De Laet quotes the passages in full and then continues:

Fourthly, there was the question about the Peruvians, whom you claimed originated from the Chinese; but this I showed to be least credible of all on account of the length and difficulty of navigation, and many other reasons. And in order that you might among other things prove the similarity of customs or at least equal industry, you alleged that the Peruvians wrote in the same way as the Chinese, that the Peruvians wrote not by means of letters, but by signs of things, and this from the top of the chart to the bottom as among the Chinese. I noted that the Peruvians had neither characters or writing nor characters after the manner of the Chinese. How little to the point you replied to this, the impartial reader shall judge.

Why more? If everything were believed which you alleged in this second dissertation, you have brought forward nothing which upsets my former *Notae*, but on the contrary you have heaped up still more fresh errors. But I make an end and pray for you a better mind and greater modesty.

So ended the controversy between Grotius and De Laet, but its echoes continued to be heard for some years after. In fact, at least two works on the same subject appeared in that same year (1644), that of Jean Baptiste Poisson at Paris⁵¹ and that of Robert Comte at Amsterdam.⁵² The latter was an academic dissertation adopting the Phoenician view, but its author was not sufficiently

⁵¹ Joannis Baptistae Poissoni *Animadversiones ad ea quae Hugo Grotius et Johannes Lahetius de Origine Gentium Peruvianarum et Mexicanarum scripserunt* (Paris, 1644). The title is given in WINBOR, Vol. i, p. 370, n. 4; and NICÉRON, pp. 344-345.

⁵² Roberti Comtaei Nortmanni *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (Amstelodami, Typis Nicolai Ravesteinii, 1644). This is a work of 41 duodecimo pages and there is a copy in the Library of Congress. There are two folios (4 pp.) between the title-page and page 3, which contain a letter addressed by Nicolaus Herouart, Rothomagensis, to Johannes Six, Godefridus Wuytiers, Franciscus Reael, and Constantinus Sohiers, dated at Amsterdam, April 12, 1644. The work is listed in NICÉRON, p. 345; and WINBOR, Vol. i, p. 370, n. 4. HORN (pp. 18-19) says that Comtaeus intended to write a work weighing the arguments of Grotius and De Laet, but his untimely death prevented him.

acquainted with those aids which are so necessary for a work of this character."⁵³ De Laet himself, although he took no further personal part in the controversy, incited another to take part, and so Georg Horn, "ordinary professor of History and Civil Government in the illustrious Academy of the Gelderlandiers," took up the question in a rather lengthy dissertation in 1652.⁵⁴ In his Preface, Horn says: "This little work on the origins of the Americans, which you see now after some years, I wrote at the instigation especially of Johan De Laet, after he refuted the new opinions of Hugo Grotius. From that time it has lain cast aside among my papers, since, engaged partly by a journey to England, partly by other hindrances, I had put aside all desire of publishing it." Finding time afterwards, Horn determined to publish it unchanged just as he would have published it when it was written. Horn's aim as he himself states, is "to write American history from the very origin of the race to the arrival of Europeans in America."⁵⁵ His description of America is quite complimentary. "America," he says,⁵⁶ "the fairest of lands, with vast expanses toward both Oceans, lies midway between the East and the West, and, being fertile for all kinds of fruits, exults here and there in joyful verdure." It would be impracticable here to follow his lengthy arguments point for point. Suffice it to say that his view was the Scythian one, but he held to later additions from the Phoenicians and Carthaginians on the Atlantic side and from the Chinese on the Pacific.⁵⁷

The knowledge that these writers of the seventeenth century possessed and the evidence that they adduced seem all the more remarkable, when it is remembered that "the question of the origin of the Indians is as yet a matter of conjecture. Affinities with Asiatic groups have been observed on the northwestern

⁵³ HORN, preface, p. 3.

⁵⁴ See title below, in Bibliography. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. A second edition appeared at Hemipolis (Halberstadt) in 1669. This edition did not contain a complimentary poem of three pages by Johannes Witten which appeared in the first edition after the preface. See also WINBOR, Vol. i, p. 370; and NICÉBON, p. 346.

⁵⁵ HORN, p. 1.

⁵⁶ HORN, p. 2.

⁵⁷ WINBOR, Vol. i, p. 370.

and western coast of North America, and certain similarities between the Peruvian-coast Indians and Polynesian tribes seem striking, but decisive evidence is still wanting." In these words Bandelier⁶⁸ sums up the state of affairs today, but in these words also De Laet might have summed up his own opinions on the same subject over two hundred and fifty years ago.

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HERBERT F. WRIGHT, PH.D.,
Catholic University,
Washington, D. C.

⁶⁸ AD. F. BANDELIER, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. i (New York, 1907), p. 411d, s. v. *America*.

THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND CARDINAL BELLARMINE

The object of this essay is to discover what was the immediate source of that part of the Declaration of Rights of Virginia and of the Declaration of Independence which proclaimed the natural equality of man and that the right of governing is derived from the people. These two pronouncements have had tremendous consequences, for the theory of the American State rests upon them, and they have come to be the foundation stone of government in nearly all the nations of the modern world.

In framing the Virginia Declaration the English Bill of Rights was the natural model, because of the resemblance of the events immediately preceding the birth of the one document to those which preceded the birth of the other. The English parliament which in 1689 declared that James II had forfeited the crown, and which prescribed the conditions upon which William of Orange was accepted as King, was the prototype of the Virginia Convention which put George III off the American throne, and proclaimed the principles upon which a new government must be founded to be acceptable. In its contents, however, the Virginia document followed the English model only in its less important features, and even in these the resemblance is but partial. The first three Virginia paragraphs saying that all men are by nature equally free and independent; that all power belongs to the people; that government is instituted for the common benefit, and that when it fails to confer common benefit a majority of the people have a right to change it—these fundamental principles are not in the English Bill at all. Thus, the Virginians used the English model in no spirit of agreement or imitation, for they ignored its most important provisions and went far beyond its most radical intentions.

The study of government has always been a favorite occupation of higher minds, and the discussion of the problem of how far men may enjoy their freedom and submit to government, what are their rights and duties, and what are the rights and

duties of those who govern them are as old as mankind itself. In 1776 men were discussing these things and also the theory of government itself. Some of them had decided that it was a contract between the governed and the governors; others believed all power belonged to the people; others were content to trace its origin to the family relation, and others thought that rulers derived their right to rule from the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. In the beginning of the settlement of America these questions were not of practical importance, for pioneers in a wilderness had only problems of personal government to deal with. Questions of liberty did not obtrude themselves upon men who could go at will through a boundless country and make their homes wherever they pleased. The Jamestown court book, which begins in 1622 and is the earliest government record of the English occupation, shows this, for the chief function of the government was to punish small offences against law and order, and wrongs committed by one man against another. A hundred years later, however, governmental conditions had become more complex, the country having passed the earliest pioneer stage, having increased greatly in population and having become valuable to the nation which owned it. When that nation began to restrain its American subjects, to exercise authority over them and to tax them, neglected theories of government were revived and they began to study them with a practical object in view. They felt that they were ill-used, and read and discussed so as to give form to their grievances.

Ready at hand was the classic literature of Athens and Rome which all educated men knew fairly well. The civilization of those states was understood and entered into the daily thought of the time. When the Americans came to create governments of their own they adapted to their use some of the institutions and nomenclature of the classical period. It would be beyond the scope of this article, however, to try to find the classical spring of the thoughts which were in the mind of George Mason when he wrote the Declaration of Rights and of Thomas Jefferson when he wrote the Declaration of Independence, nor is it necessary to do so, for their immediate inspiration came from more modern sources.

Several authors must be cleared from the field before we

examine those who really participated in forming the doctrines under consideration. Montesquieu, Rousseau and James Berg, whose names are often connected with them, really did not influence them. *The Spirit of the Laws* was studied in America, but it did not present the theory of government in the way the Revolutionists were seeking to present it. It was an analysis of the various forms of government; they were seeking for a statement of the basis of the form they were determined to have.

Rousseau's writings were less widely known than Montesquieu's. It is probable that Jefferson knew them, because his mental appetite was omnivorous; but George Mason did not know French and there is no reason to suppose that he ever read the *Contrat Social* or the *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*. Rousseau's writings had not obtained currency in Virginia in 1776.

James Berg wrote seventy-five years after Montesquieu. His book, *Political Disquisitions, or An Enquiry into public Errors, Defects, and Abuses of the British Government*, appeared only in part in 1775, rather too late to have rendered service in May, 1776, even if it had discussed general principles which it did not do. Berg denounced the evils which had arisen in England, in the hope of "restoring the constitution and saving the state." He defended the colonies in their controversy with the parent country. The American edition of his book was published in Philadelphia under the encouragement of a number of prominent Americans, many of them members of the Continental Congress, among them George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson praised the book, but it did not help him when he drew up the Declaration of Independence.

To go on to those who had a somewhat closer relationship to the Declaration, who were in fact the natural precursors of those who had a real influence in forming it, we come upon Thomas Hobbes and Richard Hooker, who paved the way which Algernon Sidney and John Locke walked with so much confidence many years later. A hundred years before Rousseau, Hobbes expounded Rousseau's doctrine of government. Hobbes' chief book, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*, was published in London in 1651.

It was a scientific discussion of the natural man and the artificial aggregation of men (the Leviathan) called the Commonwealth. He defined a commonwealth thus:

A commonwealth is said to be instituted, when a multitude of men do agree, and covenant, every one, that to whatsoever man or assembly of men shall be given by the major part, the right to present the person of them all (that is to say, to be their representative): Every one, as well he that voted for it, as he that voted against it, shall authorize all the actions and judgments of that man or assembly of men in the same manner, as if they were his own, to the end, to live peaceably amongst themselves, and be protected against other men.

From this institution of a commonwealth are derived all the rights and faculties of him or them on whom sovereign power is conferred by the consent of the people assembled.¹

He argued against the right of rebellion because it broke the covenant made by the subject with the sovereign.

The *Treatise on Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker was published in 1594–1597. He said:

The lawful Power of making laws to command whole Political Societies of men, belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any Prince or Potentate of what kind soever upon Earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express Commission immediately and Personally received from God, or else by authority derived the first from their Consent upon whose Persons they impose Laws; it is no better than meer Tyranny. Laws they are not therefore which Public approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only give, who personally declare their assent by voyce, signe, or act, but also when others do it in their names by right originally at least derived from them.²

Under the hands of Algernon Sidney and John Locke this doctrine was advanced to a system of popular government; and those two writers must now be brought to the reader's particular attention, for they received a great deal of attention from the fathers of the republic. It cannot be said that they are now wholly forgotten. They are alluded to, however, oftener than they are read, and no apology is needed for quoting from them to a modern reader.

Algernon Sidney was a hero to the Americans of 1776. His romantic life and tragic death held the public attention, and his

¹ *Leviathan*, Edition of 1651, p. 88.

² *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie*. Book 1, Sec. 9, p. 28, Edition of 1622.

writings were eagerly read. It was nearly a hundred years since he had been beheaded for asserting the right of the people to govern, but the interest in him was still fresh. A new edition of the account of his trial and of his disquisition on government had appeared in 1763, only thirteen years before the American revolt. Sidney had been charged, among other things, with having written seditious libels, the worst being, as the arraignment recited, the following:

The power originally in the people of England is delegated unto the parliament. He (the most serene lord, Charles II now King of England meaning) is subject unto the law of God, as he is a man; to the people that makes him a king inasmuch as he is a king: the law sets a measure unto that subjection, and the parliament judges of the particular cases thereupon arising. He must be content to submit his interest unto theirs, since he is no more than any one of them in any other respect than that he is, by the consent of all, raised above any other. If he doth not like this condition, he may renounce the crown; but if he receives it upon that condition (as all majestates do the power they receive) and swear to perform it, he must expect that the performance will be exacted, or revenge taken by those that he hath betrayed.³

At the trial the Government showed that when Sidney was arrested, a treatise alleged to be in his handwriting was found in his study, which was designed to persuade the people of England "that it is lawful, nay that they have a right to set aside their prince, in case it appear to them that he hath broken the trust laid upon him by the people." "Then he falls to reasoning," said the attorney general, "and uses great reasoning in the case, that all the power of the prince is originally in the people; and applies that discourse, that the power of the king was derived from the people, upon trust; and they had already declared the king had invaded their rights, and therefore he comes to argue, that they might resume that original power they had conferred."⁴

Sidney insisted that the Government had not proved that the writings produced were his. "But," he added, "my lord, it is a polemical discourse; it seems to be an answer to Filmer, which is not calculated for any particular government in the world; it (Filmer's book) goes only upon these general principles, that

³ Page 108 of the supplement to the Edition of 1763.

⁴ *Id.*, pp. 115, 116.

according to the universal law of God and nature there is but one government in the world, and that is entire and absolute.”⁶

The trial was dramatic and the Lord Chief Justice, Jeffries, who presided, was at his worst. The jury was packed, Sidney was refused a copy of his indictment, and overt acts were accepted as proved by the testimony of one perjured witness. The Chief Justice interrupted Sidney when he attempted to speak in his own behalf and showed a savage determination to kill him. When he sentenced him, Sidney uttered a short prayer that his country might not suffer in atonement for his blood, but, if he must be avenged, that the weight of punishment might fall upon those who had maliciously prosecuted him for righteousness’ sake. To this, the Chief Justice replied:

I pray God work in you a temper fit to go into the other world, for I see you are not fit for this.

And Sidney said:

My lord, feel my pulse (holding out his hand), and see if I am disordered. I bless God, I never was in better temper, than I am now.⁶

He was executed on December 7, 1683. That day he gave to the Sheriffs a paper in which he recounted the unfairness of his trial and said of the writings used against him:

They plainly appear to relate to a large treatise written long since in answer to Filmer’s book, which by all intelligent men is thought to be grounded in wicked principles, equally pernicious to magistrates and people.”

He gave the scope of the treatise:

. . . And I am persuaded to believe that God had left nations to the liberty of setting up such governments as best pleases themselves.

That magistrates were set up for the good of nations, not nations for the honour and glory of magistrates.

That those laws were to be observed, and the oaths taken by them, having the force of a contract between magistrates and people, could not be violated without danger of dissolving the whole fabric.

That usurpation could give no right; and the most dangerous of all enemies to Kings were they, who raising their power to an exorbitant height, allowed to usurpers all the rights belonging to it.⁷

Bishop Burnet said of Sidney: “He had studied the history

⁶ *Id.*, pp. 134, 135.

⁶ *Id.*, 168.

⁷ *Id.*, pp. 37, 38, of the *Memoirs*.

of government in all its branches, beyond any man I ever knew." The author of the memoir which preceded his *Discourses on Government* said: "In short, it is one of the noblest books that ever the mind of man produced; and we cannot wish a greater or more extensive blessing to the world, than that it may be everywhere read, and its principles universally received and propagated."

The copy of this noble book which Thomas Jefferson used lies before me—a handsome folio, 497 pages of the *Discourses*, 198 pages of Sidney's letters and the account of this trial, the whole prefaced by 46 pages of the *Memoir*. This was the edition of 1763, edited by Thomas Hollis, known in England as "the Republican," the great-nephew of Thomas Hollis, the benefactor of Harvard college. The first edition of the book had appeared in 1698. Americans liked to connect Sidney with themselves. They believed (probably erroneously) that he had assisted William Penn in drawing up the enlightened form of government which Penn had given to Pennsylvania in 1682. Children were called Algernon Sidney, newspaper writers used the name as a pen name, gentlemen called their country places Sidney. For many years after the Revolution there still survived evidence of the deep impression he had made upon the American mind. There was an American edition of his *Discourses* published in Philadelphia as late as 1804. A copy of the book was in every large library in 1776; every reading man had read it in part or in whole. The opening sentence of the *Discourses* ran:

Having lately seen a book, entitled "*Patriarcha*," written by Sir Robert Filmer, concerning the universal and undistinguished right of all kings, I thought a time of leisure might well be employed in examining his doctrine, and the questions arising from it: which seem so far to concern all mankind, that besides the influence upon our future life, they may be said to comprehend all that in this world deserves to be cared for.

In *Patriarcha* there was a quotation from the Cardinal Bellarmine to the effect that men were created equal, upon which Sidney remarked of Filmer:

"He absurdly imputes to the school divines that which was taken up by them as a common notion, written in the heart of every man, denied by none, but such as were degenerated into

beasts." And again: "Though the schoolmen were corrupt, they were neither stupid nor unlearned; they could not but see that which all men said, nor lay more approved foundations, than that man is naturally free; that he cannot justly be deprived of that liberty without cause;" etc. Of governments: "Those only can be called just which are established by the consent of nations."⁸ Of democracy: "And of all governments, democracy, in which every man's liberty is least restrained because every man hath an equal part, would certainly prove to be the most just, rational and natural."⁹ At the same time he insisted that a democracy never had existed and was not possible except for a small town. He advocated a popular mixed government. Of popular right over government he said: "We say in general 'He that institutes, may also abrogate;' most especially when the institution is not only by but for himself. If the multitude therefore do institute the multitude may abrogate; and they themselves, or those who succeed in the same right, can only be fit judges of the performance of the ends of the institution."¹⁰

There is much discussion of the Old Testament and the support which Filmer sought to derive from it for his theory that government comes from the power of the fathers over the children.

Following after Sidney and as widely read, although not so popular nor so interesting, was John Locke. His essays were in all libraries, but they derived no contributing interest from his personal career. When his *Two Treatises on Government* appeared in 1690 he incurred no danger from their publication, for the Revolution of 1688 had put a king on the throne who derived his right to rule from the consent of the multitude. Locke's doctrines were as acceptable to William of Orange as Filmer's would have been to James I or as they were to Charles I. Like Sidney, Locke wrote in reply to Filmer. He described his two treatises thus:

"In the former the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown: the latter is an essay concerning the true origin, extent and end

⁸ Page 155.

⁹ Page 152.

¹⁰ Page 15.

of civil government." He says of Filmer: "His system lies in a little compass, it is no more but this:

"That all government is absolute monarchy.'

"And the ground he builds on is this, 'That no man is born free.'" ¹¹

A few extracts will show Locke's philosophy:

To understand political power right, and derive it from its origin, we must consider what state all men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.

A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident, than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection: unless the lord and master of them all should by any manifest declaration of his will, set one above another, and confer on him, by an evident and clear appointment, an undoubted right to dominion and sovereignty.' " ¹²

Men being, as has been said, by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent. ¹³

These aphorisms he repeated often and made the basis of his essay.

Now let us see who was this Filmer of whom Sidney and Locke had so much to say, Sidney's reply to him having brought his head to the block. In his day he was popular and had many readers and followers. He preached a simple creed—that Kings rule by divine right and that the unthinking devotion and obedience of their subjects belongs to them by God's ordinance. Any man could understand that doctrine and many men had cheerfully laid down their lives in support of it. It was age old—as old as the opposing doctrine that all governing power comes from the multitude. Macaulay says that Filmer formed into a system the theories which became prominent under James I. Filmer's writings did, in fact, follow those of James. *The King's Defense*

¹¹ Works, edition of 1824, Vol. iv, p. 213.

¹² *Id.*, p. 340.

¹³ *Id.*, p. 394.

of *True Monarchie* might well be a preface to *Patriarcha*. So may the King's treatise on witches, *Daemonology*, be read in connection with Filmer's "*Advertisement of the Jurymen of England touching Witches*." There was still another point of resemblance between the two authors—both of them essayed to reply to the Cardinal Bellarmine, James in defense of the test oath which Catholics would not take, and Filmer in defense of the divine right of kings, a doctrine which Bellarmine denied.

Sir Robert Filmer, Bart., like Algernon Sidney, but in a less tragic degree, suffered persecution because of his opinions on government. During the civil wars in England he adhered to Charles I, and, it was said, had been imprisoned in 1644, while his house was plundered ten times.

A few of his writings appeared anonymously during his lifetime, but the most important of them was not published till 1680, twenty-seven years after his death. The full title was, *Patriarcha or the Natural Power of Kings, by the Learned Sir Robert Filmer, Baronet*. The argument was that the doctrine of the natural liberty of man was new, plausible and dangerous, that the royal authority began before the flood with the patriarchs from whom all kings were descended; that there was no example in Scripture of a people choosing its King; that popular government was more bloody than tyranny; that the king being appointed by God, his subjects could not judge nor correct him, as he was above human laws. He said: "It appears little less than a paradox which Bellarmine and others affirm of the freedom of the *multitude* to choose what rulers they please."

Filmer's contemporaries generally agreed with him. John Locke and Sidney sought to disprove his theories by examples and utterances taken from the source whence Filmer drew most of his support—the Bible. Filmer found the origin of government in the family and fatherhood; Hobbes and the rest found it in a contract between the governed and the governors, and here Filmer was right.

One of those whom Filmer answered was Philip Hunton. He had written a *Treatise on Monarchy* in 1643 in which he said: "God does not bind any people to this or that form of government till they by their own act bind themselves." Filmer declared that they never bound themselves. He said that the earliest gov-

ernments had been absolute monarchies, and he was right again.

Robert Francis Romulus Bellarmine, to whom Filmer replied, was one of the most famous churchmen and statesmen of his day. He is still well known to Catholic clergymen, and to the Protestant clergy in a less degree, but to laymen his is not a familiar name. He was born at Montepulciano in 1542 and died in 1621. He was a Jesuit priest, teacher of the humanities at Florence and Mondovi, a professor and preacher at Louvain, where Protestants as well as Catholics went to hear him. He was consecrated a cardinal in 1599. In 1576 he began to issue his controversial writings. They made a sensation in England, and, as he was the champion of papacy, vindications of Protestantism often took the form of answers to him. His works crossed the Atlantic. There was a copy in the library at Princeton where James Madison, a member of the Committee which framed the Virginia Declaration of Rights, had graduated. Probably he had read it, for at this period of his life he read everything he could lay his hands on, and was deeply versed in religious controversy.

There were copies of some of his books in Virginia. Old Protestant ministers remember that when they studied divinity at the Episcopal High School near Alexandria they heard Bellarmine quoted. Several members of the committee which drew up the Declaration of Rights had been educated in England—Thomas Ludwell Lee probably, and John Blair certainly. It would have been difficult for them to escape some acquaintance with Bellarmine while they were studying in England. Eleven of the twenty-three members of the committee had gone to William and Mary College, where religious controversy raged. They, too, must have heard of the Italian controversialist from the answers which had been made to him. In 1722 there had been published in London a free translation by Thomas Foxton of Bellarmine's *Joys of the Blessed: Being a Practical Discourse Concerning the Eternal Happiness of the Saints in Heaven*. Bellarmine was not unpopular in England even among those who were most inimical to his faith.

It is Bellarmine's remarks on earthly government, however, not his writings on things celestial, that concern us here, and Filmer stated them fairly. Taking a number of the Cardinal's

aphorisms to be found here and there in his writings but chiefly in *De Potestate Pontificis* (see, for instance, Lil 1, Cap. vi, p. 257) he gives them thus on the fourth page of *Patriarcha*, and I reproduce his italics and capitals.

To make evident the Grounds of this Question, about the *Natural Liberty of Mankind*, I will lay down some passages of Cardinal Bellarmine, that may best unfold the State of this controversie. *Seculār or Civil Power* (saith he) *is instituted by men; It is in the people, unless they bestow it on a Prince. This Power is immediately in the whole Multitude, as in the subject of it; for this Power is in the Divine Law, but the Divine Law hath given this power to no particular man. If the Positive Law be taken away, there is left no Reason why amongst a Multitude (who are Equal) one rather than another should bear Rule over the Rest. Power is given by the multitude to one man, or to more, by the same Law of Nature; for the Commonwealth cannot exercise this Power, therefore it is bound to bestow it upon some One man or some Few. It depends upon the Consent of the multitude to ordain over themselves a King Counsel or other Magistrates; and if there be a lawful cause the multitude may change the Kingdom into an Aristocracy or Democracy. Thus far Bellarmine; in which passages are comprised the strength of all that I have read or heard produced for the Natural Liberty of the Subject.*

But Bellarmine's doctrine was epitomized by Filmer on the opening page of *Patriarcha*. The first sentence of the book reads:

Since the time that School-Divinity began to flourish there hath been a common opinion maintained, as well by Divines, as by divers other Learned Men, which affirms.

Mankind is naturally endowed and born with Freedom from all Subjection, and at liberty to choose what Form of Government it please: And that the Power which any one Man hath over others, was at first bestowed according to the discretion of the Multitude.

This Tenet was first hatched in the Schools, and hath been fostered by all succeeding Papists for good Divinity. The Divines also of the Reformed Churches have entertained it, and the Common People everywhere tenderly embrace it, as being most plausible to Flesh and Blood, for that it prodigally distributes a Portion of Liberty to the meanest of the Multitude who magnifie Liberty, as if the height of Human Felicity were only to be found in it, never remembering that the desire of Liberty was the first cause of the Fall of Adam."

Filmer was better known to laymen in America than Bellarmine was. Students of government like George Mason and Thomas Jefferson could not have missed him. There was his name staring at them in the opening sentences of Sidney and Locke and scattered through the later pages. Mason and

Jefferson must have had the curiosity to look into the author whom their favorites abused so lustily and so continuously. Unhappily, the catalogue of Mason's library has not survived, but Jefferson's books are still kept together in the Library of Congress and among them is *Patriarcha*. I find it also in inventories of other libraries in Virginia, of the revolutionary period. Yet nothing which Filmer wrote himself had any influence upon Mason and Jefferson. He was a dead author and his doctrine had no interest for men who were convinced of the equal rights of men; but the quotation he gave from Bellarmine and his epitome of Bellarmine's doctrine seems to have lodged in their memory, to reappear in a new form in the Declarations which they wrote. Neither in Sidney nor in Locke nor in the writings of any other author with whom they were familiar is there as complete an epitome of the doctrine they announced.

Soon after the committee met to frame the Virginia Declaration of Right, George Mason wrote out ten paragraphs of the Declaration and presented it to his colleagues. They added three more and the whole was handed in to the Convention where it underwent unimportant minor alterations, except as to the clause relating to religious liberty, which the Convention changed by making it a declaration for religious liberty instead of religious toleration. The first four paragraphs of Mason's committee draft are as follows:

A Declaration of Rights, made by the Representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full Convention, and recommended to posterity as the Basis and Foundation of their Government.

That all men are born equally free and independent and have certain inherent natural Rights, of which they cannot, by any Compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining Happiness and Safety.

That Power is, by God and nature, vested in, and consequently derived from the People; that Magistrates are their Trustees and Servants, and at all times amenable to them.

That Government is, or ought to be instituted for the common Benefit and Security of the People, nation, or Community. Of all the various modes and Forms of Government that is best, which is Capable of producing the greatest Degree of Happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the Danger of Mal-administration. And that whenever any Government shall be found inadequate, or contrary to these purposes, a Majority of the Community hath an indubitable,

inalienable and indefeasible Right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.¹⁴

These clauses came from the Convention in the following form (*italics marking the variations*):

A declaration of rights made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full *and free* convention; *which rights do pertain to them* and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of government.

Sec. 1. "That all men are *by nature* equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights, of which, *when they enter into a state of Society*, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; *namely*, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

Sec. 2. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

Sec. 3. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, *protection*, and security of the people, nation or community; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the Danger of mal-administration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter and abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

And the Declaration of Independence says:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their Safety and Happiness.

Were Mason and Jefferson conscious of their debt to Bellarmine, or did they use Filmer's presentation of his doctrine without knowing that they were doing so? Did the Americans realize that they were staking their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor in support of a theory of government which had come down to them as announced by a Catholic priest? We cannot answer these questions, but it should be a satisfaction to Catholics to know that the fundamental pronouncements upon which was built the greatest of modern revolutions, found their best support in the writings of a Prince of the Church.

GAILLARD HUNT,
Washington, D. C.

¹⁴ Mason Papers, Library of Congress.

THE CHURCH IN SPANISH AMERICAN HISTORY

The three centuries of Spanish colonial history in America produced many new institutions and profoundly affected the character of many more which had been brought over from the Old World. One question almost immediately arises in the mind of the student who begins an inquiry into the organization of this great colonial empire. What effect did it have upon, and how was it affected by the Church? Here was the institution which had defended, represented, and typified the medieval civilization of the Old World. What was to be its reaction upon the New? What part was it to have in this enterprise, the greatest of its kind that men had ever undertaken? And what, in turn, was to be the effect of the whole heroic episode upon the Church itself?

To most readers the mention of the Church in colonial Spanish America summons up a composite of grim Inquisitors, of wandering, picturesque, but unimportant missionaries, and of fortune hunting ecclesiastics. These various types have been repeatedly described and discussed, and their various aspects need not be again reviewed here. The contentious subject of the Inquisition has called forth turgid debates, acrimonious wrangles, and some sound scholarly investigation. The romantic tales of intrepid missionary explorations have been often retold, though they never lose interest in the retelling. There are, however, some other aspects of the work of the Church in Spanish America which are worthy of attention.

The imposing task of colonizing and civilizing the vast area which we now know as Latin America, was undertaken and largely accomplished through the enthusiastic ardour and passion of the two Iberian nations, Spain and Portugal. It may well be doubted whether any people has ever assumed so large and perplexing an undertaking. The steady westward march of Aryan civilization out of the dim obscurity of central Asia had moved by successive stages from sea to sea—the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Aegean, the Mediterranean, the North, and

then the great plunge across the unknown waste of the western ocean. The motive forces which made possible this last leap had originated very largely, in fact almost entirely, in the two Afro-European peoples of the southwestern peninsula. It is true that the Cabots and Cartier carried the English and French colors across the North Atlantic during this epic period of the discoveries, but their bold explorations were, after all, but isolated, spasmodic outbursts whose achievements were to be neglected, almost forgotten, for decades, even generations.

To Spain and Portugal, on the other hand, the astonishing revelation of Columbus meant something far different, far more pretentious, than merely the opportunity to indulge in maritime expeditions across unknown seas. Two motives, two profound emotions or passions, seem to have been the moving factors behind the steady stream of crowded ships which swung down to the southwest with the Canaries Current, across to the mysterious islands of the Caribbean, the still more mysterious "Tierra Firme" to the south and the wonderlands to the west. These two motives were first, the search for adventure and fortune—it was as difficult to distinguish between these two in those days as it was much later in the days of '49 and of the Klondike; and second—though by no means secondary—the desire to spread the Christian faith. It is the latter of these two motives which interests us here, not so much because of its prominence during the dawning decades of American history, as because of its power and vital influence upon the subsequent character and tendency of civilization in so large a part of the western hemisphere.

Both of these characteristics found their origins in the same cause, a cause, in fact, which influenced profoundly, if it did not actually produce, a large part of what came to be Hispanic civilization, namely the wars of the reconquest against the Moors. For nearly eight hundred years. Christian Spain had waged an intermittent crusade against the Moslem invaders. For Spain the crusade was not a romantic episode of the far off Holy Land; it had been an earnest struggle, an ever present reality, which in the course of centuries came to be a part of the inmost being of every Spaniard. Each one felt himself to be a "Caballero"—a Knight—a real Defender of the Faith, ever ready to answer the rallying cry of his patron St. James. Many,

it is true, loved the fighting for its own sake, and became, like the immortal Cid, warrior mercenaries of an exalted type. The crusading spirit was ever recurrent, however, and reached its full flower in the golden age of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The very year which saw the cross raised up over the battlements of the Alhambra, and Boabdil, the last Moorish chieftain, driven across the Strait to Africa, saw also a new land revealed beyond the western sea. Furthermore, this was a region which, for nearly two decades after its discovery, was supposed to be a part of Asia, the home of unbelievers and especially of the same Islam which had just been humiliated by the great Christian triumph in Spain. It will be recalled that Columbus and his immediate successors thought that they had found India or some adjoining lands where the old conflict between cross and crescent would soon be renewed. In the first landing party sent into Cuba by Columbus was a learned scholar who knew Arabic, Hebrew, and other Asiatic tongues useful for intercourse with people of advanced culture like the Moslems of medieval Spain. It was believed, then, that a religious work confronted Spain in the New World—a task of the same nature as that which had just been terminated on the peninsula, one that required the same military ardour, the same devotion to the propagation of the faith.

It is true that many of the expeditions of the conquistadors frequently took on the character of fortune hunts with precious metals or slaves as their objectives. Nevertheless, the missionaries accompanied every party, the clergy participated actively in the work of founding nearly every colony or settlement, and frequently were the leaders of important expeditions and exploring enterprises. We recall at once, for example, the names of Fray Marcos, Father Kino, and Father Serra, three random illustrations from three successive centuries of our own Spanish southwestern history. Other names might readily be added, for the annals of the Church in Spanish America are bright with the achievements of many leaders. In this respect they typify the history of Spain's colonial empire, which was largely the record of men, not of companies, especially during its crucial first century. There was no Spanish counterpart of the famous East India Company, Massachusetts Bay Company, or

Virginia Company. The Spaniard was too intensely individualistic; his ancient traits of local pride and separatism were too strong, too fiery, to brook the restraining hand of some nicely balanced company organization. When, in the eighteenth century, Spain did venture upon experiments with such a device she failed miserably. The traditions—warlike and sacred—of the Moorish crusades made each soldier a conqueror, each cleric a propagandist in his own right.

When the laws of the Indies came to be codified in the famous "Recopilación," the first topic to be taken up was the part played by the Church in the great work of educating the Indians. The close cooperation of the Church and State in this work is clearly demonstrated by the unification of civil and ecclesiastical law in this all-inclusive, common code.

This association of the Church with the affairs of colonial Spanish America appears at the very beginning of its history. By the Bull of Demarcation of 1493 the Pope had "given, conceded and assigned" the newly discovered lands to the crowns of Spain and Portugal to be administered, civilized, and brought into the fold of the Church. The papal Bull of December 16, 1501, granted to the Spanish sovereigns in perpetuity all tithes collected in the Indies, upon the understanding that the civil exchequer should bear all the burdens of maintaining priests and friars, churches and missions. The work of the propaganda was thus assigned to the temporal rulers who were to appoint, maintain, and supervise those entrusted with the conversion of the natives. When the crown granted tracts of land and services of Indians to conquistadores, as rewards for their achievements, such grants were always given with the proviso that the recipient or "encomendero" was thereby entrusted (encomendado) with the welfare, spiritual as well as temporal, of the natives. He was to see to it that they became true children of the Church.

This insistence upon the religious training of the natives is illustrative of the ever present conviction of the Church, that its first duty lay in this field. First and foremost came the great work of Las Casas, "Apostle of the Indians," who travelled, preached, and labored unceasingly for five decades (1513-1566), on behalf of the "children of the forest." From northern Mexico to Paraguay the Jesuits brought the fruits of their exceptional

abilities and training into the remote Indian villages. The causes of their expulsion in 1767 have been repeatedly debated, defended, and refuted. We shall return to the subject later, but this much can be said here with assurance: that when the orders for the expulsion were finally carried out, the natives were the ones who suffered; and their appreciation of that fact was shown by the revolts which broke out in various parts of New Spain (Mexico), and by the disorder and confusion which took place in Paraguay, as the Indians forsook their mission homes and wandered back to the wild life of the forest.

Many volumes have been written upon the Jesuit missions in Paraguay as an extreme type of the work of the Church in colonial times. The "socialistic" or "paternalistic" nature of their administration, and the evils which resulted from the consequent sapping of the native spirit of initiative and independence among the Indians have been frequently and vehemently denounced. It has been alleged that this highly organized system prepared the human material for the despotic tyranny of Dr. Francia (1814-1840), the arch-type of all Spanish American dictators. Two important factors, however, would seem to go far toward modifying, if not actually nullifying, this stereotyped criticism of the work of the Church in this part of colonial Spanish America.

Of the thirty-odd "reductions" or missions maintained in the Uruguay-Paraná-Paraguay basins by the Jesuits during the century and a half previous to their expulsion in 1767, only a third were within the region which came to be the Paraguay of Francia's time. Only four of the smaller and less important ones of the total number were located well within the zone of influence of the dictatorship which was later established in Asunción. Furthermore, the missions had been broken up and their population scattered for nearly two generations before Francia's power was fully established in Paraguay. It would seem likely, then, that whatever the effect of the Jesuit régime may have been, it had probably lost a large part of its force during the decades that followed the expulsion of 1767. If the Jesuit system is to be held responsible for those traits of tractability and docility among the natives, which explain to a large extent the success of Francia, then by far the larger part of that

dictator's power is left without explanation, since the descendants of the mission Indians occupied but a small part of his realm.

Much of the criticism which has of late been levelled at the colonial mission system arises from an insistence upon greater dispatch in the work. This would require that the aborigines be taken from the primitive environment of their natural state and be raised, within a few years or decades, to a level of comparative civilization, including the full privileges of participation in the functions of government. It is significant to observe that the more recent studies of such scholars as Starr and Bandelier to a large extent confirm the old mission policy. These and other anthropologists have endorsed the wisdom of recognizing many of the more fundamental customs among the native races of Latin America, notably the communal ownership of land. The much more gradual introduction to civilization which this theory, like the mission system, implies, is being urged as the only effective and lasting solution for such orgies of attempted reforms as have been prevalent in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America on various occasions. The ridiculous futility of such efforts to legislate suddenly into existence the complete social and economic reconstruction of aboriginal races scarcely requires proof. The inefficacy of such impractical reforms was effectively demonstrated in Mexico under Juarez, and seems likely to be more convincingly proved in the immediate future under far less able leadership.

If the success of the Indian policy of Spanish civil and ecclesiastical officials is to be interpreted in terms of the survival and perpetuation of the Indian peoples, the judgment upon that policy must, for the most part, be favorable. The war-like Charrúas of Uruguay and Tehuelches of Argentina have disappeared. But the prevalence of Araucanians, Aymaras, Quichuas, and Chibchas throughout the Andean countries of South America, and of the Mayas and other races of Central America and Mexico, goes far toward disproving the widespread tradition of Spanish savagery toward the natives. Curiously enough, this tradition had its origin in the tireless efforts of Las Casas to save the natives from the hardships which they were suffering at the ruthless hands of the first bands of exploiting fortune hunters and pioneers. The great preacher-liberator spread

broadcast his harrowing accounts of the brutality of his countrymen, and for generations, even centuries, after Las Casas' fervid spirit had departed, and the gruesome conditions which he described had been modified, the lurid accounts of Spanish "barbarity and bigotry" were circulated throughout Europe.

This was especially the case in the course of the religious wars of the seventeenth century when Spain's great maritime rivals, Protestant England and Holland, lost no opportunity to depict their tottering rival as an ogre of barbarous intolerance. The contemporary accounts of the first Puritan colonial enterprises in the West Indies—the Old Providence Co. of 1624-42, and Cromwell's expedition to Santo Domingo and Jamaica in 1654-55—show clearly the English conception of the Spaniard. He was but a medieval monster to whom the Indians meant nothing save so much dog-food, convenient objects for the oppressions of unscrupulous mine owners and profit-seeking missionaries.

One cannot help wondering at the persistence of this misconception even down into the recent decades of the nineteenth century. That there were many abuses cannot be denied, and that some of the more unscrupulous and isolated ecclesiastics openly condoned and even participated in these offenses is not to be doubted. It must be borne in mind, however, that the regions involved stretched over thousands of miles, with every conceivable obstacle—climatic and topographic—in the way of the careful administration of well intentioned codes and the strict supervision of higher officials, both civil and ecclesiastical. The natives were, furthermore, of every stage of human culture, from the primitive savages of Amazonian Peru to the intelligent upper classes of the Quichuas and Mayas. The problem was one of extraordinary complexity, and although the exaggerated paternalism of the Spanish Council of the Indies tried to enforce an all-pervasive Indian code of strictest uniformity, the actual work of administration had inevitably to be left to more or less independent local officers.

It was at just this point that the Church rendered its great service, especially through the medium of the religious orders. The chronicles of the intrepid work of these emissaries of Christianity and civilization form a monumental tribute to their

devotion and heroic endeavor. Nor was their labor one for religion alone. The services which many of these fearless pioneers—notably certain Jesuits—rendered to the sciences of geography, ethnology, and philology as a result of their labors among the Indians, is incalculable. Theirs was not a search for treasure. They were quite as ready—eager, in fact, because of the isolation thus afforded—to devote themselves to the task of civilizing and holding such regions as Paraguay for Spain, even though they yielded no gold or silver. As we shall soon see, it was largely due to the well trained native troops of the Jesuit missions, that northern Argentina and Paraguay were held for the Spanish crown against the inroads of the Portuguese slave-raiders, the aggressive, frequently lawless “Paulistas” of the São Paulo highlands of southern Brazil.

The attachment of the secular clergy, the local or parish priests, to their native charges was quite as marked as the zeal and devotion of the members of the great regular orders. Though less conspicuous, because of their continued isolation and lack of any periodic contact with the outside world, the work of these local representatives of the Church was of profound importance. There grew up between them and their Indian converts the strongest affection, the power and significance of which was to become manifest during the chaotic turmoil of the Wars of Independence.

Colonial Spanish America owed much to the Church, but in no respect is the indebtedness more profound and lasting than in education. Over a hundred years before the founding of Harvard, there was established in the Indian quarter of Mexico City by Zumárraga, first bishop of New Spain, the College of Santa Cruz, the first school for higher education in America. Shortly afterward, in 1538, the University of Santo Tomás de Aquino was founded in Santo Domingo. When the great work of conquest and colonization carried the centers of Spanish activity over to the mainland, the Church, under the personal patronage of the Emperor Charles V, undertook the establishment and maintenance of more advanced schools in the capitals of the two viceroyalties. The University of San Marcos, established in Lima in 1551, is today the oldest of American educational institutions, since the University of Santo Tomás has ceased to

exist. The University of Mexico City first opened its doors in 1553, and although they were closed during a large part of the nineteenth century, they were reopened in 1910 by one of the last important decrees of the late Porfirio Diaz.

Other universities appeared in the course of time, some of them founded in the more remote regions of the empire; for example, at Cordoba in northern Argentina (1613), and at the little town which became Sucre, in Upper Peru, now Bolivia (1623). Later still, others were founded: at Cuzco (Peru in 1692, Caracas (Venezuela) in 1721, Habana (Cuba) in 1728, Santiago (Chile) in 1743, and Quito (Ecuador) in 1787. These are only the more important among a score or more of larger institutions, all founded by the Church and directed by cleric-scholars from the historic old academic centers of Spain: Salamanca, Alcalá de Henares, Oviedo, and many others.

The first purpose of these colleges was "the education of the Indian youth"—the same object as that expressed in the charters of Harvard, Dartmouth, and other colleges of colonial New England. In many of the Spanish American institutions the Indian girls were by no means forgotten. The native languages and culture were studied, especially in those institutions which were under Jesuit control. Much of the knowledge that we now possess in this field has been preserved in the learned pages of Sahagun, Motolinia, Piedrahita, Acosta, Torquemada, Garcilaso de la Vega, Leon Pinelo, Duran, Sandoval, and scores of others. These scholars were either the products of Spanish American institutions or derived their inspirations from years of educational activity in the colonies; many of them were natives—creoles, mestizos, or full blooded Indians. Contrary to the usual belief, their works were not exclusively ecclesiastical, but displayed catholicity of genius and taste which speaks eloquently of the breadth and character of their training: histories, grammars, bibliographies, archaeological and anthropological studies, even medical and surgical treatises.

At the very beginning of this profoundly important work of the Church, came the introduction of another notable instrument of civilization, the printing press. This appeared in Mexico City probably in 1536, the year after the establishment of the first college, and, like that institution, the press owed its origin

to the energies of Zumárraga and the other zealous pioneers of the Church. Most of the earlier productions, such as "*La Escala Espiritual*," supposedly the first, though no known copy is extant today, were ecclesiastical in character. Numerous important linguistic and even medical works had, however, been printed by the presses of Mexico and Lima before the end of the sixteenth century.

In the introduction of printing, as in the founding of advanced educational institutions, Spanish America was a hundred years in advance of English America. This fact and the earlier achievements just mentioned must be carefully borne in mind, in order to judge fairly and as a whole the true value of the Spanish colonial régime. The deplorable decadence and pathetic weakness toward the close of the colonial period have, perhaps because of their chronological proximity, distorted the perspective of many writers.

Even in passing judgment upon these declining decades, we must remember that at least the intentions of the home government, as expressed in the various colonial laws, were above reproach. The enfeebled hand of the mother country was no longer able, however, to enforce her mandates. The spirit of by far the greater part of Spanish colonial legislation can stand comparison with similar codes of any nation and any time. Corrupt and inefficient administration, the ravages of her aggressive enemies, and the remoteness of her empire had weakened her hold. One institution, the Church, continued to wield most of its accustomed influence, in spite of the welter of political confusion, and of investigations, accusations, and expulsions. Its great landed possessions, which later became one of the most serious economic problems for the new republics, were, during the last years of the colonial period, among the few guarantees of stability and order. True, it was a stability of the past, a condition that stood for the old order, but the Church, through its responsibilities both for the land and for the aboriginal inhabitants who had so long been under its care, seems to have appreciated its guardianship. The bond between the clergy and the native converts had by no means disappeared. Its power was destined to become apparent in a most unexpected manner during the crucial struggles of the Revolutions.

It has been the usual practice to describe the conversion of the Indians and their subsequent relations with the mission and the Church as being purely formal—"a medieval cloak over a savage form." The readiness with which the Indians lapse into their native state is often cited as a proof of the superficiality of their Christianity. The actual value of the work of the Church was put to the severest test during the Revolution. Its survival of this test is explained largely by the fidelity of the Indians to their priests, and the important parts played in the struggle by the latter. The ultimate strength and continued growth of the Church in spite of the severity of the struggle and the apparent division within its ranks gives evidence of the depth of its roots in the society of Spanish America.

When Spain was swept into the maelstrom of the Napoleonic Wars and was temporarily engulfed in the flood of French revolutionary radicalism, there were heard the first fervent shouts for Spanish American independence. There had been murmurings and plots before this. The liberal doctrines of the North American patriots and the more radical theories of the French Revolution had been filtering into the colonial empire. Political and economic dissatisfaction was very largely the cause of the plans of Miranda and Bolivar in the north, and San Martin in the south. The religious aspect of these wars, however, is a phase which is all too frequently neglected. In Peru and especially in Argentina and Mexico, the first rallying cries, though prompted by the same cause, came from the local priests.

The famous "Grito de Dolores," the "rebel yell" of Mexico, was first heard from the lips of Hidalgo, the parish priest of Dolores, as he urged his little Indian congregation to save their country from the "gachupines," the Spanish political demagogues. He pleaded particularly that they stand for their religion which seemed to be doomed in the mother country as a result of the French invasion and intrigues. Morelos, patriot-priest like Hidalgo, carried on the banners of the Mexican patroness, the Virgin of Guadalupe, after the cleric of Dolores had fallen. It must, however, be added that both of these fathers of Mexican independence were already discredited and degraded from the priesthood before the revolt broke out and this fact prevents any association of the Church with their efforts. Nevertheless, to

their Indian congregations they were still the embodiment of religious authority, and from their status as spiritual leaders there followed easily the transformation to military and political domination. When Mexican independence was finally won under Iturbide in 1821, it was achieved largely as the result of the fear on the part of the Church authorities in Mexico of the radical liberalism which was then sweeping over Spain.

The secular priesthood was even more conspicuous in the revolution in South America than it was in Mexico; here too the parish clergy were to be found in the ranks and frequently among the officers of all of the patriot armies. The devotion of their native converts to them and to the message which they had preached, made these fighting clerics particularly desirable supporters of the cause of independence. Among the indispensable members of the staff of San Martín, the great Argentine liberator, was a group of priests and Franciscan brothers, the most noted of whom was the ingenious Fray Luis Beltrán, whose engineering talents were especially useful in the preparation for the historic expedition over the Andes in January, 1817. Quite as important as this military activity was the invaluable service rendered by the clergy in organizing the political aspects of the revolution. Sixteen of the twenty-nine signers of the famous Tucumán Declaration of Independence in 1816 were priests who thus became leaders of patriot sentiment, not only in Argentina, but throughout southern Spanish America, since there were delegates present in the Tucumán Congress from Chile, Upper Peru, Uruguay, and Paraguay, as well as from Argentina. It is well worthy of note, in this connection that the opposition to the monarchical plans of the Belgrano, Rivadavia, and other military leaders, was led by a group of priests and monks, of whom Fray Justo and Fray Rodríguez were the most prominent. These Dominicans, popularly chosen representatives, stood steadfastly for a republican form of government. They were the pioneers of democracy in Spanish America.

It should not be forgotten, however, that many Church officials supported the cause of the old régime. Among these were, of course, the leaders of the hierarchy and of the various orders, especially those in Mexico, who feared for the future of their extensive landed possessions, if the revolutionists should

succeed in severing the bonds of union with the Old World. This element scoffed at the religious fervor of the patriots in the Mexican struggle for independence, and taunted the followers of Hidalgo and of Morelos with inquiries as to how they proposed to maintain relations with Rome without a navy.

In Argentina, on the other hand, the higher ecclesiastical officers were distinctly more liberal and worked enthusiastically, for the most part, in accord with the spirit of the new nation. Though many native-born Spanish bishops among them remained loyal to the mother country, the majority of the hierarchy rendered invaluable service to San Martín and his associates, in curbing the occasional reactionary intrigues of some of the secular clergy.

The position of the Church during and immediately after the War of Independence was crucial indeed. Here again one observes a sharp contrast between the situation of the English colonies in North America and the Spanish possessions in the South. The former had been founded on protest, upon fundamental differences, primarily religious, between the colonists and the mother country. This was true alike of Catholic Maryland and of Puritan New England. The germ of separation was discernible from the very beginning. In Spanish America, on the other hand, the keynote to the whole colonial period is the intimate relationship between colonies and mother country. Church officials, ecclesiastical decrees, even papal bulls, came not from Rome directly to America, but by way of the royal council chambers in Seville and Madrid. There was no intervention, not even by the Vatican, between the mother country and her colonies.

It can, therefore, be readily appreciated that for Spanish America the revolt and the subsequent disappearance of the bonds between the New World and the Old meant far more than did the same operation in Anglo-Saxon America. The shock to colonial society was the more profound because the union had been so intimate and strong. Church and State had cooperated for three centuries in the work of colonizing, civilizing, and converting. The sudden destruction of this relationship could not but produce a situation of the utmost gravity for the religious life of the newly liberated countries. Some authorities find in this episode the explanation for much of the agnosticism and

positivism which are prevalent today in many parts of Spanish America.

This theory does not, however, explain the wide prevalence of similar radical doctrines in Brazil, where Auguste Comte and other positivists have had a large following. The explanation in this case seems to be largely the influence of French philosophic teachings and the peculiarly intimate cultural relationship which has developed since about the middle of the nineteenth century between France and Brazil.¹

It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that even this growth of positivism in Portuguese America did not prevent the adjustment of the questions incident to the separation of the Church and State in Brazil in 1890 with far less acrimony than was produced on similar occasions elsewhere. A noted Brazilian scholar has recently pointed out that the dignity, mutual consideration, and friendliness which marked that event are explained by the high esteem in which the services of the Church, through the Jesuits and other orders, had long been held. Largely through the instrumentality of the Jesuits during the colonial period the Indians near the larger centers of population between Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro had been peaceably brought into subjection, and the possibility of bloody wars such as stained the pages of New England's colonial history, was practically eliminated in the more populous section of the colony. It is true that the Tupis of the Brazilian coast and highlands were not so warlike nor so advanced as were the North American Indians, but the very absence of a well developed tribal organization among them made the problem of bringing them together into civilized life a very difficult one. The situation in this part of Brazil was quite in contrast with that among the natives in the greater part of Spanish America, where the conquistadors were able to build up their *encomienda* system—the organized serfdom of the Indians in plantations and mines—by using the tribal units under their respective *caciques* or chieftains. Brazil today, especially its very considerable intellectual element, has time and again acknowledged its indebtedness to the memorable

¹ Cf. LUIS ALBERTO DE HERRERA, *La Revolución francesa y Sud America* (Paris, 1910) on the introduction of French political and philosophic doctrines into South America.

services of Anchieta, Vieyra and the other Jesuit leaders of the colonial period.

A further explanation of the almost entire absence of Indian exploitation in the northern and central coastal settlements of Brazil is found in the lack of mining operations during the first 200 years of the colonial period, the gold and diamond fields not having been extensively worked until the second and third decades of the eighteenth century. The best form of labor for the operation of the plantations of the tropical seaboard lowlands, which occupied most of the energies of the colonists, were the negro slaves, of whom a large supply was easily accessible in the Portuguese colonies on the African coast. In consequence of this, the Jesuits were able to carry on their work among the Indians with but little molestation from civil authorities or planters.

In southern Brazil, however, a very different situation arose. Climatic conditions were inhospitable alike to plantations and to negro slaves, and a form of society therefore developed which contrasted sharply with that of the cultured planter aristocracy of the north coast. The hardy life on the upland cattle ranges of the southern plateau, diversified with lucrative smuggling along the Spanish border, soon gave the settlers of Sao Paulo an entirely different character from their northern countrymen. Thenceforth, "Paulista" connoted vigor, frequently to the point of barbarity, and aggression not always restrained by a scrupulous regard for higher authority. It was quite natural, therefore, that whenever the Paulistas needed labor, the peaceful Guaraní settlements of the interior were ruthlessly raided, and as the natives fled in terror across the border to seek shelter in the "reductions" or missions of the Jesuits in Paraguay, the slave raiders were soon attacking these establishments. In consequence of this, the mission fathers made preparations for military defence and in the closing years of their régime nearly 200,000 Indians were under arms and organized in well disciplined units. This force was the only defense of the Spanish frontier against the aggressive Paulistas, who aptly called themselves "mamelucos," after the historic troops of savage Turkish soldiery, a source of terror to all Christians.

The bloody War of the Seven Missions (1750) was but one of these border raids. When the Jesuits were expelled from the

Spanish dominions, the only considerable forces of organized defenders of the frontier, the mission Indians, were left leaderless and gradually drifted back to the forest life of their ancestors. The tireless Paulistas took advantage of this situation, and of the confusion and demoralization which became more and more conspicuous in Spanish officialdom during the closing decades of the old régime. Large areas of what had once been colonial Peru and Paraguay were occupied by Portuguese squatters, roving bands of "gauchos" (cowboys) and smugglers. By 1810, when the first preparations for the liberation of Spanish America were being made, the work of these adventurers had already been largely accomplished, so that when the patriots of Buenos Aires sent out Belgrano and other leaders to win over the outlying provinces, they found Brazilian frontiersmen firmly established in territory which had once been held for Spain by the Jesuit missions.

The expulsion has been defended as a political necessity. The Spanish monarch probably achieved his object in a measure by the removal of a powerful *regnum in regno* that might have developed into a dangerous rival of civil authority, which the latter had already attacked on several occasions. Unconsciously, however, by the very process of removing this check upon the colonial communities, the latter were given a sense of self-reliance which soon inspired thoughts of independence. The development of a vigorous solidarity in the life of the civilian population of Asuncion which made that colony most aggressively democratic and outspokenly restive against restraint from the mother country, was due not only to the isolation of that settlement, but also to the continual struggles and rivalries between the civilian leaders and the Jesuits. When the latter disappeared the former turned their now unoccupied vigor in other directions. They successfully resisted all efforts on the part of Belgrano and his Argentine associates to draw Paraguay to the side of the Buenos Aires patriots, and chose rather the nominal subjection of the remote Spanish government to the very real domination of the nearby "patriots."

Liberation severed all ties—ecclesiastical as well as political—with the Old World. In some of the older and more conservative parts of the continent, where the participation in the revolutions had been late and less vigorous, the Church very soon re-assumed

its former position as an important factor in society. This was notably the case in Ecuador and Colombia, in each of which the papal nuncio or representative was placed at the head of the diplomatic corps, and the intimate relationship between Church and State was strongly emphasized. Throughout South America subsidies were paid to higher ecclesiastical officers by the state, a condition which had disappeared in Mexico in 1867. In Brazil, as already explained, the Church and State were separated in 1890, and in Spanish South America there are now ample indications of coming changes. In fact, separation in a mild form has just come in Uruguay, and is likely to occur soon in Argentina.

This separation will undoubtedly bring to the Church in Spanish America the same liberation from political entanglement and exploitation which was achieved in large measure in Brazil. The so-called clerical party is discernible in a few Latin American capitals, but in the largest and most important of the Spanish American republics there is no active party of this character. It is a fair assumption that, as the general condition of society in the other countries improves, a similar liberation of the Church from political entanglements may be looked for.

There are, however, many grave obstacles in the way of such an improvement. Chief among these, perhaps, is the large body of native and inferior mixed population, which would inevitably retard and modify the work of effective propaganda, no matter of what faith or sect. The strange, almost weird forms which Christianity has taken among the natives or among the negroes and Zambos of northern Brazil, are to be expected under such conditions, and can be avoided or overcome only by unceasing efforts in the work of education.

To carry on this work the priesthood must be and is being constantly renewed and reinvigorated. The demoralizing effects of climate and of isolation must be counteracted. That most far sighted of recent Pontiffs, Leo XIII, keenly appreciated this, and began, about 1884, an extensive reform of Church affairs in South America. Carmelites, Jesuits, and Franciscans of high abilities were sent over in numbers to begin the task of regeneration which is still in progress. The establishment of the Collegio Pio Latino Americano at Rome, for the training of priests destined for service in this field, is a notable example of the zeal with which the Church is now carrying on this work.

This process of religious awakening is comparable, in a way, with the extraordinary economic advance with which it is synchronous. Both have been begun, and to a large extent are being continued through the efforts of foreigners. Conditions in Spanish America—both religious and economic—will improve, as the scattered and more or less primitive peoples of that great area are swung into the world tide of the more advanced civilization of other lands. The great support of the Church in that region is a strong priesthood, one which is kept not only alive but aggressive by contact, encouragement, and inspiration from the outside world.

Ultimately, however, the real strength of the Church in Spanish America must come from within. Foreign aid and encouragement can and must do much, but eventually the permanent rejuvenation must find its source in the native personnel of the hierarchy and the clergy. National self-consciousness is developing steadily in Spanish America upon a more and more substantial basis. Although there must always be a certain amount of dependence—ecclesiastical as well as economic—upon the outside world, there must at the same time be a steadily increasing reserve of native strength upon which to draw. No better means could be found of aiding in this direction than by the establishment of energetically administered and ably manned institutions of the type of the Catholic University of Santiago, Chile.

The Church has been something more in Spanish American history than a gruesome memory of Inquisitorial holocausts, grasping friars, and illiterate priests. There have been denunciations in plenty, some of them quite justified, and there can be no question that many reforms still remain to be accomplished. There are, nevertheless, many bright lights in the picture which are brought out more clearly by the more sombre backgrounds. It is these brighter aspects of the question to which the present pages invite attention. Though frequently neglected in the larger surveys of the history of the Spanish colonial empire in America, they may serve as reminders of what the Church has attained, and of traditions which may yield inspiration for the future.

JULIUS KLEIN, PH.D.,
Harvard University.

CATHOLIC AUTHORSHIP IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE 1784

The present paper represents the first attempt—as far as the writer is aware—to bring together the titles of works by Catholic authors, printed within the present limits of the United States of America before the year 1784. That year has been selected as the *terminus ad quem* for the reason that Rev. Joseph M. Finotti's standard book: *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (New York, 1872) covers the period from 1784. Although that excellent work was never completed—only one part, that covering 1784–1820, having been published—and though bibliographers since his day have brought to light many other titles, yet the preparation of a new edition of Finotti is an independent enterprise in itself which we hope may some day be undertaken. We have limited our field to the earlier period.

The list which appears at the end of this essay includes forty-seven titles of works written by Catholic authors and printed in the American Colonies. A printing-press was set up by the Spaniards in Mexico as early as 1539, and by the French in Canada in 1764; but no printing was done west of the Mississippi River until after the close of the Revolutionary War. In other words, according to our researches, only forty-seven works of Catholic authorship were printed before 1784 on the continent of North America, between the present boundaries of Mexico and Canada.

The work of only one prominent Catholic colonist appears: that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. This fact by no means implies, however, that Catholics living in the Colonies or laboring as missionaries among the Indian tribes of North America wrote no books, for they wrote a great many. But their writings were printed abroad. The works of the first Lord Baltimore, for example, were all published in London. The narratives written by Fr. Andrew White, S.J., the "Apostle of Maryland," so far as his writings were printed at all, appeared in London; other manuscripts from his pen remained unprinted until recent years. The celebrated collection of the *Jesuit Relations*, which were written for the Superiors of the Society in Europe by the missionaries laboring among the Indians of Canada or in the Mississippi Val-

ley, were issued in Paris. The diaries, letters, and narratives of the Franciscans in California and the old Southwest were printed on the press of the Order in Mexico or were sent to Spain for publication. The historian of Catholic Colonial literature in its entirety will gather from many sources these scattered leaves which form the complete story of literary production extending from the Abenaki Mission in Maine to the adobe bell-towers of Father Junipero Serra's Mission stations on the Pacific coast.

The question may be asked: How, in an inquiry like the present one, is the Catholic authorship of a given work determined? In reply, we confess at once that the determination of this question is in many cases encompassed with uncertainty, conjecture, and grave liability to overlook titles of which one is in search. A few criteria of Catholic authorship are available for all titles: (1) an author whose name upon the title-page is followed by the initials of a religious order, *e. g.*, "S.J." is easily identified as a Catholic; (2) prayer-books issued by the authorities of the Catholic Church or books of devotion stated to be intended for Catholic use are also clearly to be included; (3) books defending Catholic principles, beliefs, or practices may be assumed to be of Catholic authorship, at least within the period we are considering. There are other titles which look Catholic and yet may not be so, and others that may be of Catholic authorship without bearing the earmarks of such authorship. Works of the last-named class must be identified individually by those who know the religion of their authors from other sources. One result of printing the present list of works will be, it is hoped, to awaken interest in the subject that may call forth further contributions to the subject of Catholic bibliography of America.

In the *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, edited by N. B. Shurtleff,⁴ under date of 19 May, 1669, we read the following curious minute:

"The Court, being informed that there is now in the presse, reprinting, a booke, tit Imitacons of Christ, or to yt purpose, written by Thomas à Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, doe comend it to the licensers of the press, the more full revisall thereof, & that in the meane tyme there be no further progresse in that worke."

⁴Vol. iv, pt. ii, 1661-1674, p. 424. Boston, 1854.

What induced the printer, Samuel Green of Cambridge,^b to issue such a book for the stern Puritans of the Massachusetts Colony we can only surmise; but apparently the work had not proceeded far before the magistrates were aware of it and took the action mentioned above. This order effectually quashed the publication of the *Imitation of Christ* [1]^c at that time, for there is no further reference to the book to be found; and no edition was issued in Massachusetts until after the Revolution. The Mennonite press of Christopher Saur at Germantown, Pennsylvania, reprinted in 1749 a London edition of *The Christian pattern, or, The imitation of Christ, being an abridgment of the works of Thomas à Kempis* [7]. German translations were also issued by Saur in 1749 [8], 1750 [11], and 1773 [27]. An English edition by John Payne appeared in 1783 [46].

The name of Père La Chaise, the confessor of Louis XIV, King of France, figures in the title of a book printed in 1688 at Philadelphia, entitled: *A letter from Father La Chaise, confessor to the French King, to Father Peters, confessor to the King of England, in which is contained the project and design of that faction to introduce the Prince of Wales*. But the work is a fabrication, according to Evans, and was issued by Penn's enemies in support of the charge that Penn was a Catholic. *Letter from James II, King of England, to the Pope* (Boston, 1696) [2], requesting the latter's aid in putting down the rebellion, was printed doubtless for political effect. It is accompanied by "animadversions on the same."

There were but few Catholics in New England at this time. A French refugee, who was in Boston in 1687, writes as follows: "As for Papists, I have discovered since being here eight or ten, three of whom are French and came to our church, and the others are Irish; with the exception of the surgeon, who has a family, the others are here only in passage."^d

The next Catholic publication is interesting as being the first argument to be issued from the press of New England in support of Catholic claims. It is entitled: *A Letter from a Romish priest in Canada to one [Mrs. Christina Baker] who was taken captive in*

^b EVANS, *American Bibliography*, Vol. i, No. 114.

^c Numbers refer to the List of Works to be found at the end of this article.

^d FISHER: *Report of a French Protestant refugees* (Brooklyn, 1868); quoted in SHEA, *Cath. Church in Colonial Days*, p. 397.

her infancy and instructed in the Romish faith, but some time ago returned to this her native country. With an answer thereto by a person to whom it was communicated [Governor William Burnett, of Massachusetts]. (Boston, 1729) [3]. The author of the letter which forms a part of this publication was Fr. François Seguenot, a Sulpician priest of Montreal. The incident alluded to is thus related by Dr. Shea:

"During the border wars with Canada, New England prisoners taken to Canada in some cases became Catholics and not infrequently remained there. Those who returned to New England, however, almost always relapsed. Such was the case of Christine Otis, who was brought up as a Catholic in Canada by her convert mother and married there. Left a widow, she was won by Captain Thomas Baker of Massachusetts, a commissioner sent to obtain a release of prisoners in that colony. Returning with him she became his wife, leaving her mother and a daughter in Canada. The Rev. Francis Seguenot, one of the Sulpitian priests at Montreal, hearing that she had renounced the faith, addressed a long letter to her in June, 1727, urging her to repent and return. This letter seems to have attracted no little attention, as a translation was printed in Boston in 1729, with a reply which is ascribed to Governor Burnett. Seguenot's argument was undoubtedly the first argument on the Catholic side which had ever issued from the press of New England."⁶

We come now to several publications written by Fénelon, the illustrious Archbishop of Cambrai. His *Dissertation on pure love* was printed at Philadelphia in 1738, being a reprint of the London edition [4]; and another issue of the book was printed at Saur's press in Germantown in 1750 [10]. Fénelon's *Uncertainty of a deathbed repentance* was printed by the same press in 1760 [18] and again in 1766 [22]. The reason for the publication by Protestants of these books written by a Catholic prelate is doubtless to be sought for in Fénelon's reputation among Protestants as being a defender of the doctrines of Madame Guyon, whose ideas had spread beyond the confines of France, especially after her death, and were long in favor among certain Protestant bodies in Germany, Switzerland, England and America.⁷

The Papist's curses, or, A vindication of the Roman Catholicicks, etc. (Philadelphia, 1743) may have been written by a Catholic, to judge from the phraseology of the title [5]. As the middle of the

⁶ SHEA, *Cath. Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 397-398.

⁷ *Cath. Enycl.*, Vol. vii, p. 94.

eighteenth century was not a time when writers prided themselves—as occasionally happens now—upon their freedom from bigotry, a “vindication” of Catholics by any one not of that faith seems improbable. The next year St. Bernard’s *Hymn to Jesus* was printed at Boston [6].

A severe earthquake occurred at Lima, Peru, in 1746, an account of which was drawn up and printed in Spanish by order of the Viceroy. An English translation of this narrative was printed by Benjamin Franklin at his press in Philadelphia in 1749 entitled: *A true and particular relation of the dreadful earthquake which happened at Lima . . . in 1746* [9]. The author was Father Pedro Lozano, a Jesuit, long resident in South America. Another edition of the *Relation of the dreadful earthquake* was printed at Boston in 1750 [13].

In 1751 Pope Benedict XIV renewed the prohibitions of Clement XII against the Freemasons. In the same year there appeared at New York: *A true translation of the Spanish bulls* [14]. One may not say for sure, without seeing the book, whether the “bulls” mentioned in this title are those issued against Freemasonry; but the coincidence of date is significant. *Extracts of several treatises against stage plays* written by Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, was printed in Philadelphia in 1754 [15]. Puritan condemnation of the drama in any form would suffice to insure considerable sale for such a book in parts of New England, if not in the other colonies. The fact that the author was a French nobleman and presumably a Catholic would be overlooked or ignored in a work appealing to popular prejudice in a practical matter such as this was at that time.

The subject of the next book to come to our notice may need a work of introduction: *Daily conversation with God exemplify’d in the holy life of Armelle Nicolas . . .*, by Jeanne de la Nativité, published at Germantown, 1754 [16]. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, in an article upon Armella Nicolas, signed by Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S.J., of St. Louis University, gives the following account of her.

“‘La bonne Armelle,’ a saintly French serving-maid held in high veneration among the people, though never canonized by the Church, b. at Campenéc in Brittany, 9 September, 1606, of poor peasants, George Nicolas and Francisca Néant; d. 24 October, 1671. Her early

years were spent in the pious, simple life of the hard-working country folk. When she was twenty-two years of age her parents wished her to marry, but she chose rather to enter service in the neighboring town of Ploërmel, where she found more opportunity for her pious works and for satisfying her spiritual needs. After a few years she went to the larger town of Vannes, where she served in several families, and for a year and a half was portress at the Ursuline monastery. She here formed a special friendship with a certain sister, Jeanne de la Nativité, to whom she told from time to time many details of her spiritual life, and who noted down these communications and afterwards wrote the life of Armella, who could herself neither read nor write. Even the lowly work at the convent did not satisfy her craving for toil and humiliation, and she returned to one of her former employers, where she remained to the end of her life. To her severe trials and temptations she added many works of penance and was rewarded by the growth of her inner life and her intimate union with God. . . . Many recommended themselves to her prayers and her deathbed was surrounded by a great number of persons who held her in special veneration. Her heart was preserved in the Jesuit Church and her body was buried in the church of the Ursulines. Near her grave was erected a tablet to *La bonne Armelle*. Her tomb is a place of pilgrimage. Armella has been claimed, but without good grounds, as an exponent of Quietism. If some of her expressions seem tinged with Quietist thought, it is because the controversy which cleared and defined many notions concerning Quietism had not yet arisen. On the other hand, her simple, laborious life and practical piety make any such aberrations very unlikely."

So we have in this work another supposed contribution to Quietism, which seems to have been quite popular in the Colonies at this time. Another edition was published at Wilmington, 1762 [21]; and again at Philadelphia in 1767 [23]. *The blessed effects of a holy life and daily conversation with God*, by Jeanne, was issued at Philadelphia in 1780 [41].

The Lady's preceptor, adapted from a French work by Abbé d'Ancourt, bears the imprint New York, 1759 [17]; the next year Pope's *Essay on man* was printed for the first time in the Colonies, at Philadelphia [19]. Twenty years elapsed, however, before another edition was called for, when *An essay on man, in four epistles: together with the notes* appeared at Newbury, 1780 [42] and the same at Providence in the same year [43]. Racine seems not to have been much admired in the Colonies, only one edition of one of his dramas being printed in the period before

* *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xi, p. 67.

1784; namely: *The distressed mother, a tragedy* (New York, 1761) [20]. A curious work, printed in Philadelphia in 1767, is the following: *A translation of a passage from the letters of Julius, an ancient Italian missionary residing in China, of the manner there of draining and flooding their rice and grass lands along the sides of tide rivers.* [24]

In 1769, we find what is presumably the first American reference to the Irish as a race. In that year Mr. Thomas Randall printed at New York a broadside beginning: *Whereas a report prevails . . . that Mr. Thomas Smith . . . did reflect on the Irish people . . .* [25]. Whether the author was a Catholic or not is uncertain; but inasmuch as the religion of the Irish has always furnished a favorite means of slandering them, it is possible that this challenge is a rebuttal of some anti-Catholic attack, and is for that reason to be deemed of Catholic authorship. Another broadside headed, *The Irishmen's petition*, written by Lawrence Sweeney, was printed at New York in 1769 [26]. For similar reasons as above, we have ventured to assign Catholic authorship to this work also.

The first proposal to publish a book in this country intended obviously and unquestionably for Catholic readers is contained in a circular issued in 1774 by Robert Bell, a publisher of Philadelphia, calling for subscriptions to Bishop Challoner's *The Catholic Christian instructed in the Sacraments*.^h The proposal apparently met with poor response, for we find no further allusion to the book. But in the same year Bishop Challoner's *Garden of the soul*, reprinted from the seventh London edition, was issued by Joseph Cruikshank, a Quaker publisher of Philadelphia [29]. This was the first Catholic prayer-book issued in the United States unless *A Manual of Catholic prayers* [28] preceded it in the same year. This is an interesting question which can be settled perhaps by an examination of the files of contemporary numbers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, to which the writer has not access at present. Another edition of the *Manual* appeared in 1778 [35].

The Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick printed, presumably for the use of their own members, *The fundamental laws, statutes and constitutions of the ancient and benevolent order of the Friendly*

^h EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 13142.

Brothers of St. Patrick (Boston, 1774) [30]. An *Appendix* to this work was printed in Boston in 1775 [32].

The story of Abelard, whether on account of his romantic relations to Héloïse or his constant and varied conflict with ecclesiastical authority, has not failed to interest every age since his own, and an edition of *The letters of Abelard and H'loïse* was likely to secure readers, of whatever religious convictions. We are not surprised to find, therefore, published at Philadelphia in 1775: *Letters of Abelard and Héloïse. To which is prefixed a particular account of their lives, amours and misfortunes. By the late John Hughes, Esq. To which is now first added the poem of Eloisa to Abelard by Mr. [Alexander] Pope* [31]. No further edition is recorded.

Maxims and moral reflections. By the Duke de La Rochefoucault, according to the new edition revised and improved at London in 1775, was printed at Philadelphia in 1778 [34].

In 1775, M. Gérard was sent by Louis XVI as Minister Plenipotentiary of France to the United States. In June of that year the French fleet arrived off the coast of Virginia, bringing much-needed aid to the struggling Colonies. Interest in things French must have been greatly stimulated by the new French alliance. The credentials of the French minister were printed at Lancaster in 1778 [33] and again in 1779 [39]. The French commander, Count D'Estaing, issued in 1779 a *Declaration* addressed in the name of the King to all Frenchmen already settled in North America [38]; the chaplain of Minister Gérard, Fr. Seraphin Bandot, a Recollect, delivered a Fourth of July address in the Catholic Church (St. Mary's) in Philadelphia [36]. The presence at mass of French officers of the Forces gave, no doubt, to Catholicity in the Colony a prestige that it had not previously possessed. In 1780, a printed invitation was issued in French by the French Minister to assist at a solemn *Te Deum* to be chanted on the Fourth of July at high noon in the new Catholic chapel in Philadelphia [40]. Patriotism was thus dignified and consecrated by Catholic ceremonial.

A printing press had been brought over on board the French fleet, which lay in the harbor of Newport, Rhode Island, from July, 1780, till March, 1781; it was used for printing notices and orders. According to a contemporary account, this press was

set up on shore at 641 Water Street, and other printed matter was issued there.⁴ A work entitled *Voyage de Newport à Philadelphia, Albany, &c.* by the Marquis de Chastellux was printed on board the French fleet, but the author was a disciple of Voltaire.⁵ Another product of this naval printing press was: *Calendrier français pour l'année commune 1781* [44]. This was the first Catholic *Almanac* printed in the United States. It contains astronomical facts, a list of the officers of the fleet and of the army under the Count de Rochambeau, and events of the Revolution.

The first publication of Charles Carroll, the foremost Catholic of Colonial days, to be printed in America was: *A letter from Charles Carroll, senior, to the reader. With his petition to the General Assembly of Maryland; his speech in support of it; and the resolution of the House of Delegates thereon* [37]. (Annapolis, 1779.) James Ryan's *A Pedantic Pedagogue* was printed at Baltimore in 1779; but we cannot infer from the name that the author was a Catholic, although he may have been. *The select colloquies of Erasmus, with an English translation as literal as possible*, by John Clarke, appeared at Philadelphia, 1782 [45]. The book is designed for the use of beginners in the Latin tongue, as we are told on the title page, and is the eighteenth edition; but the previous editions were not printed in the Colonies. Erasmus probably had the reputation at that time of being a Reformer, in spite of his criticisms of Luther; but the religious faith of the author was of less importance in this connection than the suitability of his "colloquies" for use by the student of Latin.

One of the chaplains of the French army operating in America at this time was the Abbé Claude C. Robin. Apparently he saw considerable of the country; for, in 1783, appeared *New travels through North America: In a series of letters. . . Translated from the original of the Abbé Robin.*" Philadelphia, 1783 [47]. The translation, made by Philip Freneau, was reprinted at Boston, 1784, and was also issued serially in *The Time-piece and Literary Companion* for 1797.⁶ This closes the series of Colonial im-

⁴CHAPIN, H. M. *Calendrier français pour l'année 1781 and the printing press of the French fleet in American waters during the Revolutionary war.* (Providence, 1914.)

⁵LAROUSSE: *Grand dict.*, Vol. 3, p. 1063.

⁶EVANS, *op. cit.*, No. 18167.

prints of books written by Catholic authors, as far as we have been able to trace them.

The sources of information upon our field are only general. No writer apparently has treated *ex professo* of works of Catholic authorship printed in the American Colonies. Father Finotti, in the introduction to his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* alludes cursorily to the writings of the Colonial period. The general sources are bibliographical and historical: bibliographies of books printed in the Colonies; histories of the Catholic Church and of Catholics in America before the recognition of the United States of America. The monumental work of Charles Evans: *American Bibliography. A chronological dictionary of all books, pamphlets and periodical publications printed in the United States of America from . . . 1639 down to . . . 1820* (Chicago, 1903-), of which eight volumes have already appeared, covering the period 1639 to 1792, is the exhaustive and definitive bibliography of early American books. No one, save booksellers and bibliophiles in search of the *rarissima* of their trade, need go beyond Evans. For the purpose of our research his work has been not only indispensable but sufficient and unique; every one of the 18,317 titles of books printed in America before 1784 has been scanned for possible Catholic authorship. If titles have been overlooked which should appear in our list, the fault lies in the difficulty of always recognizing Catholic authorship, not in omissions by Evans. It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge here the great obligation which I owe to Mr. Evans for the loan of his valuable work during the progress of my research and for personal aid in solving points of difficulty.

One historical source that has proven of much assistance has been Dr. John Gilmary Shea: *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York, 1886). Other historical works have been examined, such as: Dr. Justin Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884-89, 8 v.), especially the volumes dealing with Colonial discovery and settlement; Rev. Zepherin Engelhardt, O.S.F., *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1908-15, 4 v.); and Hubert H. Bancroft's works, especially the volumes dealing with California, Arizona, New Mexico, and the Northwest. Many historical works dealing with the Colonial period yield nothing pertinent

for the purpose of our inquiry, for the reason that the books mentioned were not *printed* in America. Authority for the Catholicity of authors has been, in nearly every case, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907-14), to which we are also indebted for additional information of the highest importance. Without the aid of Evans' *American Bibliography* and the *Catholic Encyclopedia* the preparation of the present paper would have been, if not impossible, extremely arduous, and the results would have been meagre. The omission of the name of a prominent man from the pages of the *Encyclopedia* has been taken as evidence that he was not a Catholic. Instances are the Marquis de Chastellux and the Marquis de Lafayette.

The writer presents this tentative and pioneer essay with many misgivings. In examining many thousand titles without opportunity of examining all the books mentioned, and without undertaking, for obvious reasons, to test in every case the possibility of unknown authors being Catholics, there is manifold liability for omission of names which should appear in the list. But possibly the publication of this preliminary record may be the means of bringing to light other names.

LIST OF WORKS BY CATHOLIC AUTHORS PRINTED IN AMERICA BEFORE 1784.

1. THOMAS A KEMPIS, 1380-1471,

The imitation of Christ. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green, 1669.

The Record of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, under date of 19 May, 1669, has the following minute: "The Court, being informed that there is now in the presse, reprinting, a booke, tit Imitacons of Christ, or to yt purpose, written by Thomas a Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, doe comend it to the licensers of the press, the more full revisall thereof, & that in the meane tyme there be no further progresse in that worke." EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. i, No. 114. EVANS enters this title under the year 1667; but the Court record is dated 1669.

2. JAMES II, KING OF ENGLAND, 1633-1701.

Letter to the Pope [requesting assistance in putting down the Revolution]. With animadversions on the same . . . Boston: Printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1696. Pp. 15. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. i, No. 742.

3. SEGUENOT, FR. FRANÇOIS.

A letter from a Romish priest in Canada, to one [Mrs. Christina Baker], who was taken captive in her infancy and instructed in the Romish faith, but some time ago returned to this her native country. With an answer thereto, by a person to whom it was communicated [Governor William Burnett, of Massachusetts]. Boston: Printed for D. Henchman, 1729. Pp. (2), ii, 26. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. i, No. 3216. Dr. Shea gives an account of this incident and states that the author was a Sulpician priest at Montreal. SHEA, *Cath. Church in Colonial Days*, Vol. 1, pp. 397-398. Copies are in the British Museum Library and in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library.

4. FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE, 1651-1715.

The Archbishop of Cambray's Dissertation on pure love, with an account of the life and writings of the lady for whose sake the archbishop was banished from court. And the grievous persecutions she suffer'd in France for her religion. Also two letters in French and English, written by one of the lady's maids, during her confinement in the castle of Vicennes, where she was a prisoner eight years: one of the letters was writ with a bit of stick instead of a pen, and soot instead of ink, to her brother; the other to a clergyman. Together with an apologetic preface containing divers letters of the Archbishop of Cambray . . . also divers letters of the lady . . . London: Printed, and reprinted by Andrew Bradford at the Sign of the Bible, in Front Street, Philadelphia, 1738. Pp. xcvi, 142+. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 4246. The "Lady" referred to is, of course, Mme. Guyon, the Quietist.

5. PAPIST'S curses.

The Papist's curses, or, A vindication of the Roman Catholicks, etc. [Philadelphia? Sold by Andrew Farrel.] 1743. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 5266. Written by a Catholic?

6. BERNARD DE CLAIRVAUX, 1091-1153.

Hymn to Jesus. Boston: 1744. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 5335. Copy in the Boston Athenaeum Library.

7. THOMAS A KEMPIS, 1380-1471.

The Christian pattern, or, The imitation of Jesus Christ, being an abridgment of the works of Thomas à Kempis. By a female hand. London, printed 1744. Germantown: Reprinted by Christopher Sowr. 1749. Pp. (2), 278. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6342. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

8. THOMAS A KEMPIS, 1380-1471.

Vier Bücher von der Nachfolge Christi. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1749. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6343. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

9. LOZANO, FR. PEDRO, S.J., 1697-1759.

A true and particular relation of the dreadful earthquake, which happen'd at Lima, the capital of Peru, and the neighbouring port of Callao,

on the 28th of October, 1746. With an account likewise of everything material that passed there afterwards to the end of November following. Published at Lima by command of the Viceroy, and translated from the original Spanish by a gentleman who resided many years in those countries. London printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted and sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall at the New Printing-Office near the Market, 1749. Pp. 52. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6348. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

10. FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE, 1651-1715.

The Archbishop of Cambray's Dissertation on pure love . . . London: Printed, and re-printed by Christophor Sowr at Germantown, 1750. Pp. xcvi, 120. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6498. Another edition of No. 4. Copies in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library and New York Public Library.

11. THOMAS A KEMPIS, 1380-1471.

Der kleine Kempis, oder, Kurtze Sprüche und Gebätlein, aus denen meistens unbekannten Wercklein des Thomae à Kempis zusammen getragen zur Erbauung der kleinen. Vierte und vermehrte Edition. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1750. Pp. 162. 1 pl. 24mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6523.

12. THOMAS A KEMPIS, 1380-1471.

Der kleine Kempis. . . . Vierte und vermehrte Auflage. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1750. Pp. 162. 1 pl. 24mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 6698. Identical with No. 11 save for the word "Auflage" instead of "Edition." The discrepancy is reproduced by the entries in Hildeburn: *Press in Penn.* (Phila., 1885) I, p. 255, and in Seidensticker: *German printing in Amer.* (Phila., 1893), p. 36. Copies in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, and New York Public Library.

13. LOZANO, FR. PEDRO, S.J., 1697-1759.

A true and particular relation of the dreadful earthquake which hap-
pen'd at Lima . . . Boston: Printed and sold by D. Fowle in Queen Street,
[1750.] Pp. 8. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6531. For
full title, see No. 9.

14. CATHOLIC CHURCH. *Pope.*

A true translation of the Spanish bulls, or, A form of the Pope's
absolution. Translated by Garrat Noel. New York: Printed by
James Parker: Sold at the house of Benjamin Leigh, school-master,
near the Long-Bridge, and at the house of Capt. George Edmonds, the
sign of the Bunch of Grapes near the Widow Rutgers, 1751. EVANS,
Amer. Bibliog., Vol. iii, No. 6775.

15. CONTI, ARMAND DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE, 1629-1666.

Extracts of several treatises wrote by the Prince of Conti, with the
sentiments of the Fathers and some of the decrees of the councils con-
cerning stage plays. . . . Philadelphia: Printed by William Bradford, at
the sign of the Bible in Second Street. 1754. Pp. 47, (i). 8vo.

EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 7175. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.

16. JEANNE DE LA NATIVITÉ.

Daily conversation with God exemplify'd in the holy life of Armelle Nicolas, a poor ignorant country maid in France; commonly known by the name of the good Armelle, deceas'd at Bretagne in the year 1671. Done out of French. . . . Germantown: Printed by Christopher Sower Junior, 1754. Pp. 16. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 7218.

17. ANCOURT, D', abbé.

The lady's preceptor. Or, A letter to a young lady of distinction upon politeness. Taken from the French of the Abbé d'Ancourt and adapted to the religion, custom and manners of the English nation. By a gentleman of Cambridge. Five lines from Milton. New-York: Printed and sold by Samuel Parker at the New-Printing-Office in Beaver-Street, 1759. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 8296.

18. FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE, 1651-1715.

The uncertainty of a deathbed repentance, illustrated under the character of Penitens. [Germantown: Printed by Christopher Sower, 1760.] Pp. 16. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 8597. Copy in the Library Company of Philadelphia Library.

19. POPE, ALEXANDER, 1688-1744.

An essay on man. Enlarged and improved by the author. With notes by William Warberton, M.A. London printed. Philadelphia: Re-printed and sold by W. Dunlap, at the Newest-Printing-Office, in Market-Street, 1760. Pp. 68, 1 pl. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 8718.

20. RACINE, JEAN, 1639-1699.

The distrest mother: A tragedy. Translated by A. Philips from the Andromaque of Racine. New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaime, 1761. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 8986.

21. JEANNE DE LA NATIVITÉ.

Daily conversation with God, exemplify'd in the holy life of Armelle Nicholas, a poor ignorant country maid in France, commonly known by the name of Good Armelle; who departed this life, at Bretagne, in the year 1671. Translated from the French. . . . Wilmington: Printed by James Adams, in Market-Street, 1762. Pp. 16. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 9149. Copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.

22. FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE, 1651-1715.

The uncertainty of a death-bed repentance, illustrated under the character of Penitens. Germantown: Printed by Christoph Saur, 1766. Pp. 16. 8vo. EVANS: *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 10296.

23. JEANNE DE LA NATIVITÉ.

Daily conversation with God, exemplified in the holy life of Armelle Nicholas, a poor ignorant country maid in France, commonly known by the name of the Good Armelle, deceas'd in Bretagne in the year

1671. Done out of French. . . . London printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted by Henry Miller, in Second-Street, 1767. Pp. 16. 16mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 10659. Copy in New York Public Library.
24. JULIUS.
A translation of a passage from the letters of Julius, an antient Italian missionary, residing in China, of the manner there of draining and flooding their rice and grass lands along the sides of tide rivers. Philadelphia: Printed by William Goddard, 1767. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 10660.
25. RANDALL, THOMAS.
Whereas a report prevails in this city, that Mr. Thomas Smith, during the last election, did reflect on the Irish people, by saying that they came into this country (!) floating upon straws. . . . [Signed] Thomas Randall, William Browne. New-York, January 23, 1769. [New York: 1769.] Broadside. 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 11433. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia Library.
26. SWEENEY, LAWRENCE.
The Irishmen's petition, to the honourable C-MM-SSI-N-RS of Excise &C. . . . [Signed] Patrick O'Conner, Blaney O'Bryan, Carney Macguire, Lawrence Sweeney. [Printed by desire. New York: 1769.] Broadside. 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 11485. Copy in the Library of Congress.
27. THOMAS A KEMPIS, 1380-1471.
Der kleine Kempis; oder, Kurze Sprüche und Gebätlein, aus denen meistens unbekannten Werklein des Thomas à Kempis zusammen getragen zur Erbauung der Kleinen. Fünfte und vermehrte Auflage. Germantown, gedruckt u. zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1773. Pp. (10), 155. Plate. 16mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 12824. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.
28. CATHOLIC CHURCH.
A manual of Catholic prayers. [Three lines.] Philadelphia: Printed for the Subscribers, by Robert Bell, Bookseller in Third-Street, 1774. Pp. 272+. Plate. 12mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. 5, No. 13588. Copy in Library of Georgetown University, D. C.
29. CHALLONER, RICHARD, bp., 1691-1781.
The garden of the soul; or, A manual of spiritual exercises and instructions for Christians, who (living in the world) aspire to devotion. The seventh edition, corrected. London, printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted, by Joseph Cruikshank, in Market-Street, between Second and Third Streets, [1774.] Pp. 364. 24mo. The first Catholic prayer-book printed in English in America, unless No. 28 preceded it in the same year. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 13188. Finotti: *Bibliog. Cath. Amer.*, pp. 15-16.
30. FRIENDLY BROTHERS OF ST. PATRICK.
The fundamental laws, statutes, and constitutions of the ancient

and most benevolent order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. [Nine lines of Latin from] Cicero. Boston: Printed by William M'Alpine, in Marlborough-Street, 1774. Pp. 48. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 13284. Copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass.

31. ABAILARD, PIERRE, 1079-1142.

Letters of Abelard and Heloise. To which is prefix'd a particular account of their lives, amours and misfortunes. By the late John Hughes, Esq. To which is now first added the poem of Eloisa to Abelard. By Mr. Pope. Philadelphia: Printed for Samuel Delap, 1775. Pp. 124. Plate. 12mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 13787. Copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass.

32. FRIENDLY BROTHERS OF ST. PATRICK.

An appendix to the fundamental laws, statutes, and constitutions, of the ancient and most benevolent order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. Boston: In New-England, Printed in the year 1775. Pp. 47. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 14048. Copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass.

33. LOUIS XVI, KING OF FRANCE, 1754-1793.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all who shall see these presents, greeting. Credentials of C. A. Gerard, as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. Lancaster: Printed by Francis Bailey, 1778. Pp. (2). 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 15798. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia.

34. LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, FRANÇOIS, DUC DE, PRINCE DE MARSILLAC, 1613-1680.

Maxims and moral reflections. By the Duke de la Rochefoucault. Printed according to the new edition, revised and improved at London, in 1775. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Robert Bell, next door to St. Paul's Church, in Third-Street, 1778. Pp. 142 (2). 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 15864. Copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

35. CATHOLIC CHURCH.

A manual of Catholic prayers, and other Christian devotions for the use of those Roman Catholics who ardently aspire after salvation. Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Bell, 1778. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 16058.

36. BANDOT, SERAPHIN.

Discours prononcé le 4 Juillet, jour de l'anniversaire de l'Indépendance, dans l'Eglise Catholique, par le Reverend Père Seraphin Bandot, Recollet, aumônier de son Excellence Mr. Gerard, ministre Plénipotentiaire de France auprès des Etats Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A Philadelphie, de l'Imprimerie de Steiner & Cist, [1779.] Broadside fol. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16198.

37. CARROLL, CHARLES, 1702-1782.

A letter from Charles Carroll, senior, to the reader. With his petition to the General Assembly of Maryland; his speech in support of it;

and the resolution of the House of Delegates thereon. [Seven lines of quotations.] Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green, 1779. Pp. (16). 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16216. Copy in the Library of Congress.

38. ESTAING, CHARLES HECTOR THEODAT, COMTE D', 1729-1794.

Déclaration adressée au nom du roi à tous les anciens François de l'Amérique Septentrionale. [Colophon:] A Philadelphie, de l'Imprimerie de François Bailey, Rue du Marché, [1779.] Pp. 3, (1). fol. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16265. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia Library.

39. LOUIS XVI, KING OF FRANCE, 1754-1793.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all who shall see these presents, greetings. [Credentials of C. A. Gerard, as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. Lancaster: Printed by Francis Bailey, 1779.] Pp. (2). 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16279. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia Library.

40. PHILADELPHIA. CATHOLIC CHAPEL.

Vous êtes prié de la part du Ministre Plenipotentiaire de France d'assister au Te Deum, qu'il sera chanter Dimanche 4 de ce mois, à midi dans la Chapelle Catholique neuve pour celebrer l'anniversaire de l'indépendance. . . . [Colophon:] A Philadelphia, de l'imprimerie de François Bailey, Rue du Marché, [1779.] Broadside. 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16475. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia.

41. JEANNE DE LA NATIVITÉ.

The blessed effects of a holy life and daily conversation with God, exemplified in a short extract of the life of Armelle Nicolas, a poor ignorant country maid. [Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Cruikshank, 1780.] Pp. 12. 12mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16811.

42. POPE, ALEXANDER, 1688-1744.

An essay on man, in four epistles: Together with the notes. . . . Newbury: Printed by John Mycall, for N. Coverly of Boston, 1780. Pp. 55. 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16955. Copy in the Library of Congress.

43. POPE, ALEXANDER, 1688-1744.

An essay on man, in four epistles. Together with the notes. Providence: Printed by Bennett Wheeler, 1780. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16956.

44. CALENDRIER FRANÇAIS.

Calendrier français pour l'année commune, 1781. Contenant: Le calcul ordinaire du lever & du coucher du soleil, de la lune & leur déclinaison. Un état des officiers de l'escadre, & des principaux de l'armée aux ordres de M. le Comte de Rochambeau. Les époques les plus intéressantes de la guerre présente, avec les routes du continent. à Newport, de l'Imprimerie royale de l'escadre, près le Parc de la marine. 125 x 81 mm. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 17110. Chapin, Howard Millar, *Calendrier français*. . . . (Providence, 1914). The first

Catholic almanac printed in the United States. Copy in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Providence.

45. ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS, 1465-1536.

Erasmi Colloquia selecta; or, The select Colloquies of Erasmus. With an English translation, as literal as possible. Designed for the use of beginners in the Latin tongue. The eighteenth edition, by John Clarke, author of the Essays upon Education and Study. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Joseph Crukshank, in Market-Street, between Second and Third-Streets, 1782. Pp. v, 222. 12mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 17529.

46. THOMAS A KEMPIS, 1380-1471.

Of the imitation of Christ: In three books. Translated from the Latin of Thomas à Kempis. By John Payne. London, printed. Philadelphia: Re-printed and sold by Joseph Crukshank, in Market-Street, between Second and Third-Streets, 1783. Pp. 44, 211. 12mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 17992. Copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, and in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.

47. ROBIN, CLAUDE C., L'ABBÉ.

New travels through North-America: In a series of letters; exhibiting: The history of the victorious campaign of the allied armies, under his excellency General Washington, and the Count de Rochambeau, in the year 1781. Interspersed with political, and philosophical observations, upon the genius, temper, and customs of the Americans; also, narrations of the capture of General Burgoyne and Lord Cornwallis, with their armies; and a variety of interesting particulars, which occurred in the course of the war in America. Translated from the original of the Abbé Robin, one of the chaplains to the French army in America. [Six lines from] Busiris, by Young. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Robert Bell, in Third-Street, 1783. Price two-thirds of a dollar. Pp. 112. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 18167. Copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Library of Congress, New York Historical Society Library, and John Carter Brown Library, Providence. Philip Freneau's translation was reprinted in Boston in 1784; and also issued serially in *The Time-piece and Literary Companion* for 1797.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL, A.B. (Harvard),
The Newberry Library, Chicago.

MISCELLANY

CATHOLIC CHURCH ANNALS OF KANSAS CITY (1800-1857)¹

Barnes, in his *Commonwealth of Missouri*, tells us that "the earliest historical mention of the present site of Kansas City is found in the memoirs of Daniel Boone Junior (Daniel Morgan Boone), who reached the Great Bend of the Missouri River as early as the close of the eighteenth century, and lies buried in the old Westport graveyard with no mark over his resting place."²

For twelve years, Daniel Morgan Boone, the third son of Daniel Boone the pioneer, spent his summers in St. Louis, and his winters in hunting and trapping beaver on the Big Blue River and the Little Blue River, in what is now Jackson County, Mo., which he declared to be the best beaver country he had ever known. Here, where Kansas City now stands, "it was that Lewis and Clark halted for a week's rest in 1804, on their famous expedition."³ "Merriweather Lewis and William Clark, under orders from President Jefferson, ascended the Missouri to its sources, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the head waters of the Columbia River, and floated down that river to the Pacific Ocean, 1804, 1806." Through Kansas City's site, the gateway to the plains, Lieutenant Pike, afterwards Brigadier General Pike, an officer in the service of the United States, passed at the head of his company, in 1805, on an exploring expedition to the sources of the Kansas, Arkansas, Platte, and Pierre Jaune Rivers. Pike's Peak, which he discovered in 1806, is named after him. (Brigadier General Pike was killed in Canada, in the war of 1812.)

The first or earliest historic mention of the word "Kansas," is found in the Journal records of the Lewis and Clark expedition, where, under date of June 4, 1804, in describing their ascent of the Missouri River, it is recorded: "We encamped at the upper point of the mouth of the river Kansas." Kansas City derives its name from its proximity to the river Kansas, and the river Kansas takes its name from the Kansas tribe of Indians who formerly owned and occupied the country watered by the Kansas River. The old settlers and pioneers spelled and pronounced the word variously, *Konseas*, *Cances*, *Kons*, *Kanzan*, *Kaw*, which have merged by common usage into the word *Kansas*. By the mouth of the *Kaw* and the *Nodawa*, there came up, in 1810, from St. Louis and Fort Osage, the flotilla of the American Fur Company, organized by John Jacob

¹ In the Diocesan Archives of Kansas City are preserved some valuable and interesting articles from the pen of the late Bishop of Kansas City, Right Rev. John Joseph Hogan, referring to the early history of the place now known as Kansas City, Mo. The excerpts given in this paper present in chronological order those main facts and notable events which mark the early days of that city. The passages selected give also a fair idea of the activities of the pioneer priests who labored in this section of Missouri, and of the many difficulties they encountered.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 747-748.

³ BARNES, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 747.

Astor of New York. This famous expedition, under the command of William Price Hunt of Trenton, N. J., left Montreal, Canada, early in 1810, by way of Mackinaw, Green Bay, the Fox, Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, and reached St. Louis September 3, 1810. Having set out from St. Louis October 21, 1810, they ascended the Missouri River (by mouth of the *Kaw* and the *Nodawa*) to its sources, passed over the summits of the Rocky Mountains, and discovered the sources of the Columbia River down to the Pacific Ocean, which they reached on February 15, 1812.

Pierre Liquest Laclede of the firm "Laclede, Maxent & Co.," otherwise called the "Louisiana Fur Company," left New Orleans on August 3, 1763, to ascend the Mississippi River in search of a location for a trading post, which he established the following year, and named it *St. Louis* after St. Louis, King of France. In the expedition with Pierre Liquest Laclede were two adventurous youths—Auguste Chouteau, 14 years of age, and his younger brother, Pierre Chouteau, both recently arrived from France. Auguste Chouteau was from the beginning Pierre Liquest Laclede's favorite and trusted friend. Auguste Chouteau married a young woman from New Orleans in her sixteenth year, by name Marie-Therese, said to be the first white woman who set foot on Missouri soil. Mrs. Marie-Therese Chouteau was afterwards better known as Madame Chouteau. The issue of this marriage was one child. Pierre Chouteau likewise married in his early days, and had eight sons and one daughter. The sons' names were Pierre, Charles, François, Cyprian, Auguste, Louis, Pharamond, and Frederick. François, the third son, called also Francis Gesso, married, in 1819, Miss Berenice Menard of Kaskaskia, Ill. She was the daughter of Col. Pierre Menard, first (Territorial) Governor of Illinois, and was born in 1801.

Francis Gesso Chouteau and his wife in 1819 voyaged in a canoe or boat called a *piroque*, rowed or propelled by oars or poles, from St. Louis to the Black Snake Hills (where afterwards was built the city of St. Joseph) on the Upper Missouri River, and established there a western agency of the American Fur Company of New York. The Black Snake Hills were not considered suitable for the purpose of the proposed agency, and Gesso Chouteau and his wife reëmbarked on the *piroque*, sailing down stream with the current, and disembarked probably at the mouth of the Kansas River, to make an examination of the place, with the view of selecting it for his agency which he soon afterwards established there. Continuing his voyage down stream in company with his wife to his home at St. Louis, he sent Louis Berthollet, commonly called Grand Louis, with his wife Mrs. Berthollet, and stepson Louis Prem, and some employes to ascend the Missouri River, in order to select a location for the proposed trading post at the Indian Trail, south of the Randolph Bluffs. They were to build some houses for workmen preparatory to the erection of more permanent buildings. Louis Berthollet, with his wife and stepson and employes, journeyed by water in a bateau, and on arriving, they commenced building some log cabins on the south side of the Missouri River, opposite the Randolph Bluffs. But the Indians put a stop to their work and ordered them off the lands. He then moved to the north side of the river and erected a camp or temporary shelter, where he remained awaiting the arrival of Mr. Chouteau.

In 1822, Francis Gesso Chouteau, in three keel boats, with his family and thirty-five employes, arrived from St. Louis and commenced the work of building houses for the trading post. He first obtained the consent of the Indians to the proposed establishment, which was to be erected on the south side of the Missouri River near the place now known as Randolph Point. Mrs. Berenice Chouteau is considered the first white woman who set foot on the place where Kansas City now stands. After Mrs. Chouteau came Mrs. Berthollet, the second white woman, with her family and relatives. At this time steamboat navigation had begun in the Lower Missouri, the first steamboat trip, from St. Louis to the mouth of the Chariton River, being made in 1819.

On March 2, 1821, by resolution of Congress, Missouri was admitted into the Union, and on August 10, 1821, James Monroe, President of the United States, issued his proclamation declaring that Missouri had become a State of the American Union. At this time (1821) the only white residents of the place now known as Kansas City were Frenchmen, trappers, hunters and traders, and these were all Catholics.

When Missouri was admitted into the Union, the title of the Kansas Osages and other tribes of Indians to a large tract of land lying immediately south of the Missouri River on the western confines of the State, in which tract Kansas City is situated, was vested in the Indians themselves, not in severalty but in tribal ownership, the right of eminent domain resting with the Federal Government. By a treaty dated June 3, 1825, made at Fort Osage, with the Indian Tribes who owned these lands, the United States came into possession of this tract of country, and immediately opened it for purchase and settlement. Hundreds of families, who had been on the borders awaiting the day of admission to these lands, soon rushed in and began selecting sites for their future homesteads, thus adding another element to the population already on the ground and engaged in trading with the Fur Companies. By an act of the Missouri Legislature dated February 16, 1825, Jackson County was established and its limits defined by metes and bounds. The Jackson County Court organized for business on December 15, 1826. In 1826, a great flood in the Missouri River submerged Francis Gesso Chouteau's trading post which had been built in 1822 opposite the Randolph Bluffs. This caused the removal of the trading post to a point farther up the river, at or near the place now known as the foot of Harrison Street. This new trading post comprised several log houses, into which Chouteau moved his family, workmen, and goods. At this time others were located near this Chouteau hamlet, namely, Daniel Morgan Boone, son of the famous pioneer; Gabriel Philibert, blacksmith by government appointment to the Indians; and Benito Vasquez, sub-agent for the Indians.

After the subsidence of the great flood of 1826, in the Missouri River, Gabriel Prudhomme, a French Canadian, bought some of the Chouteau property at the foot of Harrison Street, and occupied 256 acres of land at the place afterwards known as "Westport Landing" which subsequently became the First or "Old Town Site," called then the "Town of Kansas," and now "Kansas City." In 1830 a surveying party sent out by the Government, came from the East, through Independence, crossed to the west of the Big Blue River, thence north-

west over the Kaw or Kansas River, going further northwest, where they surveyed and established eleven sections of land for a large military reservation, afterward to be known as "Fort Leavenworth." In 1831, a number of French Canadians, with Indian wives and half-breed children, eight or more families in all, came down the Missouri River from the upper sources in the Rocky Mountains, to the mouth of the Kansas River, and entered or bought small tracts of land in the "West Bottoms" and commenced a settlement there. Previous to this, the "West Bottoms" was a tractless uninhabited forest. On May 1, 1832, Captain Bonneville with his party of 110 men, mostly hunters and trappers, set out from Fort Osage (now Sibley) on the Missouri River, and reached the Kansas River on May 12; they entered the Missouri River from the South, where White Plume, the imposing Kansas Chief, ruled his tribe. From the mouth of the Kansas River, this expedition moved westward over the plains, to the sources of the Missouri, the Wind River Mountains, and the Big Horn Mountains.

In 1833, the first consignment of goods from a steamboat was landed at Kansas City, at the foot of Grand Avenue, for John Calvin McCoy of Westport, which had then begun to be considered a place of some commercial importance. This landing place on the bank of the Missouri thenceforward became known as "Westport Landing." John Calvin McCoy thus describes the site of Westport Landing, now Kansas City:

The picture, as I first saw it, in 1832, of her rough precipitous hills, deep impassable gorges, and of the dense forest and almost impenetrable vines, brushwood and fallen timber; of the old field of a few acres on the high ridge overlooking the river, surrounded by an old dilapidated rail fence, with a few old monarchs of the forest with bare limbs, that had withstood the rude blasts and buffetings of the storms for a hundred years; of the log house standing on the rocky brink of the river, with its occupant, one-eyed Ellis and his brood of young barefooted and barelegged children; of the narrow winding pathway along the river bank; and of the solitary crow perched high on a limb of one of the old trees; all, all, are still vividly impressed upon my memory: much more vividly doubtless, from the contrast of the magical change that is now pictured to me upon the same ground.⁴

A History of Kansas City, Mo., edited by Theo. S. Case, and published in 1888, states at page 301: "In 1825, when all this section of the country was still in the possession of the Indians, Jesuit Fathers from St. Louis organized a mission near the mouth of the Kaw River." This statement is not sustained by the facts, which are as follows:

In 1763, the Superior Council of Louisiana, a body of civilians, having charge of Louisiana Territory Government, in imitation of the irreligious conduct of most of the European Governments at that time, published a decree suppressing the Jesuits throughout Louisiana. Louisiana Territory was then a country of vast expanse. From the time that Illinois was first discovered by Marquette

⁴ This description of the site of Kansas City as it was in 1832, was written by Mr. John Calvin McCoy, forty years later, in 1872.

and Joliet and the Lower Mississippi was explored by La Salle, the French claimed the whole territory from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains as the Territory of Louisiana, and the dominion continued until the Treaty of Paris (1763) was duly signed and published and its terms proclaimed in Great Britain and France and throughout their foreign possessions. In Kaskaskia, Ill., which was then in Louisiana, there were three Jesuit Priests, one of whom was Rev. Sebastian Muerin. These three priests were arrested at Kaskaskia, and sent prisoners to New Orleans. All the Louisiana Jesuits with one or two exceptions, were deported from New Orleans to France, and their property in Louisiana was confiscated. Father Muerin by his earnest entreaties saved himself from being deported, and obtained permission to return to Kaskaskia as a secular priest to attend to his Indians. Without means he struggled on his long journey homeward, and without home or church began his missionary labors anew at Kaskaskia. In May, 1766, he visited and administered the sacraments in the new town of St. Louis which had been founded two years previous by Pierre Liquest Laclede. Again in 1772, Father Muerin visited St. Louis, and stayed there from February to May attending the Catholics of the place. In 1774, Father Muerin at Cahokia, Ill., heard the sad news of the suppression of the Jesuits throughout the world (July 21, 1773), by Pope Clement XIV. In his distress he wrote to the Bishop of Quebec, in whose Diocese Illinois was at that time included, requesting that he be received as a secular priest into the Quebec Diocese and be permitted to stay at Cahokia; a request which the Bishop readily granted. In 1775, Father Muerin again visited St. Louis. After his return to his mission at Cahokia, he died in 1775, and was buried in his church there. Father Muerin was the last member of the suppressed Society in the Illinois country and the Louisiana Territory.

For forty-one years, from 1773, the Jesuits were suppressed and disbanded. On August 7, 1814, they were officially restored by Pope Pius VII. After their restoration, the Maryland Jesuits were the first to organize in the United States. In 1823, Bishop Dubourg of New Orleans, whose jurisdiction embraced Upper and Lower Louisiana, applied to Very Rev. Father Charles Neale, S.J., Provincial of the Jesuits in Maryland, to supply him with Jesuit missionaries for educating and civilizing the Indians in the territories west of the Mississippi. Accordingly, on April 11, 1823, under the guidance of Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, S.J., superior, and of Rev. Peter J. Timmermans, S.J., assistant superior, six Jesuit scholastics, and some Jesuit lay brothers, set out from Maryland, and arrived at St. Louis on May 31, 1823. The Jesuit scholastics were: F. L. Verreydt, F. G. Van Assche, P. J. Verhaegen, P. J. De Smet, J. A. Elet, and J. B. Smedts. In June, 1823, the two Jesuit Fathers, with their six novices and the lay brothers, took possession of a farm near Florissant, Mo., donated to them by a Mr. O'Neil of Florissant, and there established their Novitiate. Of these six novices, two—P. J. Verhaegen, and J. B. Smedts—were ordained priests in 1825. The other four were ordained priests in 1827. Father Van Quickenborne made occasional visits during the years 1828, 1829 and 1830 to the Osage Indians in Southern Kansas; but the Osage Mission in Kansas was not permanently established until 1847. Father Van Quickenborne

also established the Kickapoo Indian Mission near Fort Leavenworth in 1837. That same year (1837) Father Van Quickenborne died (August 17) at Portage des Sioux, Mo. In 1838, Father De Smet, with the assistance of Father Verreydt, established a mission among the Pottowattomie Indians at Council Bluffs.⁵

Rev. Benedict Roux, a native of France, priest of the Diocese of St. Louis was the first resident priest of the place now known as Kansas City. Rev. Benedict Roux's *Register of Baptisms* extends over a period of one year, two months and two days; namely, from February 23, 1834, to April 25, 1835. At or soon after this date he must have been transferred to Kaskaskia, Ill.; for his name appears in the *United States Catholic Almanac* for 1836 and following years, as Pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church, Kaskaskia. Kaskaskia was then in the Diocese of St. Louis. In 1840, 1841, Rev. Benedict Roux's name appears in the *Catholic Almanacs*, in the Clergy List of the Diocese of St. Louis, but the church or mission attended by him is not given. In 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, the *United States Catholic Almanacs* make mention of him as stationed at the Cathedral of St. Louis. Afterwards his name is not found in the *Almanac* Clergy Lists. It is said he returned to France and died there. The Catholics attended by Reverend Father Roux, including those on the Kansas Border and in Clay County, Mo., may have numbered 150 souls.⁶

⁵ Such are the facts of the history of the Jesuits of St. Louis in their early days, as recorded in our ecclesiastical annals. But it does not appear anywhere of record as stated by the editor of the *History of Kansas City* already referred to, that "in 1825, when all this section of country was still in the possession of the Indians, Jesuit Fathers from St. Louis organized a mission near the mouth of the Kansas River."

⁶ The name of Rev. Benedict Roux also appears on the *Records* of Jackson County in connection with several land transfers, one made by the United States to Benedict Roux, conveying West $\frac{1}{2}$ Lots 1 and 2, N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ Section 6, Township 49, Range 33; the other made by Pierre Laliberte to Benedict Roux, dated April 5, 1834, recorded in Book C., page 148, and described as follows, viz: S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, Section 6, Township 49, Range 33, containing 40 acres. By Warrantee Deed, dated October 20, 1838, Benedict Roux sells to Francis Mumblo, consideration \$700, the following land, viz: South East Quarter of North East Quarter of Section 6, Township 49, Range 33; "except ten acres in a square, on the centre of which a log church and a log house are put up." Also conveys West $\frac{1}{2}$ of Lots 1 and 2, in N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ section 6, Township 49, Range 33. The log church referred to in this deed was built by Rev. Benedict Roux in 1835 and dedicated to St. Francis Xavier. This was the first church erected in the territory of the Kansas City diocese. It stood at the place now known as Eleventh and Penn Streets, Kansas City. In the first Kansas City Diocesan Synod, held in 1887, St. John Francis Regis was named principal patron of the diocese, for the reason that (as is stated in the pages of the synod) to him was dedicated the first church (*i. e.*, that at Westport erected in 1842) in the territory that now comprises the diocese. This, however, was an inadvertence of the Fathers of the Synod. A Warrantee Deed, dated January 31, 1839, consideration \$2 (recorded Book K., page 14, at Independence July 23, 1844), by Benedict Roux to Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, Catholic Bishop of St. Louis, Mo., conveys 10 acres

Among the children baptized by Father Roux, were Elizabeth Boone, born in 1833, and Eulalie Boone, born in 1835. These were grand daughters of the famous pioneer, Daniel Boone, and daughters of Daniel Morgan Boone, who taught school in 1835 in the Catholic parsonage.

Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, by his last will and testament, dated December 4, 1841, and recorded March 13, 1846, in Book L., page 326, Jackson County *Records*, devised to his successor, Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, the "10 acres in a square, in the center of which a log church and log house are put up," in S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$, section 6, Township 49, Range 33, in Jackson County, Mo. The will of Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, was written in Philadelphia on December 4, 1841, which was the third day after the consecration of Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick as Bishop Rosati's Coadjutor, with right of succession. Bishop Kenrick's consecration took place in St. Mary's Church of which he was pastor, in Philadelphia, on St. Andrew's day, November 30, 1841.

Gabriel Prudhomme, a French Canadian, and a member of Father Roux's congregation, entered 256 acres of government land at the place afterwards called "Westport Landing." He died in 1836 and in 1838, three commissioners appointed by the Circuit Court of Jackson County, Mo., with many others, assembled on the south bank of the Missouri, where Grand Avenue now terminates, and there sold for \$4,220, Gabriel Prudhomme's 256 acres of land, to a company of speculators organized to plat the tract as a town site, and to sell it in building lots to settlers. The town site was platted the following year, 1839, by a surveyor, John Calvin McCoy, and is now designated in the Kansas City maps and plats as the "Old Town."

Francis Gesso Chouteau died at the place now known as Kansas City, in 1838. The Chouteau estate comprised about twelve hundred acres, and was sold to a Mr. Guinotte, agent of a Belgian Emigrant Company. In 1837, Reverend Father Van Quickenborne, S.J., superior of the Jesuits of Florissant and St. Louis, passed through the place now known as Kansas City, on his way to establish the Kickapoo Indian Mission near Fort Leavenworth. In 1838, Father De Smet, S.J., went up the Missouri River, past Kansas City, to establish a mission among the Pottowattomie Indians at Council Bluffs. That same year Reverend Father Petit, of the Diocese of Vincennes, pastor of the Pottowattomie Indians in Michigan Territory, in his journey with these Indians, passed through Kansas City on the way to their new home which had been assigned to them by the Government, at Sugar Creek, the head waters of the Osage River, Indian Territory. In 1839, Father Petit of Sugar Creek resigned on account of his health the pastoral charge of the Indians at that place, and

in a square, on the center of which a log church and a log house are put up; lying in Jackson County, Mo., in the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 6, Township 49, Range 33, being part of the 40-acre tract conveyed on April 5, 1834, by Pierre Laliberte and Eleonora Chalefoux, his wife, to Benedict Roux, and reserved by him in his deed of transfer to Francis Mumbo.

The above mentioned ten acres is the land between Broadway and Summit, and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, Kansas City, Mo.

journeyed through Kansas City to St. Louis, where he persuaded the Jesuits to take charge of the Indians whom he was forced to abandon. Father Petit, unable to continue his journey to Vincennes Diocese, died at St. Louis. In 1839, Rev. Father Christian Hoecken, S.J., went from St. Louis, through Kansas City, to Sugar Creek Indian Territory, to take charge of these Indians. In 1839 "Westport Landing" was chartered with municipal existence as the "Town of Kansas."

In 1841 (July 8), Mother Duchesne, superior of the Ladies of Sacred Heart, landed from a steamboat from St. Louis at Kansas City, having with her a community of said Ladies of the Sacred Heart, to establish schools among the Pottowattomies. They arrived at Sugar Creek on the nineteenth of July, 1841.

As before stated, Rev. Benedict Roux, who usually signed himself in his *Register of Baptisms* as Parish Priest of Kansas River, was transferred in 1835, to Kaskaskia, Ill. For six years after this, the Kansas River Parish was without a pastor, until 1841 when the Jesuits came and took charge of Westport, as a place of more importance than "Westport Landing" lately incorporated as the "Town of Kansas."

1841. Westport, Mo.; attended by Rev. Anthony Eisvogels, S.J., from Kickapoo village, Indian Territory.

1842. Westport, Mo.; attended by Rev. Felix Verreydt, S.J., from Pottowattomie village, Sugar Creek, Indian Territory.

1842. In the month of June, Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Bishop of Drasa, Coadjutor to Bishop Rosati, passed through Kansas City and Westport, on his journey to administer confirmation to the Pottowattomie Indians at Sugar Creek, Indian Territory.

In 1842, John C. Fremont, on June 10, began his exploring expedition by setting out from Kansas City for the Rocky Mountains. When leaving Kansas City, looking westward, he said: "This is the key to the great territory west of us." While preparing for his journey, Colonel Fremont and his wife and his father-in-law, Col. Thomas Hart Benton, made their headquarters at the residence of Col. William M. Chick, built in the then fashionable residence quarter of the town, between Main Street and Grand Avenue, and between Second Street and the Missouri River.

1843. Westport, Mo.; attended by Rev. Anthony Eisvogels, S.J.; Church of St. John Francis Regis. This church was erected in 1842.

1844. Westport, Mo.; Church of St. John Francis Regis. Attended by Rev. Peter Verhaegen, S.J.

1845. F. X. Aubrey, principal freighter of merchandise between Kansas City and Santa Fe, rode 800 miles, from the Plaza of Santa Fe to Kansas City, in four days; thereby making the route famous, and opening the way for the "Pony Express," and the "Overland Lines" of railway that were soon to traverse the plains of the "Great American Desert."

1845. Westport, Mo.; Church of St. John Francis Regis, attended by Rev. Anthony Eisvogels, S.J., from St. Joseph, Mo.

1846. Westport Mo.; Church of St. John Francis Regis, attended by Jesuit Fathers from Pottowattomie Village, Sugar Creek, Indian Territory.

Among the priests, who labored on the Kansas City Mission in early days, Rev. Father Bernard Donnelly holds a notable place. He was born on the twenty-ninth of June, 1810, at Kilnacreevy, County Cavan, Ireland. Having passed through the primary schools of his neighborhood, he spent four years studying classics and civil engineering. With the tide of emigration he left Ireland and landed at New York in June, 1839. He left New York and travelled westward to Athens, Ohio, where he called on Mr. McGuffy, president of the Ohio State University. After a rigorous examination, Mr. McGuffy gave Mr. Donnelly high testimonials of capacity as teacher. From Athens, Ohio, Mr. Donnelly travelled still farther westward, to St. Mary's Seminary, Barrens, Perry County, Mo., where he was appointed Professor of Greek and the higher mathematics. When not occupied in teaching, Mr. Donnelly was studying theology and acquiring the varied knowledge necessary for the priesthood. The purpose of his life was attained, when he was called from St. Mary's Seminary to St. Louis, where on the seventeenth of May, 1845, he was ordained Priest, in the St. Louis Cathedral, by Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Bishop of St. Louis. Without delay he was appointed resident pastor of Independence, Mo., which place had been attended since 1841 as an outmission by the Jesuit Fathers residing at Westport. And as it would seem, Kansas City must have been added as a mission to Independence, under Father Donnelly's jurisdiction, for he says in one of his newspaper publications: "On my arrival at Westport Landing, now Kansas City, in 1845, I was glad to find a log church and parsonage on the lot."

In 1847, after the Jesuits had left Westport, Rev. Bernard Donnelly resided at the "Town of Kansas" of which he was pastor. This accords with the statement given in the *United States Catholic Almanac* as follows: "1847; Kansas, Jackson County, Mo.; Church of St. Francis Regis; attended by Rev. B. Donnelly, who resides at Kansas." This, however, must have been but a temporary arrangement, as would appear from the following report of the mission in the *United States Catholic Almanac*; "1848, Kansas, Jackson County, Mo.; Rev. A. Saunier."

In 1849 (September), Rev. A. Saunier was transferred from Kansas, Jackson County, Mo., to Little Canada and Valle's Mines in St. Genevieve County, Mo.

In 1849 (October), Rev. Bernard Donnelly took charge of Kansas City Mission, which he attended from Independence, where he resided. At or about this time, the Right Rev. Edward Barron, D.D., Bishop of Upper and Lower Guinea, Africa, on his return to the United States, where he had formerly resided, visited Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis. Bishop Barron, by request of Archbishop Kenrick, went to Independence, where Father Donnelly was pastor, and administered confirmation there. Accompanied by Father Donnelly he went from Independence to the "Town of Kansas" and there likewise administered confirmation.

On November 1, 1847, the noted missionary and traveller among the wild Indian Tribes, Father De Smet, S.J., was a guest of Father Donnelly at this place (i. e., the log cabin in the Town of Kansas). (*History of Kansas City*, by Theo. S. Case. Page 19.)

1852. First Protestant Church erected in Kansas City, on Fifth Street, between Delaware and Wyandotte Streets, Rev. Alfred H. Powel, pastor.

1852. The "Moore School" commenced at or near Sixteenth and Wyandotte Streets, as afterwards laid out.

1853. "Town of Kansas" changed its name into "City of Kansas."

1853. Col. Thomas Hart Benton, United States Senator for Missouri, invited by the Kansas City Town Council, visited Kansas City. In his speech to the people of Kansas City, Colonel Benton said of the site of Kansas City: "There, Gentlemen, where the rocky bluff meets and turns aside the sweeping current of this mighty river; there, where the Missouri, after running its southward course for nearly two thousand miles, turns eastward to the Mississippi, a large commercial manufacturing community will congregate, and less than a generation will see a great city on these hills."

1854. Municipal government established in Kansas City, under charter granted by the Missouri Legislature in 1853.

1857. Rev. Bernard Donnelly transferred from Independence, located permanently at Kansas City.

1857. The log church, built by Father Roux in 1834, is superseded by a brick church of dimensions 70 by 30 feet, built by Father Donnelly, West of Broadway, between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets. The church stood on the middle of the block with front entrance towards Broadway. Adjacent to a little sacristy and belfry in the rear of the church, was Father Donnelly's modest residence of four rooms, built in irregular style, one room at a time; and near by the sexton's two-story house of two rooms, one room over the other.

VERY REV. WILLIAM KEUENHOF, V.G.,

Kansas City, Mo.

DOCUMENTS

ARCHBISHOP JOHN HUGHES

American Envoy to France (1861)

The Most Reverend John Hughes, to whom was entrusted the important international mission to be seen in the annexed photographed copy of the letter of William H. Seward, Secretary of State at the time, was a remarkable churchman and endowed with extraordinary parts. Whether we regard him as an ecclesiastic or as a citizen, he will always stand in the front rank of the great men of his adopted country and of the world. Living and dying in stirring times, it was providential for Church and State that John Hughes occupied the post he did. He was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, June 24, 1797.¹ He came to the United States as a young man of twenty in 1817. In Ireland he had succeeded with much difficulty in acquiring an education, and after his arrival in America, with a courage that was little short of heroic, he managed gradually to add to his store of knowledge until he was admitted in 1819 into Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. There the ardent student's progress was remarkable.² He was raised to the priesthood on October 15, 1826, by Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia, in old St. Joseph's Church, and was sent to St. Augustine's Church in that city. Later he became pastor of St. Joseph's.³ In this new field of labor Father Hughes' tireless energy, his industry and love of study, combined with his great gifts of mind, soon caused him to be recognized as one of the coming lights of the Church in America. His early life as a priest was cast in a period of turmoil and of deep-rooted religious prejudice; but with a strong character that knew no fear, the young clergyman, from the day of his ordination, grappled boldly with the problems which confronted him and attained a success that foretold a brilliant future. His theological controversies, all of which were forced upon him and in all of which he was the victor, were indeed numerous. The historic religious controversy which he had in 1835 with the Reverend John A. Breckenridge, a distinguished non-Catholic divine, served perhaps more than anything else in his early priesthood to reveal Father Hughes' remarkable ability, as well as to draw the attention of the country towards him, and to win him a wide circle of admirers.

On January 7, 1838, Father Hughes was consecrated Coadjutor-Bishop of New York. Four years later he became its fourth Ordinary, and in 1850 its first Metropolitan. In New York he found a sphere of activity at once broader and better suited to the display of his talents, and he was quickly acknowledged as one of the country's leading churchmen, and as one of the intellectual giants

¹ Cf. HASSARD, *Life of John Hughes*. New York, 1866. BRANN, *Life of John Hughes*. New York, 1892. *Works of John Hughes*, published by Kehoe, in two volumes. New York, 1888.

² MCSWEENEY, *The Story of the Mountain*, Vol. i, pp. 89, 99, 126; Vol. ii, pp. 11-12, 41, 108. Emmitsburg, 1911.

³ KIRLIN, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, pp. 256, 261, 274, 276. Philadelphia, 1909.

of his age. No less patriotic than religious, he took a keen interest in all the questions, religious and civic, which occupied the public mind of the United States. The part he played in the correction of the school system of the city of New York and the bold, effective stand he took against the Native American party in 1844, and the Know-nothing Party in 1854, can never be forgotten by those imbued with the true spirit and genius of our great American republic.

The great Archbishop's singular gifts of mind and heart, together with his uncompromising Catholic spirit, his intense patriotism and deep love for America, kept him prominent also in all social movements. No man of his day, in fact, possessed a more statesmanlike grasp of the genius and democratic spirit of the American commonwealth. Even when the very existence of its institutions was threatened, his confidence was unshaken. He looked upon the Republic as the refuge and the home of those fleeing from oppression, persecution, and poverty in other lands. That this home might be the happier, that the Republic might be more prosperous, and its institutions and its spirit more secure, that here the barriers of national prejudices might be levelled, and the people moulded into one homogeneous nation, he devoted, without thought of honor or of recompense, all his rare powers of oratory, his talents as a controversialist, his ability as a writer, and his commanding genius as a leader of men.

The great Archbishop's utter fearlessness, his towering character, his profound patriotism, and his extraordinary mental endowments won him the confidence and intimate friendship of many of the most distinguished men of his day: while they compelled the respect and commanded the admiration, if not the love, of those who felt the weight of his opposition. In 1846, President Polk proffered the gifted churchman a diplomatic mission to Mexico which he could not accept. In 1847, at the invitation of John C. Calhoun and Stephen A. Douglas, he lectured before Congress in the National Capitol. During the Civil War (1861-65) he spared no effort to conserve our national integrity. His useful suggestions and wise counsel on the conduct of the war were highly appreciated by President Lincoln. "I submit your letters to the President," Seward writes on October 12, 1861, "and he reads all you write to me with deep interest." Hughes' correspondence with Lincoln is still preserved in the *Dunwoodie Archives*. It was in consequence of this correspondence of the war, that the Catholic Archbishop was called to Washington by Secretary Seward in October, 1861, and entrusted with the important commission revealed in the following letter, the original of which is carefully kept in the *Dunwoodie Archives*.

(Transcription)

Department of State,
Washington, Nov. 2, 1861.

To His Grace

Archbishop Hughes.

Sir:

You will repair to Paris and will deliver to Mr. Dayton⁴ the despatch herewith handed to you. You will, on your way thither, make yourself master of the contents thereof by reading the copy which is confidentially entrusted to you.⁵ You

⁴ WILLIAM LEWIS DAYTON (1807-64) was United States Minister to France from 1861-1864.

⁵ This copy (37 pp.), dated Department of State, Washington, October 30, 1861, from Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton, still exists among the *Hughes MSS.* at Dunwoodie Seminary.

will confer with Mr. Dayton upon the subject, and explain to him verbally my views in desiring the fullest attainable knowledge of the dispositions of the French Government, whether friendly or otherwise, and especially its views on the several questions set forth in my despatch. At the same time you will be expected to do this in the most confidential manner, deferring in all cases to Mr. Dayton's judgment, and acting as auxiliary to him only at his cheerful request, and only to the extent that he thinks your relations and associations in Paris and in Europe may enable you to be useful to him.

He will be expected to receive you as a trusted, confidential, loyal and devoted citizen, who assumes this duty at much sacrifice to himself, and only on the earnest request of the President of the United States, upon mature conviction of its importance resulting from a conference with his advisers.

While in Paris, you will study how, in conjunction with Mr. Dayton, you can promote healthful opinions concerning the great cause in which our country is now engaged in arms. You will extend your visit to any part of Europe you may think proper, and will consider yourself at liberty to stay until recalled.*

I have the honor to be

Your Grace's very obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

It was largely through the Archbishop's efforts that France was prevented from following in the footsteps of England, and throwing the weight of her sympathies with the Confederate States. Wherever he traveled in Europe, he was accorded an honorable reception. He left nothing undone to promote the cause of the Union, and did much to enlist the sympathies of the Old World in the preservation of the American Republic. Again, at the time of the draft riots in the city of New York in 1863, his services were requested by Governor Horatio Seymour to quiet the disorders. Although much broken in health, the patriotic Metropolitan readily accepted the call to duty, and addressed the excited people with good effect. This was one of his last public acts; from that time he rapidly declined in health until the day of his death, January 3, 1864. In all his public deeds, however, the great Catholic Archbishop but followed the teachings of his Church, doing for his own country on the patriotic scale afforded him by his own superior talents, what his confreres have always done the world over.

* Archbishop Hughes left Paris, February, 1862, and visited Ireland, where his presence aroused an intense enthusiasm for the North. Later in the same month he went to Rome, where he had the opportunity of informing Pius IX and Cardinal Antonelli of the true state of affairs in America. On leaving Rome he set out for Spain, but his health prevented him from reaching Madrid. Later he travelled through France and England, and preached at the laying of the corner-stone of the Catholic University of Dublin, on July 20, 1862. He sailed early from Queenstown in August for New York, and arrived there on August 12. "On the archbishop's arrival, the whole city turned out to greet him. The municipal authorities presented him with congratulatory addresses. After a few days' rest he went to Washington. There he was invited to dinner by Secretary Seward. The day fixed for the dinner was Friday, and the Archbishop suggested that it was not a good day for a banquet. 'Never mind,' said the secretary, 'I shall see that you will be provided for.' When the very large and distinguished company met in the dining hall, there was no meat of any kind on the table. All were compelled to eat fish. The Archbishop often said that this was the most delicate compliment ever paid to him. Mr. Lincoln's Government soon after intimated to the Holy See that it would be pleased if the Archbishop, who had done so much for the country, should be raised to the dignity of cardinal." BRANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-66.

Department of State,
Washington, 2^d Nov. 1861.

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I have the honor to be

Your Grace's very obedient servant,

William H. Seward.

SECRETARY SEWARD TO ARCHBISHOP HUGHES, NOVEMBER 2, 1861.

His correspondence with Mr. Seward was an extensive one, as can be seen from the numerous letters of the Secretary of State still preserved in the Archdiocesan Archives of New York, at Dunwoodie Seminary. From their general tenor, the choice of the Archbishop to offset the influence of Mason and Slidell, who had already gone to Europe as Commissioners of the Confederate States, is not at all surprising. The honor conferred upon him by his country was fully justified, and the story of his mission, with the details of his interviews with French statesmen, and particularly with Napoleon III and the Empress, will always be a vital part of the history of the Civil War.

V. F. O'D.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Scotch-Irish in America. By Henry Jones Ford. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915. Pp. 607.

From the pen of a university instructor one expects a serious and scholarly book. This volume by Dr. Ford is a valuable contribution to American history. It briefly suggests the extent of Irish Presbyterian influence in shaping the institutions of the United States, in establishing their independence, and subsequently, both in peace and war, in promoting their welfare. In examining his monograph, Professor Ford will pardon us for commencing with a consideration of the last chapter instead of the first. This method may possess advantages, or it may signify nothing more than the eccentricity of the reviewer. At any rate, it will relieve of their obscurity some facts which should be made clear. In this inquiry it will appear: that Ulster is not the native land of Irish genius; that its material supremacy is undoubted; that the reasons therefor are too clear to be subjects for discussion; that in Ireland, Ulster's leaders have been the chief ornament and support of tyranny; that, not content with seizing the lands of the natives, the invaders have robbed the vanquished of their good name. When the victim is made contemptible, injustice resembles a virtue. At any rate, the injured are only the wicked and the weak.

In America the Irish Presbyterian element is seen to better advantage. The achievements of the men of that stock have been exceedingly numerous and exceedingly noteworthy. They have been more gifted, more genial, and more tolerant than their Ulster kinsmen. It is this more sunny part of the Scotch-Irish world that Professor Ford has described. With this statement of opinions, the remarks of the reviewer will be more intelligible.

"From time to time," says Dr. Ford, "objections have been raised to the term 'Scotch-Irish.'" In his *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, John Fiske says:

The name Scotch-Irish is an awkward compound, and is in many quarters condemned. Curiously enough, there is no one who seems to object to it so strongly as the Irish Catholic. While his feelings toward the "Far-Downer" are certainly not affectionate, he is, nevertheless, anxious to claim him with his deeds and trophies, as simply Irish, and grudges to Scotland the claim to any share in producing him. It must be admitted, however, that there is a point of view from which the Scotch-Irish may be regarded as more Scotch than Irish. The difficulty might be compromised by calling them Ulstermen, or Ulster Presbyterians.

The last name, Ulster Presbyterians, is liable to as few objections as any. It may be that Dr. Ford had good reasons for not adopting it. Perhaps, too, he has examined Pellew's *Castle and Cabin* and for some reason feared to quote from it. Yet in parts it is closely connected with this book. As literature, it is true, Pellew's work is poor stuff, but he speaks from an abundance of feeling untrammelled by the restraints of rhetoric or of truth. With apologies to connoisseurs in form, we give the following excerpt from his *Castle and Cabin*: "Here in Ulster we have nine counties as prosperous as any in the land. We are an energetic, honest race, very different from the south of Ireland people. The successful Irishmen in America are chiefly of Irish-Scotch descent. The southern Irish are born politicians and form a clique in every city. The farmers, too, on the hills and mountains, are very ignorant and brutal. . . ." Though no anthropologist has ever reported the discovery at Portadown of any vestige of former Indian occupation, this is an exquisite imitation of a war-whoop. Mr. Pellew, who would warn his readers against Home Rule, boasts of Ulster's prowess and prosperity, and in the very accents of the Pharisee cries aloud: "O God, I thank thee that I am not as the rest of men. . . ." Of course, his province is in a flourishing state. Was it not for generations favored by special laws? And is it not still enjoying the benefits of ancestral plunder?

Mr. Pellew informs us that Ulstermen are "an energetic, honest race, very different from the south of Ireland people." Passing without observation the cowardly implications in this assertion, it is admitted by economists and historians that the right to retain a just share of the wealth produced, always begets both abundance and industry. In other lands the Celtic Irish work no less diligently than their neighbors, but in those favored

countries there are no landlords to exploit labor. Thanks to English and not to Ulster leaders, the greedy race will soon be gone.

"The successful Irishmen in America," adds Pellew, "are chiefly of Irish-Scotch descent." The reader is to infer a connection between character and high exploit, and to understand that the success of the "Irish-Scotch" is due to the superior merits of their faith. If one consider the fact that the power of Protestant America, social, religious, and political, is certain to support the Presbyterian immigrant from Ulster, one would be surprised to find any of his ventures ending in failure. Do the agricultural industrial, commercial, and political interests of America likewise rally to the support of the Irish? The farmer, the entrepreneur, the merchant, and the statesman can make answer. In our time when one applies for a position, subaltern or even menial, one often meets the inquiry, "What is your religion?" Is this a request for information on which there is later to be made a statistical report, or is it merely an item in the category of efficiency? Though the fact is not generally known, and I relate it in confidence, it is actually a barrier against Shintoists, having been designed as a measure of precaution against the entrance into our service of those abandoned people who worship their ancestors. The inquiry looks not to Dublin but to Yeddo.

Without an oppressive feeling of inferiority, we Celts could concede the accuracy of the statement that "the successful Irishmen in America are chiefly of Irish-Scotch descent." But its arrogance and craft encourage a denial. These are not the emblems of sincerity. If by success is meant material prosperity or good fortune, we yield the point, for, as already explained, there are in our country mighty forces that support the Presbyterian Irish. Several of that stock have attained to even the Presidency. While our written Constitution does not exclude from this office citizens of Irish Catholic ancestry, the unwritten constitution does. It also effectively operates to prevent their easy entrance into cabinets. Yet little men of other creeds, or of no creed, are deemed fit to preside in any department.

Leaving for a moment the distribution of high Federal honors, how are favors bestowed in the ample field of education? To be of Irish Catholic descent is generally a guarantee that one's

application for even a minor teaching position will fail. So well known is this fact that few of the race qualify for duties which they may never be privileged to perform. In brief, in the matter of worldly prosperity or good fortune, Irish-Americans are not conspicuous. If by success is meant noteworthy achievement, the record is much more favorable. In Ireland the men of genius have been, almost without exception, Anglo-Irish or Celtic-Irish. Of the statesmen sent to colonial America, two of the ablest. Col. Thomas Dongan and Sir William Johnson, were Irish. In worth and foresight the former had no superior. In the war for independence, Celtic-Irish and Anglo-Irish officers rendered services of value. On land there were such men as Gen. John Sullivan, Gen. George Clinton, and Gen. James Clinton, while on sea there were the O'Briens of Machias, and Captain, afterward Commodore, John Barry. In Congress there were statesmen like Carroll of Carrollton, Aedanus Burke, and his Galway kinsman, Thomas Burke. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 there were Celtic and Anglo-Celtic Irish. We may mention Thomas FitzSimons, the grandfather of General Meade, also Daniel Carroll, and Pierce Butler.

The years of peace and reconstruction found in America economists of the prominence of Mathew Carey and his more distinguished son, Henry Charles Carey, Matthew Lyon, soldier and statesman, William Duane, Dewitt Clinton and William J. Duane.

In the second war with England, American naval prowess was illustrated by Capt. Thomas MacDonough, whose victory at Plattsburg had important consequences. During the weak, piping time of peace the services of the Irish were in no great request. In 1844 and 1855 the Know Nothings assailed the integrity of Irish Catholics, but these ulcers of the body politic were burned away in the flames of civil war. When the battle flags were furled, they reappeared.

In the Union ranks there were enough Irish to make, by the standard of that day, several large armies. It will be necessary to name but a few of the more distinguished commanders, such as Kearney, Mulligan, Meagher, Shields, and Sheridan. These will favorably compare with Birney, McDowell, the McCooks, and McClellan.

When the storm of war was hushed, the members of the American Protective Association shouldered arms, and drove the Celt to the walks of private life. In 1898, during the short war with Spain, John Patrick Holland offered to serve our Government with his submarine, but his assistance was declined. Shade of Royal Oak!

“And far below the Roundhead rode,
And humm’d a surly hymn.”

Viscount Bryce, too, held the opinion that the Irish formed cliques in American cities and were responsible for much municipal corruption. Legislative inquiries, however, disclosed facts more complimentary; then the diplomat stole from his repast. Late at the banquet hall, Pellew enjoys a jackal’s feast.

As managed by the author of *Castle and Cabin*, Pegasus curvets frightfully. From American cities, defiled by Celts, the rider, in one mighty leap, alights either in Connemara or Knockmeildown. Bellerophon himself held not so firm a seat. “The farmers, too, on the hills and mountains, are very ignorant and brutal. . . .” This is not, as the juxtaposition would lead one to suppose, a reference to American farmers. In fact, it is not a description of the class of farmers anywhere, but a spectre raised to frighten those Presbyterians who, from either generosity or indolence, might trust their interests to the fairness of a Dublin parliament. Not for generations have these goblins alarmed any Protestants outside of Ulster. Indeed the deities of the Irish household are chiefly Protestant, yet to them the Irish Catholic is constant in his devotion. A little exertion would enable one to prepare on the subject of Irish limitations a diversified anthology of malevolent libel. If this dreary tract had been explored by John Fiske, he would not have been surprised at the lack of Irish Catholic affection for Ulster Presbyterians.

The evident reply to another observation of Fiske is, that the Irish are not singular in claiming for their native land the achievements of all her sons. In the opinion of the reviewer this is a human, not an Irish characteristic. American authors who record the deeds of their countrymen, do not confine themselves to Mormon, to Christian Science or to Lutheran worthies.

In classifying the Irish and the “Scotch-Irish” as two distinct race stocks, Senator Lodge has some authority to support him,

but the question is far more intricate than that. He is still less accurate in the statement that during the colonial period "people of pure Irish stock came scarcely at all." This theme is not to be examined in a paragraph, but it may be noticed hereafter.

In the eventful years that have passed since 1609, when the Scots began to settle in Ulster, there have been in Ireland in considerable number, orators and statesmen, poets and historians, critics and scientists. From Richard Stanyhurst down to Bernard Shaw, there has been a long and brilliant line of authors. With one or two exceptions they have been either Celtic-Irish or Anglo-Irish. Fiske to the contrary, Irishmen are not accustomed to boast of the achievements of the Ulster Scot. The Irish feeling for Scotland, however, is very different. Caledonia has been the fruitful mother of philosophers, orators, scientists, historians, economists, poets, and heroes. In a word, it has been the home of the lettered and the brave. Why, then, the dearth of noble natures in Scottish Ulster? The invaders were not dragged down by the natives, for they knew the "wild Irish" but to despoil them, to fight them, to mock them. Tyrannous hate destroyed the finer feelings of the Scottish settler and chilled the current of his soul. His fancy spent its force in schemes of lawless gain. Therefore it is that sterility has been the inheritance of the son for the guilt of the sire.

Though the "Scotch-Irish" have had slight contact with genius, they have yet by their ability as men of business, given to the older Irish, impoverished by tribal, by Danish, and by Anglo-Norman warfare, a shining example of efficient methods of business. In commerce and in manufacturing the "Scotch-Irish" of Ulster have gone far ahead of the rest of their countrymen. But the fact should not be overlooked that they have long been assisted by a friendly Parliament. If the other provinces had been similarly aided, or if they had merely been neglected, the industrial and commercial supremacy of Ulster would be greatly diminished. For man's weal or woe on earth, the most potent force in shaping his material life is government. Under nearly every form the races have advanced in civilization, but not under every kind of government.

To Americans in general the term "Scotch-Irish" has a favorable connotation, while the unqualified word "Irish" has a

connotation decidedly uncomplimentary. A citizen of Irish ancestry who does a deed of note is expected to be "Scotch-Irish" and often is so described. If, on the other hand, his feat did not become a god, he is reported to be simply "Irish." Knowing that at home his Presbyterian friend from Ulster has no more superiority than that conferred by statute and by profession of the dominant creed, the mere Irishman denies that his more favored countrymen possess uncommon merits, and resents their claim to superiority. It is not that he is offended by his neighbor's attachment to silver, by his reverence for the memory of John Knox, or because of differences of race, whether these be considerable or inconsiderable. In Ireland the Ulster Scot has always been the champion of the oppressor.

The reader of Professor Ford's book receives the impression that the Scottish occupation of Ulster was a process as gentle as the fall of summer rain. The fact is that it was filled with tragedy. The author believes that the making of better arrangements was then not easy to see. Bacon is quoted to show that *he* did not know a wiser way. But the brightest and meanest of mankind had opinions to suit his sordid day, and others to gain him credit with posterity. Probably he had this consideration in mind when, in his essay, *Of Plantations*, he wrote: "I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where the people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation." Before the year 1603 the conquest had extended to all Ireland. The success of Elizabeth's forces had been accomplished by murder, massacre, and deliberately created famine. These, with instances of rare treachery, made up the woof of victory. But yet to come was the grand minister of misfortune.

The Reformation had been rejected by the Irish universally, and by the people of English descent generally. As between the English and the Irish this effaced the distinctions of race. The two elements were afterward fused by oppression. The recent arrivals in Ulster, however, were Protestants, and were supported by the government of England. Thus was introduced into Ireland an element of discord that has defeated every attempt at unity. The reign of James I, under the pretext of Protestantism,

was marked by the commission of grave crimes against Ireland. There was not, indeed, complete extirpation, for a miserable remnant of the natives fled to mountain fastnesses, or sought a refuge in almost inaccessible bogs.

Under Charles I iniquitous laws replaced the sword. The soldier was superseded by the judge. Booty and plunder became known as forfeiture and confiscation. By the new tribunals, which inquired into defective titles, jurors refusing to give a verdict for the King were ruined by excessive fines or cast into loathsome prisons. Charles received in three provinces, as the spoils of the people, 1,000,000 arable acres.

Chichester, Davies, Spenser, and Bacon, the witnesses examined by Dr. Ford, are as credible as any. But they had not made the cycle of Irish history. In the Ulster of our day there are many men who would make similar reports. Yet the testimony furnishes an imperfect story. There are important aspects of the occupation that are untouched. Under Professor Ford's plan, the emphasis is, of course, placed on the experience of the Scotch-Irish in America. Of their sojourn in Ireland he has given a somewhat rapid and fairly reliable sketch, but he has seldom taken the point of view of the natives. Yet this is not unimportant.

The harsh treatment which forced tens of thousands of Ulster Presbyterians to migrate to America is admirably described by the author. His account of their early settlements is interesting and accurate. The story related by him makes clear their anti-English feeling at the time of the Revolution, when the great majority, thinking on the treatment of their ancestors, favored independence. For the war the Ulster Irish furnished many of the most resolute soldiers. To the subsequent development of the United States, men of this stock have made contributions significant and scarcely surpassed. Whether one regard education, law, commerce, agriculture, social organization or statesmanship, the record is the same.

Appendix A, from the account of Fynes Moryson, presents the Irish of the year 1600 as a rude and barbarous people, not much, if at all superior to the Indians that, a little later, the English met at Jamestown. But Moryson describes incidents

far more revolting than the filth, the coarseness, and the ignorance of the Irish. Why has the author failed to give an excerpt setting forth the superior refinement of the English? Is not Moryson a source of our information concerning the destruction of crops, year after year, and literally the depopulation of Munster? He declares that "No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of the towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people, the Irish, dead, with their mouths all colored green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend above ground." Multitudes of dead with no one to bury them! From military tactics to table manners, the English had learned many things from the Italians of the Renaissance, but in all their intercourse with that enlightened people they seem to have acquired little humanity.

Dr. Ford's object in adding to his book the quotations from Moryson is not at all apparent. Even if, in point of accuracy, the account be photographic, it but the more strongly shows the incapacity of English statesmen and the inhumanity of English soldiers, for when his author trod the dolorous vales of Munster, much of Ireland had for more than four hundred years been cursed by alien rule. Wretchedness, despair, and death, a grisly troop, followed the victors into Eden. A score of years before Moryson described that forlorn people, Edmund Spenser, from Kilcolman Castle, had been struck by the beauty and the resources of meadow, lake, and stream. In immortal verse he who taught the Mulla's waves to weep, has sung of nature's bounty, "the great heaps of salmon," in the deep bosom of the Barrow.

Are the quoted parts of Moryson's description included in order to justify the harshness of the invader? We have no means of knowing. The conquest progressed until every Celt had passed under the yoke. Thenceforth, through the sinister centuries, the subjugated race toiled on to pamper the lords of wine and oil.

It is much to be regretted that Professor Ford has not examined and reported on the printed proceedings of the Scotch-Irish conventions. His estimate of the spirit of those writings would be interesting and would have improved what we consider the ablest work on this useful element in our state.

Early Days at Council Bluffs. By Charles H. Babbitt. Illustrated. Washington, D. C.: Press of Byron S. Adams, 1916. Pp. 96.

A path must be blazed by the special student and investigator through a great mass of unpublished documentary material bearing on the history of the Mississippi Valley, if conditions are ever to be ripe for some future historian to take up the story of that section of the United States and tell it, after the manner of a Macaulay or a Parkman, with an abundance of accurate, picturesque detail and on a scale proportionate to the vastness of the theme. Over and over again, the general historian will find his way blocked by a dearth of special studies on obscure, debatable points which he cannot, for lack of time or access to the necessary sources, clear up for himself. Thus we find Milo Milton Quaife, than whom no one has dealt in more scholarly fashion with early Chicago history, noting regretfully the absence of any thorough-going study from the sources of the old Chicago-Desplaines River portage, a vitally important topic for one who attempts to follow the early history-makers of Northern Illinois in their journeys of exploration or missionary propaganda. Hence, as Professor Clarence W. Alvord has pointed out, the great desideratum today in the field of Mississippi Valley history, is a series of scholarly monographs on special topics involving minute, painstaking and accurate examination of the sources.

Mr. Charles H. Babbitt's *Early Days at Council Bluffs* is, we take it, one of that type of historical monographs which Professor Alvord calls for. It takes up for detailed, intensive study, such points connected with pioneer Council Bluffs history, as the date of arrival of the first Pottowatomie bands, the withdrawal of the Pottowatomies in the late forties to their new reservation in Kansas Territory, the location of Fort Croghan, the date of construction, the location and general appearance of the "Old Blockhouse," transformed in 1838 into a Jesuit mission-chapel where Catholic services were held for the first time on the site of Council Bluffs. No other published account that the reviewer is acquainted with, covers these topics with anything like the accuracy and, at times, finality that mark Mr. Babbitt's treatment.

Two features in particular of the author's method call for commendation. First, he has consistently applied to the growth of uncertain local traditions and "old settlers" gossip in which he found his subject involved, the touchstone of the contemporary historical document, as far as such was available; and secondly, for a considerable number of the documents drawn on he has gone to a source of supply, which, in view of its extraordinary richness in manuscript material bearing on early Western history, has been utilized by surprisingly few students and investigators—the files of the Indian Office in Washington. Only here and there among students of American history, as in Anne Heloise Abel's *Proposals for an Indian State, 1778–1878*, has resort been had to this great storehouse of documentary sources, not only for Indian tribal history, but also for the civil and ecclesiastical beginnings of our early Western settlements.

Mr. Babbitt's failure to find corroboration in contemporary records for Father De Smet's account of the sinking of a Missouri river steamer some miles below Council Bluffs towards the end of April, 1839 (p. 56), is fortunately not due to a complete lack of the corroborative evidence sought for. The *Missouri Republican*, under date of May 6, 1839, reported the recent snagging and loss, seven miles below Council Bluffs, of the steamboat *Pirate*, at a place and time, therefore, coincident with the wreck described by Father De Smet.

We commend Mr. Babbitt's brochure for a very painstaking and accurate piece of historical research, just the kind of historical research that must be carried on by hundreds of other bands working on similar themes, if the material for the history of the Mississippi Valley is to be brought to that stage of cultivation, so to speak, where the general historian can begin to utilize it with satisfactory results.

Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission. Sketch of St. Francis Church. Life of Mother Briget. By W. W. Graves. Published by the author at St. Paul, Kansas, 1916. Pp. 268.

This collection of historical sketches contains the biographies of the first missionaries who visited Southeastern Kansas a hun-

dred years ago. Chief among these were the well-known Jesuits, Father Paul Ponziglione, whom the author knew, Fathers Van Quickenborne, Shoenmakers, and Bax. The "Apostle of South-eastern Kansas," as Father Ponziglione was known, had in his own way almost as thrilling a life of adventure as his illustrious confrère, Father De Smet. Like all true missionaries, these pioneer Jesuits have written their names indelibly upon the pages of American civilization. They could go where no other white man would have been safe, and their deeds in consequence have been heralded by writers and poets as among the most notable of our country's history. The author has given us a collection of sources for the beginnings of Kansas, and his volume will be welcomed by all who are interested in the history of that important state. It is regrettable that the book is so poorly printed and that it is without an Index.

The Life of George Washington, the Father of Modern Democracy. By the Very Rev. James O'Boyle. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915. Pp. xviii+362.

This work has been returned to us as unworthy of a serious review. The volume is Father O'Boyle's second effort in American History, and we earnestly hope it will be his last. It would be indeed a deplorable thing to present American history to so sympathetic a reading public as that of Ireland in such sorry form. Apart from the typographical errors, which are abundant, the author's style is at times grotesquely puerile, and his method of presentation displays an amount of ignorance the equal of which would be hard to find. Examples of this abound, as in the following passage from the Introduction:

"The real, vital, conservative religious power in the States is the Catholic Church. She has falsified the old theory of her enemies that only under monarchy can she prosper. She shows to all that it is possible to be a dutiful subject under Republican rule and still a firm believer in the Catholic Creed and a loyal child and obedient to the Chair of Peter. She changes not with the novelties of scientists. Her code of doctrine and morals has unchanged from the days when Bishop Carroll ruled alone over the entire Union, and today men of every rank, Governors of

States and President of the nation freely acknowledge the loyalty of the Catholic Church to the Republic and the consistent support of Catholic pastors given to correct abuses and reform the moral of the people. And the names that are most revered over the Union by all denominations are Cardinal Gibbons and the great Bishop Ireland, staunch pillars of the Church and true Americans, and both sons of Holy Ireland."

Lovers of Longfellow's verse will not rejoice in this following misquotation of his celebrated lines:

"Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time:
Sailing o'er life's chequered main
Some forlorn or shipwrecked brother
Seeing may take heart again."

We read of "Morian and Sumpter" in the South; of Fort Du Quesne being named "after a French general of that name;" of "Padre" Marquette and "Ioliet;" of Governor "Dunweddle" —the spelling is uniform throughout; of the main body bringing "up the rere;" of "Lough" Erie; of Washington's consort, "Mrs. Custas;" of "Annapolis;" of "Majors-General" and "Brigadiers-General;" of "Ethel" Allen, and a "yoke of four beautiful horses," and a host of other ludicrous blunders which make the book comic. Nathan Hale is an Irishman, because he came from Connecticut. The battle of "Germanstown" is a delightful piece of comedy. It is really too bad Father Prout is not alive; his review of this disgraceful parody would be classic. The book has no *Imprimatur* and no Index.

The Vassar Semi-Centennial Series. Brissot de Warville. A Story in the History of the French Revolution. By Aloise Ellery, Ph.D. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915. Pp. xix+528.

There are many reasons why this volume will be given a prominent place in American historical literature. Apart from the racy style, without which the book might have been a work of mere erudition, apart from the accurate scientific appa-

ratus upon which the author has built up this brilliant study of Brissot de Warville's life, her work is especially important, because it is the first biography of Brissot to appear in any language. If one considers the eminent rôle de Warville filled from the outbreak of the French Revolution down to the day of his execution in October, 1793, and the diversity of the activities he displayed as humanitarian, journalist, traveler, author and political leader, it is difficult at first sight to understand why his life has never been written. Miss Ellery explains this incongruity by the fact that the diverse sides of his career give it the appearance of lacking symmetry of design, without which no true biography can be attempted. She says, in addition, that his defeat as leader of the Girondin, in particular banished him from the stage of the French Revolution, and that his life is crowded with so many apparent inconsistencies, that it seemed impossible to look upon it as proceeding from any number of given principles.

Jacques Pierre Brissot was born at Chartres, on January 15, 1754. He was the son of humble parents, and through his mother's devotion received an education at the College of Chartres, where his attention was especially given to the study of Latin. At the age of fifteen, he left college and decided to take up the legal profession. Shortly afterwards, he began his studies under one of the best lawyers at Chartres. He soon felt sufficiently sure of his knowledge to publish a short treatise on Canon Law. His interests, however, were not confined solely to legal matters. He began studying the languages, and according to one writer he was a veritable prodigy in learning foreign tongues. He had been fostered and brought up in the Catholic Church; but owing to the influence of the circle in which he lived, he soon lost the Faith, and one of his earliest works is a savage attack on the Christian religion, written in a trenchant and dogmatic tone, which, as he tells us later in his *Memoirs*, had the effect of making the young women of his acquaintance rather afraid of him. His loss of Faith estranged him from his family and was the beginning of that long tragedy which ended with his own execution on the guillotine in Paris. As he himself has well expressed it: from that time he and his family had ceased to speak a common language. This religious difficulty made his home life unhappy, and he left Chartres for Paris. It was while he was still living at Chartres that he added to his name the

quasi-noble title of "de Warville"—the anglicized form of Ouarville, a little village near Chartres where his father possessed some property. He never hearkened to any criticism of this peculiar act, and continued to sign himself "de Warville" to the end of his life.

In 1774 he left Chartres, and the rest of his life, with brief intermissions, was spent at the capital, Paris. Later he became associate editor of a paper published in Boulogne, and it was during this period of his life at Boulogne that he met the young woman that was afterwards to become his wife—Félicité Dupont. His life up to that period was a series of disappointments, with hard times in his endeavor to make ends meet; and there is a touch of humor in Miss Ellery's description: ". . . in his discouragement and loneliness he began to think it would be a comfortable consolation to have a wife to share his troubles." It was at this juncture that he was called home by the last illness of his father, who died in 1779, and as he tells us himself, the softening influence of that occasion was marred by the presence of priests at his father's deathbed. He returned to Paris and began a career of political pamphleteering which brought him much notoriety. On September 17, 1782, he married Félicité Dupont, and it is her mother who alone seems to have had a restraining hand upon him during the rest of his life. His activity as a member of the Constituent Assembly, his conflict with the Convention, his arrest, trial and execution have less interest for the American reader than the chapter which treats of his travels in the United States. No man of his time was more enthusiastic over the young Republic. He admired practically everything in the States. He took a great interest in the Negro Problem, and in his volume *De la France et des Etats Unis*, he shows how profoundly he had studied the history of the origin of this country. There is no doubt now that the book was published as a means of bringing home to the French people the necessity of a French Revolution. He speaks of the commerce which should exist between the two nations, and shows very clearly that he foresaw how closely France and America would be united in the years to come. This increased his desire to make a journey to the United States, and finally in the Spring of 1788, Brissot set out on the *Cato*. After a voyage of fifty-one days, he arrived at Boston on July 24. As Miss Ellery tells us:

"It was to him a moment of supreme happiness. He was fleeing from despotism, and was about to enjoy the life of a people who were in the actual possession of that liberty and equality which everywhere else was regarded as a chimera. He was especially delighted to find himself in Boston, the first city to throw off the yoke of the English. He was charmed he declared, to see how different it was from the disagreeable, noisy whirlpool of Paris. He was especially impressed with the absence of that restless, busy seeking for pleasure which characterized his fellow countrymen." The scheme which Brissot had in mind or rather of which he was the French agent, consisted in speculating on the American debt, and in purchasing western lands for the purpose of immigration. For this reason he brought with him many letters of introduction, and he had the pleasure of meeting men like General Heath, John Adams, Samuel Adams, and Governor Hancock of Massachusetts. He likens men of this type to Cincinnatus, and he becomes so enthusiastic over the simplicity of their lives that the glass of cider, which General Heath handed him, seems superior to the most exquisite wines of France.

After a stay of several weeks in Boston and vicinity, he set out for New York and Philadelphia. The luxury of New York appalls him, and he especially declares that the introduction of carpets in New York seems to have been due to English influence, and he trusts that Boston may never catch the malady. The prevalent use of the cigar disgusted him, although he did see that it might assist reflection. After the luxuries of New York, it was a great relief to visit the Quakers in Pennsylvania.

"Simplicity, candour and good faith characterize the actions, as well as the discourses of the Quakers. They are not affected, but they are sincere; they are not polished, but they are humane; they have not that wit—that sparkling wit—without which a man is nothing in France, and with which he is everything; but they have good sense, sound judgment, upright hearts and honest souls."

One reason for Brissot's keen interest in the Quakers, as the author points out, was their common enthusiasm in work for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. His warm praise for everything American led him to much extravagance in speech. "In his enthusiasm he was guilty of a good deal of triviality. Liberty, in his opinion, accounted for everything, from the good

temper of the stage-driver to the large size of the windows in the hospitals—both of which, he declared, would be exceptional in a land of despotism. To liberty and equality was due the longevity of the people. To the absence of entire liberty and equality, in the case of women, was due the greater prevalence of consumption among their sex.” There is an excellent appendix of selected letters and other documents, a full bibliography and a complete Index at the back of this volume. The work casts great credit on Vassar and is a model biography in every way.

The Mexican Problem. By Clarence W. Barron, with Introduction by Talcott Williams, LL.D. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. Pp. xxv+136.

So high an authority on international affairs as Dr. Talcott Williams considers these articles on the *Mexican Problem*, by one of America's best known financial experts as “a clear and wise economic picture of Mexico,” beyond any others that he has read. No other book, he claims, “so grasps the clear, strong fact that Mexico is a hell on earth because Mexico has no law.” It is a vivid picture Mr. Barron gives of Mexico in its dark tragic present, “with cartridges for currency,” and as one falls under the sway of his graphic descriptions, it is hard to resist Dr. William's conclusion that the Mexican people should be given the same chance which was given to the people of Cuba.

There has always been a close connection between New England and Mexico. Fifty years ago the people of New England were giving lavishly to Protestant missionaries who had returned from Mexico to collect money, in order that they might “help spread truth and light before our fellow-man and brother over our southern border.” Forty years ago came the appeal for railroads, and millions of New England dollars were poured into the project, which was not unlinked with religious “futures.” There are seventeen million people in Mexico—ten million pure Aztecs, five million of partially Spanish origin, and two million pure Spanish and other foreigners. Where formerly it was estimated that there were fifty thousand Americans, there are not now five thousand. It is this motley of population which is the most difficult of all Mexico's problems, and the question of amalgamation appeals to many, particularly to the American east of the

Hudson, as one that can only be settled by conquest. New England settled its Indian problem in the old days by such a means, and it is not unfrequently heard nowadays that the United States failed to realize its heaven-sent chance of "conquering" Mexico in '48. Back of the idea of "conquering" Mexico—an idea, even though it comes from New England, that is quite Prussian in essence—is the desire of exploitation, and Mr. Barron has settled that possibility to his own mind once and for all. "The idea that Mexico is a land to be exploited by foreign princes passed away with Maximilian. The idea that it is to be exploited for the benefit of the United States must soon go by the boards, if it has not already gone." Mr. Barron holds that the redemption of Mexico must come from the "invasion of business," but business which has for its end the amelioration of the situation through technical training, higher wages, bank accounts, financial independence, and the rights of citizenship and accumulation. Much of his book centers around the story of one of these "invaders"—Mr. Edward L. Doheny, who, with his partner Canfield, entered Mexico in 1900 to prospect for petroleum, and about whom Mr. Barron has written an interesting chapter. In proof of his assertion that exploitation is not the cure for Mexico, Mr. Barron says that cooperation between Mexico and its Sister Republic of the North can never be accomplished until two popular, yet absolutely false, impressions of Mexico are removed. These popular fallacies are:

"First, that the natural wealth of Mexico has furnished a base for contending business interests from the United States to promote Mexican quarrels.

"Second, that the land question is at the bottom of the Mexican troubles."

With these two fallacies as a background, Mr. Barron points out that every policy begun by the United States during Mr. Wilson's presidency has been wrong. The President's attitude of non-intervention rendered the national government in Mexico powerless. "Wilson's words were posted over Mexico. It was 'open season' for all who could get the guns." Mr. Barron's book is written from Wall Street, and, while hardly worthy of the adjective historical, his book gives a new viewpoint to the Mexican Problem. It is oil, not religion, which he places at the root of the trouble.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Seventy-five Years which have just passed in the life of the University of Notre Dame have all the fascinating glamour of a romance. When Edward Sorin went out in the early winter of 1841 to the land hallowed by the memories of Marquette, Allouez, La Salle, and Hennepin, he faced a pioneer life which the land he left in Europe had not seen for ten centuries. The success of the three-quarters of a century of intellectual life, of missionary zeal, and of devotion to the nobler things of this world is evident to all who are acquainted with Notre Dame, and the brilliancy of the Jubilee which took place in June presages a national celebration of the highest type for its Centennial.

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington deserves the intelligent sympathy of all Catholic scholars in the historical field. The main purpose of the Department, as we read in the Report of 1916, is "to serve the interests of present and future makers of historical monographs and general histories, by providing aids belonging to one or the other of two main classes—either books which show the inquirer the existence and location, or assist him in the use of bodies of historical sources, or books which themselves present in proper scientific form the full text of important historical materials." The publications of the Department, therefore, are of two kinds: (1) *reports, aids, guides*; (2) *textual publications of documents*. We have on more than one occasion called the attention of our readers to the work published so far by the Department, especially to its *Guides*. Mention must be made of additional publications which bring a considerable mass of new material to the workshop of the historical student—*FAUST, Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives of Switzerland and Austria*; *GOLDER, Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*; and *HILL, Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papelas procedentes de Cuba, deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville*. It was the pleasure of the writer to meet Dr. Hill at Seville, during his investigations there, and to study the methods used by the corps of research-workers under his direction. Nothing escaped their eager eyes, with the result that some 500,000 documents were catalogued and indexed for this volume. Dr. Hill's work at Seville really takes on proportions of an heroic kind, and every Catholic student of history is his debtor. Dr. Leland, the courteous Secretary of the Department, has devoted a large part of the past year to working over the notes he took during his various expedition to Paris, and his published work—now held up by the war—will furnish the student with a *Guide to the Materials in Parisian Archives*. Dr. Paullin has nearly completed his *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, and Miss Davenport is continuing her work on the *Treaties between European Powers, relating to American History*. Mr. Leo Stock, a member of the Department, and a graduate of the Catholic University, has in preparation the *Proceedings and Debates of Parliament respecting North America from 1585 to 1783*. Work

such as this, done with all that splendid accuracy which the thoroughly-equipped organization of the Department commands, needs no praise. These scholars labor for the love of the science. They are preparing the way, pioneer-like, for the next generation. Hardly any corporate body in the United States gains more by this scholarship than the Catholic Church. Let us hope that one day a cooperative spirit will be shown, and that from out its wealth the Catholic Church of the United States will follow up the pathways these men have cut through the wilderness of documentary material, and bring together all that relates to its own wonderful history in America.

Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702: The Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola, by William Edward Dunn, is a welcome addition to the excellent historical studies of the Latin-American staff of the University of Texas (*University of Texas Bulletin* No. 1705, Austin, 1917). The work deals with the Spanish opposition to the La Salle colony of the Gulf coast, and the subsequent Spanish settlement at Pensacola. The abundance of new matter it contains comes mostly from that rich mine, the *Archivo General de Indias*, at Seville, where the author spent sixteen months in the interests of the University of Texas and the Library of Congress. The treatment of the founding of the missions among the "Texas" Indians is full, and is important for the Catholic historian. The note (p. 107) on Madre María de Agreda will need a slight revision on the publication of the Benavides Propaganda Memorial of 1634 (cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 76-78). The work has a good bibliography and a full index, but typographically it suggests haste.

Mr. Waldo G. Leland's article *Concerning Catholic Historical Societies* in the January (1917) issue of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, has been very favorably commented upon by Father William Busch, the editor of *Acta et Dicta* (July, 1917), the official publication of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul. "Evidences are not lacking," Father Busch writes, "of increasing recognition of the importance of Catholic historical activity . . . More gratifying still is the news in this same regard from St. Louis, the announcement, namely, of the foundation of a Catholic Historical Society in St. Louis under the presidency of the Most Rev. Archbishop Glennon." In the second edition of the *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* of the United States and Canada, prepared by Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin for the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1905* (Washington, 1907), the student interested in the history of American Catholic historical activity will find listed the work done and published so far by the different Catholic historical societies which have been founded in the United States. There have no doubt been organizations of this kind in various parts of the country which have never gone beyond the stage of inception; but the following list tells its own story of success and failure.

1. 1884—**American Catholic Historical Society** (of Philadelphia). (See CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 193-195.)
 - (a) *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Quarterly).
 - (b) Martin I. J. Griffin's *American Catholic Researches* (1887-1912).
 - (c) *Records and Researches of the American Catholic Historical Society* (since 1912).
2. 1884—**United States Catholic Historical Society** (of New York). (See CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. ii, pp. 303-306.)
 - (a) *The United States Catholic Historical Magazine* (1888-1892).
 - (b) *Historical Records and Studies* (1899-1904).
 - (c) *Monograph Series* (1902 -).
3. 1884—**Ohio Valley Catholic Historical Society**. (See CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 435-438.)
 - (a) *Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania, Principally Catholic* (1884-1885), Vol. i, with four numbers.
 - (b) *Catholic Historical Researches* (1885-1886), Vol. ii and iii. This magazine was purchased by Martin I. J. Griffin in December, 1886, and was issued as the *American Historical Researches* from 1887 until his death in 1912.
4. 1901—**Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society**. *Records* (one volume published in 1901).
5. 1901—**New England Catholic Historical Society**. *Publications* (five numbers appeared between 1901-1904).
6. 1905—**Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul**. *Acta et Dicta* (1907 -).
7. 1913—**Maine Catholic Historical Society**. *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine*.
8. 1917—**Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis**.

The story of this last foundation is described by its Secretary, Father Rothensteiner, in the following letter to the Editor:—

St. Louis, Mo.,
August 23, 1917.

My dear Doctor:

As Secretary of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis*, I should ere this have informed you of our aims and prospects. The history of the Church in the Diocese of St. Louis, including all the territory that was at any time under its jurisdiction, is our special field of investigation. It is a most promising field, yet one that has, so far, received but little attention. Efforts have been made at various times.

On the 26th day of January, 1839, Bishop Rosati issued a call for a Diocesan Synod. Among other matters of importance the Bishop writes: *Sacerdotes qui curam habent animarum, notitiam accuratam Parochiarum suarum, seu Missionum nobis scriptis dabunt juxta omnia capita, quae hic enumerantur*: (here follow the usual statistics under thirteen heads). The Bishop then concludes: "*Demum sacerdotes rogamus ut inquirent et colligant monumenta historica, sive scriptis existentia, sive viva voce ab antiquioribus et fide dignis circa primam foundationem Parochias, Ecclesias, et etiam loci in quo existit, et meliori quo possunt modo conficiant notitiam et secum afferant.*" This gathering of historical material was carried out, in a measure, though not so thoroughly as we could desire. The archives of the St. Louis chancery contain the fruit of these labors, and will, when made accessible, add very materially to our knowledge of the early days of the Diocese.

On November 5, 1878, a number of St. Louis priests originated a society for the purpose of historical research. Very Rev. Henry Van der Sanden was elected *President*, Rev. James McCabe, *Recording Secretary*; Rev. Charles Ziegler, *Corresponding Secretary for the English-speaking clergy*, and Rev. Herman Leygraaf, *Corresponding Secretary for the German clergy*. This announcement says:

"Impressed by the fact that every age is the maker of its own history, that none can bear more truthful witness to the events transpiring than the actors in its ever-changing scenes, it was deemed very important to possess a record of the lives, labors and sacrifices of our predecessors in the holy ministry—to preserve and transmit their traditions. It was agreed that a knowledge of their privations, of their difficulties and of their successes, would stimulate our zeal, would encourage our emulation, and it was considered opportune to make an immediate beginning, the more so as we have still in our midst living representatives of the pioneers of our early Catholic Missions.

"Moreover, the local parochial history, written by the incumbent pastors throughout the diocese, will in the distant future be a fruitful source of instruction and edification for our successors."

The success of this Historical Society of St. Louis did not fulfil the expectations of its founders except in so far as the President, Very Rev. Van der Sanden, as Chancellor of the Archdiocese, was induced to guard with even greater care the priceless treasures of the Diocesan Archives, lest they should fall under the eye of the profane and frivolous.

Omitting from the present account the activities of the "Central-Stelle," as pursuing historical studies only as incidental to its sociological endeavors; and the "Historical Commission of the Catholic Union of Missouri," as restricting its efforts to the History of the German Catholics of Missouri, I come to the recently established Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis. I quote from the *Church Progress*:

"The project, long in contemplation, for effectually conserving early Catholic data and traditions, is about to be achieved. St. Louis is to have a Catholic Historical Society, with the Mississippi Valley, and particularly the old diocese of St. Louis, as its chosen field of investigation. Most Rev. Archbishop Glennon at the close of the Junior Clergy examinations, February 7, 1917, suggested the foundation of the Society, and invited Rt. Rev. Mgr. Connelly, P.R., V.G., and Rt. Rev. J. J. Tannrath, as well as members of the Board of Diocesan Examiners, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Tallon, Rev. John Rothensteiner, Rev. Francis Gilfillan, S.J.L., Very Rev. M. S. Ryan, C.M., D.D., Rev. Joseph Wentker, Rev. F. G. Holweck, Rev. F. J. Jones, Rev. F. X. Willmes, P.R., Rev. E. J. Lemkes, Rev. Jos. Selinger, S.T.L., Rev. J. T. Shields, Rev. H. Hussman and Rev. C. L. Souvay, C.M., S.T.D., to become the charter members of the new Association. The proposition met with unanimous and enthusiastic consent. His Grace then announced his intention of calling a meeting of both priests and laymen to take the necessary steps for organizing 'The Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.' In his introductory remarks the Archbishop dwelt on the fact that although much of the historical material fit to illustrate the foundation and program of the Church in the Mississippi Valley had already perished, or was in danger of being lost, there was still an abundant supply awaiting the earnest collector's hand.

Later, at a meeting at St. Teresa's Rectory, officers were chosen and a Committee on Constitution and By-Laws appointed which at subsequent

meetings submitted a draft of Constitution and By-Laws which was adopted.

The following extracts from the Constitution and By-Laws explain in detail the objects, means and membership of the Society:

"Constitution, Art. III. The object of this Society shall be: To collect and preserve materials of all kinds, such as books, pamphlets, papers, manuscripts, maps, documents, pictures and other objects of historic interest, relating to the Catholic history of the Diocese of St. Louis and of whatever territories and places were at any time associated with St. Louis in the same ecclesiastical division; to institute, carry on, and foster historical research on subjects pertaining to the field of inquiry above described, and disseminate such information.

"By-Laws, Art. I, Sec. 2. Any person of good character, whether ecclesiastical, religious or lay, of either sex, in sympathy with the work and aims of the Society, shall be eligible to membership; Sec. 7: The annual dues of active members shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable in advance; the dues for life membership shall be one hundred dollars."

The President of the Society is Most. Rev. J. J. Glennon, D.D.

First Vice-President, Rt. Rev. Mgr. J. A. Connolly, V.G.

Secretary, Rev. John Rothensteiner, 1911 N. Taylor Ave.

Treasurer, Rt. Rev. J. J. Tannrath, 209 Walnut Street.

Thus the latest society for the purpose of historical investigation has been inaugurated. We look forward with hope and confidence, born of the conviction that the work is necessary. For the present we need all the encouragement we can get "in thought, word and deed."

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER, *Secretary,*

Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

That a beginning is being made in another rich field of American Catholic History is evident from the following letter which Bishop Lillis of Kansas City, Mo., recently sent to all his clergy.

DIocese of KANSAS CITY, Mo.

November 24, 1916.

Dear Reverend Father:

I shall be most grateful to receive from every pastor in the diocese a short narrative of the local history of the parish in his charge from the time of its foundation to the present year, and I ask you to prepare in your leisure hours three (or more) typewritten pages, embracing all notable facts and dates deserving of mention. Convinced that much material will be at your disposal for this purpose, it will be necessary to make a judicious selection of what is really important and characteristic, avoiding the laudatory tone and long comments on single events. The merit of this work may not be apparent at present, but it will be as years roll by, and we should endeavor to rescue from oblivion all historical matter of value.

I believe that the Diocesan Statutes (No. 153) offer the best suggestions as to what facts and dates should find expression in a paper of this kind; viz

- (a) WHEN AND BY WHOM WAS PARISH ESTABLISHED? NAME OF CHURCH, ITS COST. NUMBER OF FAMILIES AT TIME OF ORGANIZATION. PRESENT NUMBER OF FAMILIES. NAMES OF PASTORS (AND ASSIS-

TANTS) WHO HAD CHARGE OF PARISH. DECEASED PRIESTS (YEAR OF DEATH). MEMBERS AND BENEFACTORS INTERESTED IN WELFARE AND PROGRESS OF PARISH. CONVERTS. RECTORY. CEMETERY.

(b) SCHOOL—WHEN ORGANIZED, TEACHERS IN CHARGE, ITS GROWTH, NUMBER OF PUPILS, COST OF BUILDING. TEACHERS' RESIDENCE.

(c) ACADEMIES, CONVENTS, HOSPITALS, CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN THE PARISH. WHEN ESTABLISHED. RELIGIOUS ORDER IN CHARGE.

(d) CATHOLIC SOCIETIES, SODALITIES, CONFRATERNITIES. BY WHOM AND WHEN ORGANIZED. NUMBER OF MEMBERS.

(e) NOTABLE EVENTS: DEDICATION SERVICES, CONFIRMATION DAY, JUBILEES, MISSIONS, CONVENTIONS, DISTINGUISHED VISITORS, ETC.

One copy, with your signature, should be sent to the Chancery for filing before March 1, 1917, and the other kept in the Parish Archives.

Your servant in Christ,

✠ THOMAS F. LILLIS.

Other evidences of increasing interest can be seen in the numerous parish histories which have appeared the past two years, but no one will claim that the Catholic clergy and people have yet awakened to the duty of multiplying these Historical Societies all over the United States. Probably the most striking want in this regard is the absence of a Catholic Historical Society in California. There, at least, is a legacy of Catholic life, which cannot be paralleled even in Catholic Maryland.

The following encouraging statement has been prepared for the REVIEW by a prominent Knight of Columbus, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

A LIBRARY OF CATHOLIC AMERICANA

To cultivate a deep and practical sense of Patriotism is the purpose of the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus. Next to the motive of practicing love of country because it is a virtue, no influence can be more stimulating and inspiring than a broad knowledge of the glorious history of America. Consequently the Long Island Assembly of the Fourth Degree believes that it has advanced true patriotism by voting enthusiastically to establish and maintain a library of "Catholic Americana," containing standard historical and biographical works of every description by Catholic American authors, with particular reference to local history, and to urge the founding of such libraries by every Fourth Degree Assembly in the country through the Supreme authorities.

Far from usurping the functions of local Catholic Historical Societies, co-operation with them is sought, as is also the permanency, cultivation and spread of this great work through a well-organized, closely-united and self-perpetuating body interested in the matter; and such a body is the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus.

To stimulate study and research and to provide a place and other means therefore; to spread knowledge, which is power; to establish archives, particularly for local history, so often neglected; to arouse greater patriotic enthusiasm for a country, ours by so many and such noble ties and claims; to generate emulation of the heroic deeds of our Catholic forebears, are some of the purposes that prompted the movement. Slandorous and calumniating

articles, such as *The Clamor of the Missions* in the February, 1917, *New Era*, hastened the adoption of the plan.

"Divided loyalty" is the general charge against us. A study of our history will educate a greater number of champions of the truth, who, by authentic fact and figure, will be able to refute the accusation and to establish the eloquent claim to the contrary. Such a corps will be trained by the Speakers Bureau of the Long Island Chapter, Knights of Columbus, as the lectures in the next fall term will bear on the history of our country from the Catholic viewpoint.

The expense entailed is of slight moment. A few hundred dollars will cover lots of ground. Enthusiasm for the Faith and for our Country is required mainly. Therefore, to apply the stirring slogan of the day: "Arise, Catholic America, Your Country needs you," and in more ways than one.

CATHOLIC AMERICANA

Whereas, the Cultivation of a better knowledge of the glorious history of the Catholic Church in our Country and the spread of the magnificent record of Catholic achievement in the discovery, colonization and evangelization of these parts and in the establishment and maintenance of our Union must be a purpose fundamental to the objects of the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus; and

Whereas, interest in such study will promote a loftier loyalty and a more intelligent devotion to the high ideals of our republic; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we, the Long Island Assembly of the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus, facilitate the realization of these patriotic purposes by the establishment of a library of Catholic Americana, containing the best historical and biographical works by Catholic American authors, with particular reference to local history.

Resolved, that such a library be established and maintained by receiving donations of suitable books, pamphlets, papers and the like, and by voluntary contributions of one dollar (or more, at pleasure) per member of The Long Island Fourth Degree Assembly, and that its members and their families be entitled to the exclusive use of the library.

Resolved, that said library be maintained in the Knights of Columbus Institute, 81 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N. Y., and that the Faithful Navigator appoint a committee of three to be known as the Library Committee for its proper establishment and supervision.

Resolved, that we recommend to our delegates to the Local District Convention to suggest to the Supreme Convention of the Fourth Degree the establishment of such a library in every Fourth Degree Assembly, wherever feasible.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH J. TIMMES, *Chairman,*

WILLIAM F. X. GEOGHAN,

JOSEPH W. MANDART,

Library Committee.

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

New York, April 25, 1917.

The United States Catholic Historical Society invites your cooperation in a plan for the promotion of the study of American Catholic history, believing it

to be an influential instrument of education and a sure means for the conservation and spread of the Faith.

To enlist the immediate and practical interest of students in Catholic colleges in research work among the records of American Catholic achievements, the Historical Society has determined to offer for competition by the students of the Catholic colleges of the United States a prize of one hundred dollars in gold for the best essay on any one of the following topics:

- I. *The Centenary of Illinois*: (Dec. 30, 1918) Catholic Landmarks and Achievements, Past and Present, in the State.
- II. *Catholic Social Service* as illustrated by the Creightons of Omaha; the Mulanphies of St. Louis; Margaret Haughey of New Orleans; Carney of Boston; Heeney and the Parmentiers of New York; the Drexels of Philadelphia, and the founders of benevolent institutions elsewhere.
- III. The *Marcus Whitman Myth* and the *Missionary History of Oregon*.

The CONDITIONS governing this contest are:

1. Every contestant must be certified by the faculty as a student in course, in a Catholic college.
2. The MS. which must be typewritten must contain no fewer than 2,500 words and may not exceed 5,000 words. It must be received at the office of the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, 346 Convent Ave., New York, before November 1, 1917.
3. The papers will be passed on by the Editing Committee of the Historical Society, and the final award will be made by a special committee composed of the Rev. R. H. Tierney, S.J., Editor of *America*; Dr. Condé B. Pallen, Managing Editor of the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, and Thomas F. Woodlock, Esq.

The successful essay will be published in the issue of the *United States Catholic Historical Society's Records and Studies* immediately following the award.

We earnestly request your kind assistance in bringing this project before the students of your institution.

Very truly yours,

STEPHEN FARRELLY,
President.

Joseph H. Fargis,
Corresponding Secretary.

The actual conditions which prevail in Catholic Church organization, social as well as ecclesiastical, have gained so noteworthy an advance over those of a hundred years ago, that it is a question whether its leaders, cleric and lay, should delay longer in the formation of an American Catholic Historical Association. The nucleus from which such a natural body should arise already exists in two of our cities, and if the hierarchy of the country were to give the project its support, there is no reason why such an organization should not be established within the near future. Until that moment arrives, there is no harm in calling the attention of Diocesan officials to their bounden duty to preserve all records for the future historians of the Church here. We have received several letters upon this important aspect of Church life in America; in one of them a rather forceful plea is made that the archives of every diocese be kept upon the latest methods. "The chanceries of every diocese," this

prominent ecclesiastic writes, "are or ought to be equipped with modern methods of indexing and filing. There are exceptions, it is true, since some Dioceses still cling to the haphazard methods which prevail in so many governmental centers—the worst arranged of which, without doubt, are the Archives of the Federal Government at Washington. Every Chancery office should be organized on a strictly business basis, and all parochial records of more than ordinary historical importance should be sent there to be properly indexed, catalogued and preserved. There records ought to be easily accessible to all qualified students whether Catholic or non-Catholic. Every Diocese should have an accredited archivist, whose duty it would be to keep all records of importance and upon whom the responsibility would rest for their use by students." We have waited a long while for a concerted movement on the part of our bishops in this regard, and the future will have its own harsh judgment for our general neglect to preserve the past. The model Ecclesiastical Archives of the country are at Georgetown University, and photographs of the Archival vault there with all its appurtenances could be sent to all those in whose hands these valuable records for the future now lie.

Historical scholars in every part of the United States recognize with the highest sympathy the Catholic past of our beloved country; but they cannot be expected to devote themselves exclusively to that Catholic past. What they have done through the different State Historical Societies for the conservation of the Catholic history of the land has never been fully recognized and seldom repaid. The roster of these State Historical Societies contains very few Catholic names, and very little Catholic generosity finds its way into their treasury. No diocese in the country ought to be without its CATHOLIC LIBRARY, containing all that has been published on the State in which it is, on the large cities of that State, and on all that concerns Catholic life within its district. There should be a CATHOLIC MUSEUM, where all relics of the past might be housed—for there are monumenta of as great importance as the documentary archives. There should be a well-organized CATHOLIC ARCHIVES, under episcopal control, where the documentary history of the past could be carefully preserved. Only the shame of it makes one refrain from telling the full story of the fate of many an episcopal archives in this country. And for gathering up these varied activities into one body, there should be an AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION which would meet year by year in conjunction with the American Historical Association, would draw encouragement and zeal from personal contact with its members, and would thus weave into the immeasurable activity of historical scholars throughout the land the story of Catholic effort, of Catholic success, and of Catholic patriotism.

The *Richmond College Historical Papers* (Vol. i, No. 2, June, 1916) contains four papers, two of which are important to the Church historian, the *Virginia Loyalists* (1775–83), and the *Campaign of 1855 in Virginia and the Fall of the Know-Nothing Party*. Miss Gay, who writes the latter paper, displays a thorough grasp of the subject. The movement is one that can be treated quite

objectively now, and her description of its rise and fall in Virginia politics deserves attention and commendation.

The Friars Preacher: A Seventh Centenary Sketch, by the Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., whose studies in Dominican history have appeared in the pages of this REVIEW, has been published. The purpose of the work is to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the founding of the Order. An entire section of the book deals with the work of the Dominicans in the United States.

Are we coming closer to the real cause of the American Revolution? There are many students of American History, both Catholic and non-Catholic, who are inclined to the theory that the economic causes usually listed in our text-books are not the whole story, and, indeed, do not contain the important facts for a thoroughly reliable judgment on that glorious event. Somehow, cause and effect do not balance well; and one wonders whether the price England paid—the loss of her American colonies—was the result of something more fundamental than the customary stock in trade of historical facts given to our school children—Stamp Act riots, Boston Massacre, Tea controversy, and the national spirit of independence. Our knowledge of the Loyalist movement throughout the Colonies and of the principles upon which the Tories based their determination to remain within the Empire is not complete. The orthodox history on this point has met with several severe shocks within the past decade, and the last attempt at an adequate explanation of the Revolution comes from the pen of Professor Alvord in his *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (2 vols., Arthur H. Clarke Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1917). A still more potent factor remains to be dealt with by an impartial historian—the Influence of the Quebec Act in the Colonies, and Dr. Alvord's classic volumes already cast considerable light upon this fundamentally religious aspect of our Revolution. The real truth will gradually emerge from such studies as those of the eminent historian of the Mississippi Valley.

There is an interesting hypothesis suggested by Coffin in his *Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution* (1896), between that "most unfortunate of enactments"—the Quebec Act of 1774, and the racial and religious difficulties which existed in Canada since that time and which have been accentuated by the present war. Are the French Canadians of today—"isolated in the midst of an Anglo-Saxon world,"—to be brought by force to an Anglicization which was halted by the divisions created through this Act of one hundred and fifty years ago? Was the Quebec Act an early acceptance of the policy of "small nationalities?" We need a new study of this important piece of Colonial legislation which gave to "His Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said Province of Quebec" the right to "have, hold and enjoy," the Free Exercise of that Religion. Coffin sees in this enactment the "patronage of some malign genius; for the unfortunate nature of its provisions is equalled by the unhappy moment of its appearance."

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HISTORICAL CRITICISM

Criticism has not always borne a good name. Historical criticism became prominent at a time when the so-called Higher Criticism of the Scriptures was enjoying its day of notoriety; and the rather dubious reputation the latter acquired in circles where the Bible was still revered as the Inspired Word, cast a shadow upon the value of the former as a constructive science or inquiry into the truth. We see an evidence of this in the Introduction of Père Delehaye's book on the *Legends of the Saints*. "Historical criticism," he says, "when applied to the lives of the saints, has had certain results which are in no way surprising to those who are accustomed to handle documents and to interpret inscriptions, but which have had a somewhat disturbing effect on the mind of the general public. . . . If you suggest that the biographer of a saint has been unequal to his task, or that he has not professed to write as a historian, you are accused of attacking the saint himself, who, it appears, is too powerful to allow himself to be compromised by an indiscreet panegyrist. If, again, you venture to express doubt concerning certain marvellous incidents repeated by the author on insufficient evidence, although well calculated to enhance the glory of the saint, you are at once suspected of lack of faith. You are told you are introducing the spirit of rationalism into history, as though in questions of fact it were not above all things essential to weigh the evidence. How often has not an accusation of destructive criticism been flung, and men treated as iconoclasts, whose sole object has been to appraise at their true value the documents which justify our attitude of veneration, and who are only too happy when able to declare that one of God's friends has been fortunate enough to find a historian worthy of his task."¹ What the well-known Bollandist says, somewhat caustically, it is true, of hagiography, holds equally well for biography in general. American Catholic history thus far is largely biographical, and it is from the published Lives of the leaders of the Church here that the future historian will be compelled to gather the larger part of his materials. To detect inferior workmanship in what we already possess, to clear the road of the mass of rubbish which has not only hindered the progress of knowledge but which has been allowed to stand as certified history, to insist upon a technical method of research, of criticism, and of composition in all that is offered to us, must eventually prevail if American Catholic history is to be protected against historiasters in the future. American Catholic history is or ought to be a subject too sacred to the deepest feelings of faith and of patriotism for anyone to enter into the field without a well-balanced judgment on the value of the sources at his disposal. All data furnished to him by former writers, by tradition, or by archival depots must be tested, in order that the truth or error they contain may be known and appreciated at its proper value. To test is to criticize; and while criticism is not the chief end of historical research, still, no conclusions may be made by the research-worker until all his material has passed through the sieve of historical criticism.

¹ H. DELEHAYE, S.J., *Legends of the Saints*, pp. vii-viii. New York, 1907.

"The processes of Criticism fall naturally into two parts. The first important step is to determine whether the given source is at all admissible as evidence, or, in other words, *whether the material is genuine or not*. Conclusions are worthless and labor is wasted if the document is fraudulent or misjudged. It is necessary to know at the outset whether the chronicle, charter, or relic is in reality what it claims to be, or what it has been esteemed to be. It is important to determine where and when it originated, who was its author, and where he derived his information. The rules of procedure by which these facts are determined in historical research constitute EXTERNAL CRITICISM . . . The second part of the critical process *weighs the relation of the testimony to the truth*. One must decide whether the statements made are trustworthy and, if not absolutely certain, whether they are probable. The degree of probability or possibility must be determined, or, if necessary, the whole cast out as worthless. This is INTERNAL CRITICISM, and is often called Higher Criticism, since it deals with more important matter than external form."¹

1. EXTERNAL CRITICISM is that part of the historical method which determines the authenticity of the source. The document is somewhat like a prisoner at the bar. Its genuineness must be tested, where possible, by paleographical and diplomatic criticism. It must be localized in time and place. It must be ascertained, whether in its present state it exists exactly as its author left it. In order to test its genuineness, the student must ask himself if it is what it appears to be or if it is a forgery. One is too apt to imagine that historical forgeries passed out of style with the Middle Ages. The document must be viewed from every possible angle. Its agreement or disagreement with facts known from other genuine sources of the same place and period, or on the same subject, will often be a deciding factor in its authenticity. The writer's ignorance of facts which he should have known and which should have been mentioned in the document, or the record of events which he clearly could not have known at the time of writing, are other signs of genuinity or of its absence. A document proven probably genuine by these tests can often be heightened in value by an analysis which may restore it to its original state, or which may accentuate the historicity of the facts it contains. The *False Decretals*, or the *Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals*, are a good example of the value of External Criticism. Of the one hundred documents contained in the collection, which was written about 852, about five are authentic. It is by analyzing the *Decretals* and by localizing them in place and time, that the student is enabled to see the constant use of material which the Popes to whom they are attributed could never have known. Letters from the Popes of the first three centuries, for instance, contain parts of documents dating from the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. The importance of a strict test for historical material is easily recognizable when one reflects that these *False Decretals*, although a huge forgery, passed for genuine all through the Middle Ages;² and when especially one touches the delicate question of how far these forgeries contributed to papal authority in that period. The sum

¹ VINCENT, *Historical Research: An Outline of Theory and Practice*, pp. 19-20. New York, 1911.

² HINSCHIUS, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, preface. Leipzig, 1863. FOURNIER, in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vols. vii (1906), vii (1907), *passim*.

total of all these operations will give the student a fair idea of how far his source or sources may be trusted as authentic. A further question arises—whether the material facts found in the source can be used as evidence for the work in hand.

2. INTERNAL CRITICISM is that part of the historical method which determines the historicity of the facts contained in the document. It is not of absolute necessity that the document be proven genuine; even forgeries or documents with truncated truths may contain available material. But before any conclusion is admissible, the facts contained in the document must be tested. In order to determine the value of these facts, the character of the sources, the knowledge of the author, and the influences prevalent at the time of writing must be carefully investigated. We must first be certain that we know exactly what the author said and that we understand what he wrote as he understood it. It would be misleading, for example, to see in the words *lex*, *homo*, or *scutagium* of the *Magna Charta* (1215) the same meaning as is found in classical Latin dictionaries. Moreover, the facts given by the author or writer must be firmly established as having taken place exactly as reported. The student or research-worker must be permeated with an earnest desire to reach the truth and must be, as far as it lies within his power, indifferent to the results of his inquiry or criticism. What is of the utmost importance in dealing with any source, whether it be a volume already in print or a document hitherto used or unused by historians, is that the student jealously guard himself against the danger of seeing if it agrees with preconceived conclusions of his own. "Tout ce qui brouille la vue doit être impitoyablement écarté," says Fonck.⁴ In their excellent *Introduction to the Study of History* (p. 69), Langlois and Seignobos warn the student that criticism is antagonistic to the normal bent of the mind. "The spontaneous tendency of man is to yield assent to affirmations, and to reproduce them, without even clearly distinguishing them from the results of his own observation. In everyday life do we not accept indiscriminately, without any kind of verification, hearsay reports, anonymous and unguaranteed statements, 'documents' of indifferent or inferior authority? It takes a special reason to induce us to take the trouble to examine into the origin and value of a document on the history of yesterday; otherwise, if there is no outrageous improbability in it, and as long as it is not contradicted, we swallow it whole, we pin our faith to it, we hawk it about, and, if need be, embellish it in the process. Every candid man must admit that it requires a violent effort to shake off *ignavia critica*, that common form of intellectual sloth, that this effort must be continually repeated, and is often accompanied by real pain. The natural instinct of a man in the water is to do precisely that which will infallibly cause him to be drowned; learning to swim means acquiring the habit of suppressing spontaneous movements and performing others instead. Similarly, criticism is not a natural habit; it must be inculcated, and only becomes organic by dint of continued practice."

Consequently, as they conclude, historical work is pre-eminently critical, and whoever enters upon it without having first been put on his guard against his instinct is sure to be drowned in it. It may not be necessary for the student

⁴ LEOPOLD FONCK, S.J., *Le Travail Scientifique*, p. 47. Paris, 1911.

to set for himself rules of such geometrical rigidity as Descartes has done;⁵ for methodical distrust towards all statements contained in the documents he uses, or an *a priori* suspicion that they are erroneous, may not always be the safest path to follow to the discovery of truth. In ecclesiastical history, at any rate, a certain power of sympathetic understanding is essential to any real insight of the period or movement in question.⁶

Enough has been said to emphasize the value and the necessity of Historical Criticism. The different processes already alluded to may be summed up as follows:⁷

I. External Criticism.

1. Testing the Genuineness of the Source.
2. Localizing it (time, place, author).
3. Analyzing it (Recension and Restoration of text).

II Internal Criticism.

1. Determining the value of the Source.
2. Interpretation of the source.
3. Establishment of the facts.⁸

Besides the works already mentioned, there are many books on the subject of Historical Criticism; space prevents any attempt at a complete list in these pages. BERNHEIM's fourth chapter (pp. 325-332) contains a good bibliography and LANGLOIS-SEIGNOBOS give other works not included in BERNHEIM. The classical work on the subject before BERNHEIM was CHARLES DE SMEDT, S.J., *Principles de la Critique historique* (Paris, 1887). On the history of the growth of critical historical studies, the student will do well to consult the second part of LANGLOIS, *Manual de Bibliographie historique*, and for special reference to America, JAMESON, *History of Historical Writing in America* (Boston, 1891). Other works of reference on the subject are H. A. GEORGE, *Historical Evidence* (Oxford, 1909); MACE, *Method in History for Teachers and Students* (Boston, 1902); DROYSEN-ANDREWS, *Outline of the Principles of History* (Boston, 1893); ACTON, *A Lecture in the Study of History Delivered at Cambridge, June 11, 1895* (London, 1895); FREEMAN, *Methods of Historical Study, Lecture III—The Nature of Historical Evidence* (London, 1886).

⁵ See his famous four precepts in the *Discours de la Méthode*, second part.

⁶ COLLINS, *Study of Ecclesiastical History*, p. 45. London, 1903.

⁷ Cf. BERNHEIM, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, Chapter 4 (Kritik). Leipzig, 1908.

⁸ In his *Institutions du moyen Age*, a privately printed Manual which Canon Cauchie gave to his students at the University of Louvain, the subject of Historical Criticism is dealt with in a somewhat different way, though essentially the processes are the same. He defines (p. 67) Criticism as the art of discerning the true from the false, and divides the work into three parts: 1. *Connaitre la provenance des sources*. 2. *Les comprendre*. 3. *Determiner la valeur de leurs renseignements*. In other words:

1. External criticism or Provenance of the sources (Lower criticism, Erudition, Material Criticism).
 - (a) Direct or Immediate Provenance, or the *Criticism of Authenticity*.
 - (b) Indirect or Mediate Provenance, or the *Criticism of Originality*.
 - (c) Reconstruction of the primitive text or the *Criticism of Integrity*.
2. Internal Criticism or Historical Value of Source.
 - (a) Analytical Interpretation (Hermeneutics or Exegesis, Philology).
 - (b) Value of the Source, or *Criticism of Authority*.

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CATHOLICISM IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The Philippine Islands occupy an unique position in the Oriental Tropics. They are the only extensive land area of the Orient, the great majority of the native inhabitants of which profess the Christian religion. With the exception of the Mohammedans of the southern islands and the so-called wild or pagan peoples living chiefly in Luzon and Mindanao, the Philippine peoples (almost homogeneously) profess to follow the religion of Christ as expounded by the Roman Catholic Church. This is all the more striking, if one bears in mind the paganism and Mohammedanism of other nearby islands and mainland countries, and the religions of China and Japan.

The prime *motif* in the evangelization of these islands is found in Pope Alexander VI's mandates contained in the much-discussed Bulls of May 3 and 4, 1493, twenty-eight years before the discovery of the Philippine Archipelago by Magellan. The Bull *Inter Caetera*, of May 4, after granting permission to the Spanish sovereigns to make discoveries and conquests under certain conditions, straitly enjoins the following:

Moreover we command you in virtue of holy obedience that, employing all due diligence in the premises, as you promise, nor do we doubt your compliance therein to the best of your loyalty and royal greatness of spirit, you send to the aforesaid mainlands and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men, in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and dwellers therein in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals.¹

Magellan, upon his discovery of the archipelago in 1521, undertook, with an undoubtedly sincere religious enthusiasm, to convert the natives of the island of Cebu to the Catholic faith,

¹ BLAIR-ROBERTSON, Cleveland, 1903-09, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. i, pp. 09-110. This Series will be referred to as BR.

but with little real effect; for the wholesale baptisms performed by the secular priest who accompanied the expedition were regarded by the people rather as a spectacular entertainment staged for their benefit than as a rite designed to mark a spiritual rebirth. Of the ceremony, the only remembrance at the time of the Legazpi expedition was the small image of the Child Jesus which had been presented to the chief's wife at her urgent request "to keep in place of her idols,"² and which was regarded by the people with a reverence born of ignorance and superstition.

The real evangelization began with the Legazpi expedition, which through its establishment of the Spanish settlement of Cebu in 1565, and that of Manila in 1571, also marks the beginning of continuous Philippine-European relations. Coincident with the military and civil foundations entered the religious, for it can never be charged against the Spanish Crown that it failed to make provision for the fulfilment of the religious duty outlined by Alexander VI. This first organized attempt to convert the heathen of the new Oriental possessions was entrusted by royal order to the Augustinians. The religious warrant establishing the first branch of that order in the Philippines was issued from the Augustinian convent of Culhuacan in the City of Mexico in 1564, some months before the departure of the Legazpi expedition. By it the missionaries were charged

to announce the all-holy gospel of Christ to all races, baptizing them that believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; training them in the Holy Catholic Faith, on the same lines on which the faithful are trained by our cherished mother the Church of Rome, shunning utterly therein all novelty of doctrine, which we desire shall in all things conform to the holy and ecumenical councils and doctrines acknowledged by the same Church; teaching them especially that obedience which all Christians owe to the supreme Pontiff and the Church of Rome—which in truth is always the leader, head, and mistress of all the other churches of the world—then to their lawful rulers and masters; teaching them at the same time to live under the yoke and discipline of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and to forget, moreover, their old-time superstitions and errors of the Devil.³

This warrant was placed in charge of a truly remarkable man, namely, Andrés de Urdaneta, who, before he had assumed the

² BR., Vol. xxxiii, pp. 159-161 (*Pigafetta's Journal*), and Vol. iii, p. 180.

³ BR., Vol. ii, p. 166.

habit of St. Augustine, had fought as a successful officer in the Low Countries, and was deservedly well known as a navigator and mathematician. Under his orders sailed five friars of his order, two of whom at least were above the average in ability. To Urdaneta, however, was entrusted a dual duty, for he was both head of his brethren and chief pilot of the expedition. He it was who guided the ships safely to Cebu, for as a non-churchman he had been a member of the ill-fated Loaisa expedition of 1525, and had wandered for about a half-score of years up and down these Oriental seas pursued by the malevolence of the Portuguese, between whom and the Spaniards, at that time the foremost of Catholic peoples, existed a most unchristianlike hatred. Urdaneta it was also who guided one of the ships of Legazpi's fleet back to Mexico over a hitherto almost trackless expanse of waters, thus establishing a definite connection between New Spain and its colony, without which the Legazpi expedition must have been a failure. His direct connection with the missionary labors of the Philippines was, indeed, very slight, for he never returned to the islands; but it was in all likelihood due to his connection with the fleet of Legazpi (and it must be remembered that he was definitely ordered by King Philip to act as chief pilot) that the Augustinians obtained the *omne modo* privilege of labor in the new mission field.

The Augustinians, however, did not long enjoy their monopoly of the care of souls in the Philippines, for the field was large, and laborers were not over plentiful. As the colonists increased in number, they began quite naturally to ask for members of other religious orders, and this joined to pressure both from Spain and from Mexico, exerted both by the orders themselves and by private persons, brought it about that, by 1606, the Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Augustinian Recollects had also been given establishments in the islands. The Benedictines, the only true order of monks ever in the Philippines, did not appear until the closing years of the nineteenth century, and their function has been mainly educative.⁴ Nothing can be said here of

⁴ Many writers continually fall into the error of confusing the terms "friar" and "monk," which they use synonymously, calling the members of the Mendicant Orders, and even the Jesuits, "monks."

the women's orders that were established in the islands, because of lack of space.

The regulars and the Jesuits did not, even in these early days, form the whole ecclesiastical organization of the Philippines. As noted above, the friars and members of the Company of Jesus were sent over as missionaries, with the function of teaching emphasized in the case of the latter. It was the intention of the Spanish Crown, oft expressed in royal decrees, to replace the missionaries of any community with secular priests, as soon as an advance was made beyond the purely mission stage, so that the former might go on to new mission fields or retire to their convents. This end was never reached to any very great degree, for but few seculars were sent over from Spain or Mexico, and whenever the substitution was seriously considered in Spain or the Philippines, it gave rise to great commotion and confusion in the islands; so much so, in fact, that the friars threatened to desert the archipelago altogether.⁵

Although the secular clergy themselves played a minor part in the ecclesiastical history of the archipelago, the secular forms of Church government did, on the other hand, exercise considerable weight, and that from an early period. In the beginning of Spanish colonization, the Church government was made an appanage of the metropolitan see of New Spain, just as the civil government was placed under the supervision of the viceroy of that important colony. In 1578, upon petition of the Spanish monarch, Pope Gregory XIII created the see of Manila which was declared to be suffragan to the Archbishopric of New Spain;⁶ and in 1595, Manila, by another papal bull, became itself an archiepiscopal city, while other bulls erected the three suffragan episcopates of Nueva Segovia, Cebu, and Neuva Cáceres.⁷

As hinted above, the ecclesiastical policy of the Philippines was largely shaped by the influence of the religious orders. Of the twenty-five archbishops of the islands, fourteen belonged to either one of the four regular orders aforesaid, one belonged to

⁵ The two most remarkable occasions were during the terms of Archbishop Camacho (1696-1712) and Santa Justa y Rufina (1767-1787).

⁶ BR, Vol. iv, pp. 119-124.

⁷ BR, Vol. ix, pp. 150-153.

the order of the Hieronomites, one was a Trinitarian, one a member of the *Escuelas Pias* (Pious Schools), and only eight were seculars. Since on the whole, as seen above, comparatively few secular priests were sent from Spain or Mexico, and the native priesthood, with rare exceptions, did not rise to the dignity of the higher offices,⁸ members of the religious corporations served also in the capacity of parish priests. Such priests, therefore, held a dual allegiance, namely, that to the head of their order, and that to the immediate secular head—the archbishop or one of the suffragan bishops—to the first with regard to the conventual rule, and to the second with regard to the right of episcopal visit. Whenever, as was most frequently the case, the immediate head of the secular machinery was a regular, there was little disturbance in the *statu quo*, so far as the episcopal visitation was concerned; but when the secular clergy were in control of the archbishopric, this question came immediately to the front (unless, as was sometimes the case, the secular ecclesiastical officials were under the influence of the regulars), and, then, sometimes, there was little chance for peace and harmony.

It is not our present intention to outline the history of the several ecclesiastical units in the Philippines, nor their relations among themselves or with the civil and military authorities. The above short and imperfect sketch of the ecclesiastical machinery of which Spain made use in its colonization of the Philippines must supply in some manner the background to the remainder of this paper. Much has been written *pro* and *con* on the subject of the friars and the Jesuits in the Philippines, their points of excellency, and their quarrels with each other and with the governors or other officials.⁹ The close relationship of

⁸ One of the remarkable exceptions was the election in 1862 of Dr. Pedro Pelaez, a Filipino secular priest, to govern the Archbishopric of Manila after the death of Archbishop Aranguren, an Augustinian Recollect. He held this post only slightly over a month, when the regularly-appointed incumbent arrived.

⁹ For interesting matter touching this question, see the following titles: ANTONIO DE MORGA, *Report of Conditions in the Philippines*, in BR, Vol. x, pp. 75-102; EDUARDO NAVARRO, O.S.A., *Estudio de algunos asuntos de actualidad* (Valladolid, 1897); *The Friar Memorial of 1898 to the Spanish King*, in BR, Vol. lxii, pp. 227-236; ELADIO ZAMORA, O.S.A., *Las Corporaciones religiosas en Filipinas* (Valladolid, 1901), and CHARLES H. CUNNINGHAM, *Origin of the Friar Lands in Question in the Philippines*, in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. x, August, 1916, pp. 465-480. Other matter will readily be found in bibliographical lists.

Church and State, while it imposed a duty on the Spanish Crown to support and favor religion and religious efforts in every way, was unable to prevent the frequent unseemly strife that was continually arising between the agents of the two estates. At times the friars were opposed to the combined forces of the Jesuits, secular ecclesiastical officials, and civil and military authorities: at times all the ecclesiastical units were united against the governor, who might also be opposed by one or more of the *oidores* of the royal *Audiencia*; and almost every other possible kind of combination occurred at one time or the other. The feeling between the Dominicans and Jesuits, of long standing in the islands, was reënforced at the time of the expulsion and later return of the latter, and curiously enough was seen again only a few years ago at the time of the papal decision returning to the Jesuits a school formerly under their control but for many years under that of the Dominicans. History shows that the elements of human ambitions and passions have not been absent from the contestants of either side, ecclesiastical or civil. Let not one be too hasty and say that the responsibility for the quarrels, uproars, and confusion lay altogether with one or the other party to the strife. It was distinctly on both sides, and the historian must try to find a golden mean. That abuses should spring up was but natural; the wonder is that considering all the factors, the trouble was no greater. The distance of the islands from Spain made it well nigh impossible for the government, even had it always been desirous of so doing, to correct imperfections both of Church and State agents. The student must frankly premise that abuses were sure to arise among associations of men into whose hands was entrusted power of so colossal a nature as that given to the religious orders. History cannot disprove the fact that in the Philippines the evils that befell the islands during the Spanish administration arose in part from the element of unbridled power. Both Church and State, through their faulty human agents, must accept their due share for those evils. As a matter of fact, it must be conceded that no country can show a code of laws better on the whole than that of Spain; and those laws, because of the structure of the State, embraced religious as well as purely political matters. Troubles arose through the non-enforcement of stat-

utes possibly as often as because of the faulty state organization, in which the attempt was made to prescribe human conduct under any and all circumstances.

One is tempted from its interest to dwell at greater length on the organization of things ecclesiastical in the Philippines. The remainder of this paper must, however, concern itself quite closely with concrete expositions and results, the present status, and the future outlook. Turning abruptly, therefore, from the consideration of the ecclesiastical machinery itself to the condition of the people at the period of the military and religious conquest, and the religious effect produced by virtue of the operation of the forces of the conquest, and the more stable period following the conquest, some not uninteresting facts are to be noted and observations made. At the time of the permanent colonization by Spain, the religion of the Prophet, which had been introduced by way of Borneo about a half-century before Magellan's discovery and had quite firmly intrenched itself in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, was spreading with some rapidity up along the western coast of Luzon and the coasts of the islands in its immediate vicinity. It is probable, considering its rapid advance, that had the Spanish colonization been delayed for another fifty years, the coast regions of the entire archipelago would have been solidly Mohammedan, while the interior regions, as in Mindanao, would have remained largely pagan, in which case, the Christian missionary would have had another tale to tell.

The early religion of the Malayan inhabitants of the archipelago such as it was, was of the animalistic type, and had no cogent organization. The forces of nature and natural objects influenced profoundly the minds of this simple people, who rejoiced at nature's bounty and trembled at her harsher moods as the manifestation of an evil *anito* or spirit. There were good *anitos* and bad *anitos*, and these latter the ignorant and superstitious people sought to propitiate by means of various kinds of incantations, offerings and sacrifices. Bold and stormy headlands, certain trees, and peculiar-shaped stones were objects of especial veneration. Religious ceremonies embraced various kinds of incantations and charms which were calculated to ward off evil, and produce good results. To this impressionable

nature-people came the Christian missionaries, with their offering of the deep, awe-inspiring Sacrifice of the Mass, which was quickly accepted, and together with all the new forms, taken over *in toto* as a part of their life. The conversion progressed with amazing rapidity, so rapidly, indeed, that before the end of the sixteenth century, the new faith had been accepted in almost all those parts of the islands which are today Christian. Almost no headway, on the other hand, has ever been made in the districts where Mohammedanism was well established or in the mountainous interiors where the old nature-worship still exists much as at the time of the discovery; in the first instance, probably because Mohammedanism has had a compact organization, and in the second, because of the hostility of the people.

In their evangelization, the missionaries, notwithstanding the differences that were continually arising between them and the civil and military officials, were powerfully aided by the secular forces of the government, while they themselves helped materially in the preservation of order and the establishment of stable government. The military entrance generally preceded the advent of the missionaries or the two entrances went together. The friars and other ecclesiastical workers were able to soften materially the rigors of the conquest, which in itself was much more mild than in Mexico. Some of the troubles that arose, indeed, originated from the restraining influence exerted by the missionaries, which not unnaturally aroused resentment among pioneers who could scarcely be characterized as acting too gently toward the native peoples.

It is approximately correct to say that since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the predominant religion of the Philippine Islands (always keeping in mind the Mohammedanism of the Moros of the south and the paganism of the wild peoples) has been the Roman Catholic. The majority of the Filipinos would today as in the past bitterly resent any imputation against their Faith. Three centuries and a half of Spanish control and tutelage has settled that question for them. And yet, the readiness with which the early Filipinos¹⁰ embraced the

¹⁰ By the term "Filipinos" is to be understood the descendants of the eight peoples who adopted Christianity, namely, the Tagalog, Pampanga, Pangasinana, Sambal, Iloco, Ibanag, Bicol, and Bisaya. The negritos, the pagan malayan peoples,

Faith does not mean that the old forms and beliefs were discarded in their entirety, nor that they have yet altogether disappeared. Filipinos (and it must of course be premised that the ignorant masses of the people are here meant) see no incongruity in blending together the old and the new. There is still to be seen in all parts the persistence of the older religious belief. Certain trees are still held in reverence, and the ignorant and superstitious *tao* or peasant would not even think of cutting one down or of digging about it. He will do so at the command of those in authority but never of his own accord. Caves are still the mysterious abodes of the spirits. Supernatural beings still inhabit the mountains; and the disastrous eruption of the volcano of Taal near Manila a few years ago, was ascribed by many to the spirit or god of the volcano. Rather elaborate ceremonies are still performed in many places at birth and death, at planting and harvest times, and upon other occasions. Mr. Emerson B. Christie, for a number of years engaged in ethnological work in the Philippines, and who has made a thorough study of the Iloco people, says that it is not unusual for a person immediately after attending Mass with all the devotion that can be desired, to go to the window of his house where the following exhortation is addressed to the spirits:

“Umaikayon, appo umaikayon umaikai amin amin, dagiti pilai obbaenyo, dagiti bulsek kibinenyo.”¹¹

Sacrifices are still performed in some outlying districts under cover of the night with almost identically the same ceremonies as those described by Pigafetta in his *Journal* of the Magellan expedition; but some of these ceremonies while performed and attended by persons who profess Christianity are doubtless largely due to the influence of nearby pagans, and many of those attending are probably what are known as “new Christians”—that is, recent converts from paganism of a recent generation. In all parts of the islands, there is still a firm belief in the *asuang*, an evil spirit or witch, and murders still occasionally occur of persons who are believed to be *asuang*. Only two or three years

and the Moros (Mohammedans) are all included under the term “Non-Christians,” and all the native peoples collectively under the term “Philippine peoples.”

¹¹ In English: “Come now, come now, sirs, come, come all, all, let the lame have themselves carried, let the blind be led.”

ago, the belief was current among the ignorant people of several of the districts of Manila that an American Negro was possessed by an *asuang*, and that he was nightly changed into a large black dog. Other familiar spirits, the remnants of old beliefs that formed a part of the early indigenous life, cause only a lesser degree of apprehension than in the old days.¹² It is true, that as the old fear is removed by education and the advance of enlightenment, the former beliefs and stories are assuming the guise of folklore, and are often told to children for moral effect.

Instances such as the above, and the list might be extended *ad libitum*, have a decided significance in the religious life of today. They prove that at times the Christian faith was an overlay on the old native beliefs and superstitions. More than that, the superstitious Filipino has only too often manufactured new superstitions from the Christian faith which he has adopted, or it might be more accurate to say that he has adapted the old superstitions to terms of Christianity. It could not well be otherwise. For instance, the people of one section reverse an image of the Virgin known as Our Lady of Peñafrancia, which is said to be of pure gold and to possess the miraculous power of continual growth. The image itself is never seen, in place of it a wooden image is exhibited at the annual fiesta. As a climax to the annual celebration, in which the native clergy participate, the image is placed aboard a catamaran, which is slowly poled downstream. The people believe that anyone touching even the catamaran will be healed of all manner of infirmities and diseases. Accordingly, all the infirm gather along the shore, and as the catamaran glides by, throw themselves into the water in order to touch the vessel. The ceremony of the flagellation, which is performed annually in a small hamlet near Manila, brings in another element, namely, the vicious. Started at first by the missionaries in all devotion, it has degenerated partly into a special ceremony of the vicious class, who imagine that its practice ensures them success in their crimes. Consequently, this ceremony is now frowned upon by the clergy, but it is dying hard.

¹² The persistence of old beliefs is seen in the everyday world as well as in the religious. A boy in the public schools in Manila, after reciting very correctly a question as to the form of the world remarked that of course it was flat.

This proclivity of the ignorant people was continually fought by the missionaries, who early recognized its existence, but often in vain. The very ease with which the conversion proceeded would argue a certain instability on religious matters; and this may be readily seen at the present time. A Filipino today may claim to be a Protestant, or to have leanings in that direction: yet there is no inconsistency in his participating in a procession or other ceremony organized under the auspices of the parish church in his neighborhood. Indeed, a new faith might spring up overnight, the roots of which are to be found in the lack of control alluded to above. A few years ago, the simple folk of one of the districts of Manila were raised to the fever heat of excitement by the discovery of a small fountain of fresh water bubbling up from amid the salt waters of Manila Bay. This phenomenon was caused by the bursting of a sewer that extended out into the bay, but to the mass of the people who were probably duped by some clever rascal for the purpose of personal gain, this was indeed a great miracle, and they eagerly bought at fabulous prices small phials of the wonderful liquid, the spring even having been blessed by Aglipay, the "bishop" of the schismatic church. The repair of the sewer quashed the new cult as quickly as it had arisen, but not until after an outbreak of cholera due to the drinking of the water.¹³ Many other instances of a like nature might be cited, such as that of Papa (Pope) Isio, of the Island of Negros, who claimed to be divine and who attracted a numerous following to himself partly through fear and partly through fanaticism.

The uncertain status of the religious life in the islands is well exhibited by the Aglipay schism. This, however, had a political as well as religious side, which of course further complicated the matter. Gregorio Aglipay, a native of one of the Iloco provinces in the north of the Island of Luzon, and a duly ordained secular priest, had attained to considerable eminence under Archbishop Nozaleda during the closing years of the Spanish regime. During the revolution against Spain, which broke out in 1896, he pursued a somewhat devious course (the whole story of which is

¹³ The instance is mentioned by WORCESTER, *The Philippines Past and Present*, Vol. i, p. 437. New York, 1914. The same author gives other interesting instances (Vol. ii, pp. 444-449).

not yet fully known), in which he played off one side against the other with considerable astuteness. Shortly after the beginning of American control, Aglipay finally split with the ecclesiastical authorities, and largely through the influence of a fellow-countryman, Isabelo de los Reyes, a layman of considerable force of character, though lacking in balance, headed a new church known as the Aglipay or Independent Filipino Church. An effort was made to give the new institution a national character, which caused the government to fear that, under cover of religion, the Filipinos were plotting a new revolt against American authority. The movement spread like wildfire at first. The majority of the masses and some of the upper-class people of the two Iloco provinces joined the schism, which also numbered followers in almost all the islands in which Christianity was professed. At one time Aglipay claimed over 3,000,000 adherents, but this was doubtless a gross exaggeration. In many places, however, whole congregations of the Roman Catholic Church went over to the new sect, and other congregations were violently split apart. The schismatics attempted to take possession of the churches and other church property, but they were compelled by law to return them to their former owner, the Roman Catholic Church. At the inception of the movement, Aglipay and Reyes consulted the Protestants, especially the Methodists who had gone to the Philippines shortly after the capture of Manila, and considerable advice was received from that quarter, as well as from the Episcopalians. But the movement soon grew beyond control, and Reyes by his dominating personality gave the new church a direction that it never would have taken under the sole tutelage of Aglipay. To Reyes, in fact, are due very largely the Constitution, the so-called Bible of the Filipino Independent Church, the Catechism, and other literature published under the auspices of the new organization, much of which is a curiously puerile mass of contradictory, plagiarized, and undigested material. In his efforts to depart as far as possible from the tenets of the old Church, Reyes obligated the Aglipay Church (on paper) to a course broader in many ways than that of the most radical Unitarian Church. In real practice, however, the ceremonies of the schismatic church, except possibly in one or two instances, have never deviated in any essential from those of the Catholic

Church, and the same Mass may be heard today in both churches. The Catholic Church has maintained on the whole, aside from its effort to regain possession of its property, a *laissez-faire* policy in regard to the schismatic church, and it is possibly partly due to this fact that the movement has greatly died out with the return of many of its adherents to the bosom of Mother Church. But it cannot be denied that the schism was a matter of deep concern to the Church, for Archbishop Harty, until quite recently the head of the Manila Diocese and of the Church in the Philippines, remarked to the writer in 1910 that it was only the Providence of God that had saved the Catholic faith in the Philippine Islands.

Mention was made above of the Protestant sects. One of the results of the Treaty of Paris, of December, 1898, was freedom of religious worship in the Philippines, with the complete separation of Church and State, in imitation of the American plan. Various Protestant sects entered the islands almost immediately and today the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Disciples, all have establishments in the islands, each, except the last named, being assigned, by mutual agreement, special districts in which to work. Besides ministering to American and European Protestants, these sects are said to have about 200,000 adherents among the natives, but some of these must be regarded as uncertain quantities because of the characteristic instability noted above. That there will ever be any great defection from the Catholic Church is extremely problematical, for notwithstanding any racial traits, three centuries of constant teaching cannot be readily set aside.

On the other hand, the Aglipay schism and the presence of the Protestant sects have not been without a quickening influence on Catholicism, for they have aided by the very fact of their being part of the great task that confronted the American Catholic clergy, namely, the establishment of the Church in the Philippines on the American basis, and the correction of those undesirable conditions that have grown up during the years of Spanish control when the Church, being itself a part of the body politic, was injured by the very fact of that too intimate connection. The competition has served a good end for Catholicism, as it has thus been placed on its mettle in a way it might never have

been without it. The American clergy, I venture to think, recognized this fully.

Catholics in America, have, perhaps, not appreciated the immense task set before their clergy in the Philippines, and perhaps appreciate as little what has been done. The Filipino revolution against Spain was partly the outcome of rancor, real or fancied, against the mendicant orders. It is said that Spain, in order to aid in the restoration of peace was about to suppress the friar orders in the Philippines, but this move was frustrated by the intervention of the United States and the status of the islands was forever changed. Contrary to the expectations of many Filipinos, the friars were not expelled, although many did, of their own accord, return to Spain. The government did, indeed, purchase the large estates owned by the several orders, and this removed one of the specific causes for complaint. The Filipino clergy were also advanced in dignity, with good effect on the people at large. In as far as possible, the American clergy, always small in number, has sought to allay the feelings of the Filipinos. This has been a task of great magnitude and delicacy, for the Filipinos are as sensitive, probably, as any people on the face of the earth, and dealings with them call for an immense amount of tact. It had to be recognized at the outset that the Filipino clergy was not, in all instances, living up to its vows. A Filipino newspaper, early in the present century, commenting on this matter, said that this might be the case, but that the Filipino priests who were at fault were simply taking pattern from the friars. Be that as it may, the archbishop and his helpers have sought valiantly to remedy complaints of this nature both by admonition and by a careful selection of new candidates for the priesthood. In regard to this last point, Archbishop Harty told the writer that out of over a score who had recently presented themselves for admission to the seminary, he had selected four, and that these four would be subjected to the severest kind of discipline during their course to prove their fitness. Today there are few, if any, complaints heard from the Filipino clergy that a "square deal" is not being given to them.

However, there is still much complaint about the presence of the friar, and the Church would have to fear lest, in the event of

the granting of complete political independence, one of the first moves would be the expulsion of the friars or a hostile campaign against them. Many Filipinos of the intellectual class always make the sharp distinction between Catholicism and the friars, asserting devotion to the tenets of the Faith, but condemning the friars. In case of any trouble, the masses of the people would simply move with the current, and any situation might easily become critical. On the other hand, many of the Filipinos are apparently devoted to the friars, who have during the last few years been increasing in numbers, and gaining new power. A decidedly good impression has been given by the American friars and Jesuits who have gone to the Philippines. These men have not spared themselves, but have worked with true devotion to the cause they represent. One of them, a Dominican, was a professor in the Dominican University of Santo Tomás, and has deservedly ranked high for his scholarship. An Augustinian has organized important work among the students of the University of the Philippines, and a Jesuit has devoted himself with rare devotion and enthusiasm to religious work in the great prison of the Philippines, Bilibid. These, and others of the American clergy, compare favorably with the best of the Spanish pioneer missionaries.

The danger to Catholicism in the Philippines lies in the very flexibility of the material on which it works. The great question, after all, that must be asked is whether along with acquiescence to forms and ceremonies, that is, to the outward devotion, there is a corresponding inward acquiescence that comes from the heart. It may be that the American priests in the Philippines can answer this question unqualifiedly in the affirmative. If they can, they can rest assured that nowhere in the world will there be a more devout people than the Filipinos. If not, then devoted work for a long series of years, with perhaps an equivocal answer at the end, is ahead of them. There is no danger that Protestantism will seriously invade the islands. Catholicism has practically a clear field, but it must advance carefully, yet vigorously, if it would wish to keep that field. For instance, a very bad impression was made among thinking Filipinos because complaints were heard from certain Catholic quarters regarding the establishment of the Filipino Young Men's Christian Association, and the

erection of buildings for its use. "Had the Catholic Church," said these Filipinos, "established such an agency among us, there would have been no need for the Young Men's Christian Association," and it would never have been established among us. In proof of this, the work established among the University boys by the Augustinian above mentioned was eagerly welcomed, and was well worth better support than it received from American Catholics. The Church in the case of the Young Men's Christian Association moved too late, and this has been the history of Catholicism in the islands more than once. The criticism has been made, unfairly, it is true, and not by Protestants only, that the Church will not make an innovation or undertake a manifestly important and necessary work until forced to do so by other and outside agencies.

This paper should not close without noting some of the accomplishments of the various units of the Church in the Philippines, which have been many and important. The first great fact that stands out, almost above everything else in the islands is, of course, the evangelization of the Filipinos. This had an immense bearing on the conquest and colonization, which could never have proceeded so easily without the help of the missionaries. It is perhaps generally known that the oldest university under the American flag is the University of Santo Tomás which was projected as early as 1601, founded in 1610, further increased in 1619, and recognized as a royal university in 1645, equal to the Universities of Mexico and Lima. Many of the most prominent Filipinos past and present have received their education in this institution. The Dominicans from an early date have also engaged in primary and secondary education. The Jesuits claim to have founded the first school in the islands, namely that of San José, which was made possible by the bequest of one of the early conquistadors. That order has had much to do with education during its whole career in the islands, especially since its return to the Philippines in 1859, soon after which the Ateneo de Manila, which has had so great an influence on modern life, and which was more in accord with modern educational principles than any previous institution, was founded. The art of printing was introduced into the Philippines in the first decade of the seventeenth century by the missionaries, and the early

presses were established in the convents of the various orders. A study of any of the standard bibliographies of the Philippines will show many titles that came from these presses.

Not so well known as the religious and educational work of the missionaries and parish priests is their promotion of work in other lines. They have had an immense influence in the transfer of animals and plants to the Philippines from Spain and Mexico. From the very beginning they took interest in agriculture, and introduced many new things into the islands. The history of the agricultural accomplishments of the Spanish clergy in the Philippines is worth an entire paper rather than these few lines. Other public improvements were introduced by the religious and secular priests. They built roads and bridges, convents and churches, and engaged in various industrial activities. At times they led their flocks against the hostile Moros. They accompanied the conquistadors on their expeditions, where with unflinching courage, they administered the rites of the church in the very face of death. They advanced from the Philippines to the mission fields of China and Japan and other nearby places, and both within and without the islands, they showed that martyrdom could be robbed of its terrors and made glorious. Above all, the work of the Spanish priests in the Philippines is a work that can be built upon by American Catholics, and Catholicism has no cause to hide its head because of mistakes made by its human agents, because a great work was done and there is yet a great work to be done in the Philippine Islands.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

THE REV. HERCULE BRASSAC

EUROPEAN VICAR GENERAL OF THE AMERICAN BISHOPS
(1839-1861)

The following biographical sketch needs an apology. It is not a narrative on strictly scientific lines, such as would dignify an historical review, but rather a *causerie d'histoire*, told as in a circle of interested friends. The subject is, however, an interesting one for the American Catholic historian.¹

In a previous issue of the *Catholic Historical Review*,² I called attention to a letter, dated Paris, December 27, 1842, from Canon Adalbert Inama, one of the pioneer priests of Wisconsin, in which he describes his journey from Munich to Paris. "On the evening of the eighteenth," he says, "we got out of the *déluge* in the most crowded part of this fairy town near the Tuileries. My travelling companion, a Bavarian missionary, and myself, had been directed by the Munich Missionary Society³ to Mr. Brassac, Vicar General in Europe of the American Bishops. He directed us to a pension, where we were splendidly housed." In this same letter Canon Inama writes: "Vicar General Brassac tries repeatedly to engage me for Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati." Another notice of Father Brassac is to be found in the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung* for 1839,⁴ where a footnote says that in December, 1838, Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati arrived in Vienna with "his Vicar General, Mr. Brassac," and that from there they went to Rome.

My curiosity was aroused by these statements. I wanted to know more about this "European Vicar General of the American Bishops" at that early period of the Catholic Church in the United States. In spite of my researches, I regret to state that a full and well-connected biography of Father Brassac cannot be given. Judging from my correspondence with Catholic historical scholars, Father Brassac appears to be almost unknown. Yet, from the following data, it would seem that his personal character

¹ The principal archival sources used for this article will be found in the Department of DOCUMENTS in this issue, pp. 448-470.

² Vol. ii (1915-1916), p. 186.

³ The Ludwig Missions Verein, founded at Munich, in 1839.

⁴ Vol. xii, p. 60.

and his work for the early church of America are deserving of lasting recognition.

It is now one hundred years since Brassac, as a young seminarian, set out from France for the Catholic missions of Louisiana, which then embraced almost all of the present ecclesiastical provinces of New Orleans and St. Louis, excepting Texas, and all the west shore of the Mississippi from New Orleans to Du-buque. Brassac spent fourteen years of active pioneer life on these Louisiana missions. His letters which are still preserved in the Archives of St. Louis and Cincinnati, breathe the spirit of sincere piety, a strong confidence in God, a loyal submission to ecclesiastical authority, a generous Christian charity, and a deep affection for his personal friends. The many changes in his missionary activities might seem to point to a somewhat restless disposition. But we must remember that these early pioneers had to go from place to place, wherever the call for work was most urgent, though the distances were appalling. They were amazing travelers, though not of the class to whom the old ditty points: *Qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur, propter decanter*, but holy self-sacrificing men, suffering hunger and thirst, fatigue and hardship, to gain immortal souls.

Let us now examine some of the printed sources for a biographical sketch of Father Brassac.

In the *United States Catholic Almanac* are the following entries, all under the Diocese of New Orleans:

1834, Baton Rouge, St. Joseph's, Rev. H. Brassac.

Baton Rouge, W. *twice a month*, Rev. H. Brassac.

Baton Rouge, E. St. John's, Rev. H. Brassac.

1835, 1836, 1837, Donaldsonville, *The Ascension*, Rev. H. Brassac.

1838, Donaldsonville, *The Ascension*, Rev. H. Brassac.

In the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,⁵ the Lazarist Father Tichitoli,⁶ describes the celebration which took place

⁵Vol. i, March, 1825, pp. 35ff.

⁶Joseph Tichitoli, a subdeacon, embarked with Fathers Andreis and Rosati, Lazarists, at Bordeaux, June 12, 1916, and landed at Baltimore on July 26th. From there the party went to St. Thomas Seminary, Bardstown, and stayed there with Bishop Flaget, until Bishop Du Bourg returned with his party from France. Rev. Father David, later Coadjutor to Bishop Flaget, then Rector of the Seminary, engaged Father Andreis to teach theology. In 1818, Rosati, moved with the whole Seminary, Brassac among them, to the *Barrens* near St. Louis. All this time Father

on March 10, 1824, when Bishop Du Bourg consecrated his auxiliary, Bishop Rosati, in the Church of the Ascension, Donaldsonville, La. Speaking of the priests who participated in these ceremonies, he stated that: "*M. Brassac remplissait les fonctions de grand-maitre des cérémonies.*" In Vol. II., p. 386, the same *Annales* contain a letter from Father Brassac, then pastor of Donaldsonville, addressed to Bishop Du Bourg, his Ordinary, and dated Donaldsonville, April 30, 1825. The editor says of it: "Mr. Brassac's letter is a report of the exercises of Holy Week in his parish. The edifying details given prove that the labors of the missionaries are not fruitless and that if these men have their hardships, they also have their consolations." This letter was undoubtedly sent to the *Annales* by Bishop Du Bourg, probably in order to let the Catholics of France see that their contributions to the American missions were not only much needed, but also well applied. The letter is a clear indication of the priestly character and zeal of Father Brassac, as well as an honorable testimony to the great piety of the early Louisiana settlers.

Other interesting notices of Father Brassac are found in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. On page 464, of volume X (1899), there is a letter of Bishop Du Bourg which gives us what is probably the first regular appointment of Father Brassac. It is addressed to Charles Smith, Esq., Opelousas, and reads as follows:

St. Louis, April 29, 1819.

DEAR SIR:

By the first steamboat, the Rev. M. Brassac will go down. He will stop at La Fourche, whence he will take his way thro' St. Martinville to your house. I have thought best to defer the departure of his lay companion, both to avoid throwing at once on you so much burden and expense, and to give Mr. Brassac time to get acquainted with the localities. I have no doubt he will by his zeal, prudence, meekness, instruction and amiable manner give general satisfaction.

Andreis was Superior of the Lazarist and Vicar General of Louisiana. In his *Life*, p. 201, we find the following: "Father De Andreis hoped that his novices would one day be able to share his numerous duties; but this expectation proved vain. Mr. Tichitoli fell sick, his lungs became so weak, that it was feared he would soon die of consumption. The physicians declared that he would not live long, unless he immediately left the climate of Missouri, where the cold of winter is extreme. It was therefore, judged expedient to send him to a milder region in the southern part of

Enclosed I send the bill of sundry articles for yr. church, as per request. There are a few wanting which I could not spare, such as a ciborium, candlesticks, Processional Cross, altar cloths, censer, cruets, and choir books. He will shift as well as he can, till you are able to procure them. I suppose that in the beginning he will put up at yr. house. I wish however that he be as soon as possible accommodated in his own, in which I foresee he will, at the first onset, be obliged to have recourse to yr. kindness for several indispensable things, such as a horse equipped, a housekeeper, linens, etc. I must rely for all this on your attention and that of Mrs. Smith, to whom I earnestly recommend him, and offer my best respects.

With the highest regard and attachment to you and yr. Brothers,
I remain,

Dr. Sir

Your most hum. servt.

✠ L. Wm., *Bishop of La.*

On page 343, of volume IX (1898), of the *Records*, it is stated that the Rev. Brassac was the first pastor of St. Charles parish of Grand Coteau, from 1819 to 1822. The following documents were translated for the *Records* by the Rev. C. M. Widman, S.J.

Burial of Ch. Smith (1819)

In the year of O. L. 1819, was solemnly buried in the Church of St. Charles Borromeo, on the epistle side near the sanctuary, Charles Smith, born in Frederick County, State of Maryland, in the year 1756, who died suddenly on the first day of April, 1819, on his plantation in Opelousas, State of La. The funeral, attended by an immense multitude of all ranks, was performed by Rev. Flav. H. Rosti, Rector of St. Landry's Church, Opelousas. To the munificence of this respectable gentleman and his pious widow, Mary Santee, the public is indebted for the elegant church and dependences in the prairie of Grand Coteau. May he enjoy in Heaven that happiness which his exemplary life deserved, and may the memory of their virtues be held in the respect and gratitude of future generations. Solemn funeral services were performed April 1, 1819, by the Rector of St. Charles; on October 23d, 1820, by Rev. F. Isabey, Rector of St. Martinsville, and on March 8, 1823, by the Right Rev. Louis W. Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas.

Hc. Brassac, Rect. of St. Charles.

Louisiana, and, as he had already completed his entire course of theology, Bishop Du Bourg promoted him to the priesthood, and sent him to Donaldsonville, in 1819, in order that he might exercise the holy ministry under the direction of Rev. Father Joseph Bigeschi, the excellent pastor of that place. In March, 1827, Tichitoli who succeeded Brassac, became rector of Donaldsonville where he died in 1833. He was in turn succeeded by Father Brassac in 1833.

Dedication of St. Charles Church, Grand Coteau, La.

In the year of O. L. 1820, on October 23d, I, Fr. Gabriel Isabey, O.P., Parish priest of St. Martin's Church, in the County of Attakapas, by delegation of the RR. Louis Valentin Du Bourg, Bishop of St. Louis, and with the assistance of the RR. FF. Flavius Rosti and Hercule Brassac, parish priests respectively of St. Landry and St. Charles, in Opelousas County, have blessed the Church of Grand Coteau, and given it the title of St. Charles Borromeo, after the name of the founder of said Church, the late Charles Smith. In testimony whereof, I have subscribed together with the said RR. gentlemen, on the day and in the year as above.

FLAVIUS H. ROSTI, *Rect. of St. Landry.*

HLE. BRASSAC, *Rect. of St. Charles.*

GABR. ISABEY, *as above.*

On the same day after the ceremony, and in virtue of the canonical appointment, by a letter addressed to the Rev. Hle. Brassac by the RR. Bishop, I have introduced the said H. Brassac into possession, real and actual, of the newly erected parish with the usual formalities.

Appointment of the First Pastor

Louis W. Dubourg, by the Mercy of God and the Authority of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of St. Louis, U. S. A., to all whom it may concern greeting and blessing in Jesus Our Lord.

We grant and confer on our beloved Master (Magister) Herc. Brassac, priest of our diocese, the care of the newly erected Church of St. Charles Borromeo, in the county of Opelousas, State of La., and hereby invest him with all the rights and belongings, under the condition that he reside there permanently and observe the statutes of the diocese.

To this effect we, by the present letter,⁷ empower the Rev. F. Gabr. Isabey, Rector of St. Martin's, Attakapas, to place and introduce the said Herc. Brassac into possession, real and actual, of all rights and belongings of said Church, in the usual form.

Given at St. Louis, Mo., under our hand and seal and with the subscription of our Vic. Gen. April 29, 1821.

✠ LOUIS W. DU BOURG, *of St. Louis.*

GABR. ISABEY, *Episcopal Commissary.*

First Pastoral Visit of Bishop Du Bourg

On March 10th, I, the undersigned, Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, have completed the canonical visit of the parish lately established under the name of St. Charles Borromeo, in the locality called Grand Coteau.

⁷ Is this the same letter addressed to the Rev. Hle. Brassac by the Right Rev. Bishop mentioned at the end of the foregoing document? If so, the date should be April 29, 1820 (not 1821). If not the same letter, what canonical reason can there have been for ordering a second installation half a year after the first?

County of Opelousas, State of La. The church and presbytery have been built by the late Ch. Smith, a resident of this place, who has added hereunto 80 arpents of prairie and 50 of woodland to provide for the support of the worship, and besides has supplied the necessary vestments, linen and ornamentation not only for the decency, but also for the splendor of the religious rites. The property has been turned over to the Bishop by an act dated (*date wanting*) and signed by the widow and the heirs of the former, who died April 1st, before he could finish the pious work. Happily, his widow, Mrs. Mary S. Smith, has spared neither pains nor expenses to carry out the intentions of her worthy husband . . . She has added to the bequest of her husband a donation of about 400 arpents, adjoining the church land, to establish a girls' school and is actually engaged in building, inclosing and furnishing a two-story building. She has promised, moreover, to provide for the traveling expenses of 4 nuns, who are to come from France, and to support them for the first year. This institution established in a locality already well-peopled and far distant from any similar institution, promises great advantages for the future and will secure for the pious founders the gratitude of future generations.* I have established the boundaries of the new parish as follows . . . I entreat the Rev. Pastor to establish as soon as possible Mission Stations in various localities, where the faithful may from time to time hear Mass and receive instruction. I also recommend him to teach Catechism frequently in these distant places. I have conferred the Sacrament of Confirmation in this church on eighty-three adults, whom I found as well prepared as can be expected under the circumstances . . . These are good beginnings, for which I am happy to express my satisfaction to the Rev. Pastor.

Done in the presbytery of St. Charles, Grand Coteau, etc., on date as above.

✠ L. C., *Ev. de la Louisiana.*

Louis Sibourd, *Vic. Gen.*

Herc. Brassac, *Curé.*

Marcel Borella, *Prêtre.*

Ant. Richefort, *Sec. ad hoc.*

The same *Records* relate Father Brassac's connection with the coming of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur to Cincinnati in 1840. He is also mentioned in the *Erinnerungen aus meinen Leben* by Archbishop Heiss of Milwaukee, who tells us that on his first journey to America as a young priest, he arrived in

* The Ladies of the Sacred Heart founded their second American establishment at Grand Coteau, Opelousas, La. They owe it to Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Smith (U. S. C. H. Soc. *Records and Studies*, Vol. ii, 1901, p. 349). Bishop Rosati in a letter of June 7, 1827 (*Annales*, Vol. ii, p. 408) complains that the convent at Grand Coteau had only seven sisters and thirty-five boarders. Twelve years later according to the *Almanac* of 1840, the convent had twenty-one religious and one hundred boarders.

Paris where he found another German priest from Silesia, Rev. Wm. Schonat. Both had been directed by the court chaplain of Munich, Rev. Dr. Mueller, manager of the Ludwig Missions Verein, who is often mentioned in Brassac's letters, to the Abbé Brassac for their transportation. The Abbé was away, but was expected back in a few days. They stopped at a place in the Rue de Fer, where only priests and Catholic laymen were lodged. This may have been later the place of Brassac's American Agency, since some of his letters are dated from that street. Dr. Heiss says: "Towards the end of the month, Abbé Brassac had secured a place for us and for two other missionaries on the steamer, *Ville de Paris*. These two traveling companions were Fathers Garahan and Chalons of Mobile, Alabama, who had journeyed together to Europe. . . . Besides us four priests, there were five other cabin passengers, all of French descent, and therefore Catholics, namely, a young man from New Orleans who had studied at the Collège Henry IV. His parents now lived at Boston. Then a merchant of New Orleans, and lastly a lawyer from the same place by the name of Soulier, with his wife and a maid.* They sailed from Havre on November 3, 1842."

From Baunard's *Life of Madame Duchesne*, the following items have been gathered:

On August 25, 1821, Madame Eugenie Audé and Sister Mary Layton arrived at St. Charles on the Grand Coteau to establish there a foundation of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. They found there "Mr. Brassac, the Curé, who also served the parish of Alexandria, 80 miles further north, those of St. Martinsville and Vermillionville to the South, and of Bayou Chicot to the West." A short time after Madame Audé was attacked by a dangerous fever and felt her death approaching. So she asked Rev. Brassac to bring her Holy Communion, confident that the Lord would cure her. The fever left the same day and the next day she was as strong as before her illness.

During the sickness of Madame Audé, Madame Duchesne, the provincial superior, wrote to Brassac from Fleurissant, Mo., and received from him comforting assurances. When troubles of various kinds arose, the Sisters found a faithful help and protector in Rev. Brassac. Another time he writes to Madame Duchesne: "Mrs. Smith appreciates fully the treasure for which she is indebted to your foresight, and her most ardent prayers are addressed to Heaven for a blessing on

* See Brassac's letters of October 26th and November 26, 1842, on pp. 463-467 of this issue.

the works and plans of your dear Sister. The parents of the children under her care are all unanimous in their expressions of satisfaction, and I have no doubt the school will succeed admirably. There have been difficulties at first, and there may be still some to overcome. But was there ever an undertaking for the glory of God which did not meet with obstacles?"

The very latest reference to Father Brassac is to be found in that fine work, the *History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, by Sister Mary Agnes McCann, where two letters of Father Brassac to Bishop Purcell are given in full.¹⁰

Having so far gathered notices of Father Brassac from the printed records in our possession, we will now examine some interesting data from manuscript sources. For these I am deeply obliged and grateful to my kind correspondents, the Very Rev. F. L. Gassler, Vicar General of New Orleans, the Rev. Dr. Souvay, C.M., Professor at Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., and Rev. Charles van Tourenhout, Rector of St. Genevieve, Mo.

Father Gassler has compiled the following notes from a list of priests written by Bishop Blanc of New Orleans, some eighty years ago.

Rev. Hercule Brassac came to America with Bishop Du Bourg and formed part of the company of twenty-two priests, three brothers, and six Flemish young men who left France on July 1, 1817. By order of King Louis XVIII, they were given free transportation on the government vessel *La Caravane*. The party arrived at Annapolis on the 4th of September. However, due to lack of transportation, they could not resume their journey until November. They passed through Kentucky, and in the first days of December they arrived at Bishop Flaget's place of residence (which is not given in Blanc's account of the journey, but which must have been Bardstown).¹¹ I find the first mention of Brassac's name as Curé of the parish of St. James, Cantirel, as follows: "Paroisse St. Jacques, Curé M. Brassac."¹² St. Jacques is situated now, as in Brassac's time, on the west bank of the Mississippi, about 50 miles from New Orleans.

In 1820, we find him as Curé de St. Charles, Opelousas. From 1823 to 1826, he was Rector of Donaldsonville, Paroisse de l'Ascension, where his name appears as "Curé, le Rev. H. Brassac." From 1832 to 1833, he was at St. Joseph's, Baton Rouge.

¹⁰ Vol. i, pp. 285ff. New York, 1917.

¹¹ This conjecture corresponds with two reports of Du Bourg's journey as printed in the *Annales*, Vol. i, No. 1, (1821), p. 22ff, and Vol. ii, pp. 333ff.

¹² This ought to be 1819. Brassac may have resided at St. Jacques until he was installed at St. Charles, Grand Coteau, in October, 1820.

In my private notes taken there in 1912, I find that Brassac's first entry in the baptismal records appears on March 19, 1832, and his last entry August 15, 1833. However, he never signed as Rector of Baton Rouge, but as Curé de l' Ascension. This may be explained by the circumstance that Brassac was again Rector of Donaldsonville from March, 1833 to 1837. In Bishop Blanc's list there finally appears on the margin the remark: "Brassac parti en avril 1837." I came across his name again when he is mentioned as one of the priests who assisted at Bishop's Blanc's consecration November 22, 1835, at New Orleans.

Rev. Dr. Souvay furnishes many valuable notes by Bishop Rosati, from which the following are selected:

Here is, in the first place, a note written in Bishop Rosati's own hand, possibly about 1824-25. "Hercule Brassac né à . . . "dans le Diocèse de Mende en France, parti de Bordeaux pour l' Amérique avec Mgr. Du Bourg le 17 Juin 1817. Arriva à S. Thomas au Kentucky dans le mois de Decembre de la même année, y estudis la Theologie sous Mr. Rosati; il avait été minoré, et ordonné soudiacre à Baltimore. Il parti du Kentucky avec les autres et se rendit aux Barrens où il fut ordonné Diacre; il en parti pour S. Genevieve, où il fut ordonné prêtre.¹⁴ Apres avoir demeuré quelque temps dans l'état des Illinois,¹⁵ à 8 milles de Harrisonville, où il commença à exercer le ministère, il fut envoyé aux Opeelouses, Curé."

In Rosati's *Diary* are the following entries concerning Father Brassac:

1824.

Mart. 9 Postridie ad multam noctem navim reliqui et prope Donaldsonem ad terram applicavi. Ibi a D. Brassac hospitio exceptus biduum.

11 egi. . . et ab eodem D. Brassac comitatus ad episcopum perrexi, quem apud nepotem novem ad Ascensionis Ecclesiae Milliariis ad sinistram fluminis, Neo-Aurelia revertentem excepimus. Ibidem ejus societate et colloquiis biduo fru-

13 itus, et ab eo comitatus Donaldsonem reversus sum. Sequenti die, divino officio persoluto,

14 a Domino Brassac ad Assumptionis parochiam

¹⁴ In all probability Marvéjols of the Diocese of Mende in the Department of Lozère in Southern France, of which Mende is the capital. It is a small town of 5,000 inhabitants situated on the River Colagne, about 12 miles from Mende, with some industries and tanneries. A number of Brassac's letters are written from Marvéjols, the home of his father.

¹⁵ On November 1, 1818.

¹⁶ It is strange that Bishop Du Bourg of St. Louis should send Brassac into Illinois, which then belonged to the Diocese of Vincennes; but this may be explained in the *Annales*, Vol. i, No. 2, p. 40, where a footnote says that the Illinois missions, being too remote from Bardstown, were administered by Bishop Du Bourg then residing at St. Louis which was so much nearer these missions. See also CLARKE, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops*, Vol. i, p. 224.

deductus fui, et D. Bigeschi Parochi hospitio
usus, apud eum sacro secessui vacavi per
aliquot dies.

Rosati's consecration took place in Father Brassac's church on March 25th; the place and date had been assigned by Bishop Du Bourg as most convenient for the priests. A few days later, we find the following entries:

- 80 Iter suscepi D. Cellini,¹⁶ qui in parochia S. Caroli Opeleusas morabatur, invisendi gratia, R. D. Brassac comite. Prandimus apud D. Narcissum Landri, et coenavimus apud Theodorum Zachariam.
- 31 Sequenti die in Diversorio Desabris ad Plaqueminam prandimus. Vespere autem ad navim prevenimus. Noctem in diversorio
- April 1 egimus. Postridie navim conscendimus, et aquas omnes quae Accatapas ab inferiori parte Luisianae dividunt transfretavimus. Igitur hora post meridiem quarta, navi relictâ, equos ascendimus et reliquum itineris quatuor horis confecimus. Nam hora octava, ad Viduam Smith pervenimus. Ibi caenantes reperimus D. Cellini, et Rossi, quos amplexatus, ad caenam cum ipsis recubui.

A few days later Bishop Rosati went to New Orleans, and on his way back from there stopped again at Donaldsonville.

- Maii 1 Sub vesperam Donaldsonen perveni.
2 Missa in Ecclesia Ascensionis.
Sacro peracto, fluvium cum D. Brassae trajeci, et vespere ad D. Bringier.

The next items of information furnished by the *Diary* are mere mentions of letters received from, or written to, Father Brassac:

- Julii 29 Litteras D. Brassac tradendas dedi (to Father De Neckere and Potini, who were leaving for Louisiana).
- Sept. 14 Litteras scripsi ad Illm. et Revmum. Emp. Neo-Aurel. . . . ut illum rogarem ut huic regioni prospiceret, et D. Brassac remitteret.
- 1825.
- Mart. 21 Litteras accepi. . . . D. Brassac.

¹⁶ The Rev. V. F. Cellini had been a practicing physician at Rome, Italy, and later became a priest. He resigned the benefice he had there and came to America where he entered the novitiate of the Lazarists under Father Andreis on the eve of Epiphany, 1819. He devoted all his years to the Diocese of St. Louis. Bishop Kenrick in November, 1846, made him his Vicar General. Cellini died in St. Louis, January 6, 1849.

Nov. 8 Scripsi ad D. Brassac.

Nov. 27 Scripsi ad D. Brassac.

On June 26, 1826, Bishop Rosati came to Donaldsonville, "ubi a D. De Angelis excepti . . ." The *Diary* makes no mention of Father Brassac. The Episcopal Visitation of the Diocese of New Orleans was made from December, 1827, to April, 1828. The *Diary* mentions the names of the pastors and assistants in every place; but nowhere does the name of Father Brassac appear.

From the minutes of the deliberation of the Board of Trustees of the Parish of the Ascension, Donaldsonville, La., the following facts are gleaned:

a. After the death of Father Tichitoli, C.M., Pastor of that parish from 1827 to 1833, the parish was administered by Father Beauprez from March 1 to August 15, 1833.

b. On September 3, 1833, an inventory was taken of all things belonging to the Rectory; this inventory is signed by "H. Brassac, Curé."

c. On April 25, 1837, the Board of Trustees audited and approved the accounts of Father Brassac's administration, and added to the minutes the following entry:

Resolu à l'unanimité par les Marguilliers séculiers, tous présents, que nous approuvons l'administration de notre Eglise, par notre Curé le Reverend Hercule Brassac, pendant tout le temps qu'il l'a desservie, que sa conduite a toujours été la plus exemplaire, qu'il a tous droits possibles à notre estime et à notre respect, et qu'il emporte, en nous laissant, nos regrets les plus sincères.

Edward Duffel,	P. J. Dannequin,
Alexandre Braud,	E. Gaudin,
Narcisse Landry,	Joseph Blanchard.

d. The next entry is also worth recording here. A note in the margin of the book, written by a later hand, gives the date March 24, 1838.

Nous les Marguilliers, nous étant constitués en assemblée, délibérons comme suit

Il est résolu, et il nous est agréable de transcrire sur le registre de nos délibérations, la lettre pleine d'amour et d'affection, que nous adressa le Rev^d Curé Hercule Brassac à moment de son départ; et c'est avec la plus haute considération que nous lui donnons place dans notre journal.

Nouvel Orléans le 30 Avril 1836.

Messieurs les Marguilliers
de L'Eglise de L'Ascension.

Messieurs,

Au moment de ma pénible séparation d'avec vous, je me trouvois trop oppressé pour pouvoir vous exprimer les

sentiments qui agitaient mon âme, et qui ont gravé dans mon coeur d'une manière ineffaçable le souvenir de cet instant si douloureux pour moi. Non! je n'oublierai jamais, la douce et généreuse Coopération que j'ai trouvée en vous pendant le temps que j'ai été chargé de l'administration de votre excellente paroisse, et de l'indulgence que vous avez montré pour moi dans toutes les occasions. C'est pour moi je vous assure, Messieurs, une consolation bien grande et que je dois spécialement à votre générosité, de penser que pendant tout le temps que j'ai été Curé de l'Ascension il n'y a eu entre nous, aucune aigreur, aucune pique et qu'au contraire il a toujours existé entre nous, une harmonie et un Concert de mesures et d'actions, auquel nous devons d'avoir retiré l'Eglise de dettes immenses qui l'accablaient il y a quelques années, et qui a été cause du peu de bien que mon ministère a pu causer parmi le troupeau des fidèles de l'Ascension. Je vous prie Messieurs de recevoir ici, le juste tribut de mon estime et de mon admiration pour le zèle, désintéressé et fervent que vous avez toujours déployé pour le bien et la prospérité de l'Eglise confiée à votre sollicitude, aussi bien que pour la pureté d'intention qui vous a guidé dans toutes vos démarches et vos résolutions officielles; permettez moi d'y ajouter encore celui de ma reconnaissance profonde et bien sincère pour toutes les bontés que vous m'avez prodigué individuellement et collectivement et avec laquelle je suis et serai toujours très respectueusement.

Messieurs, Votre très humble obéissant serviteur
et ami bien sincère
(Signé) Hle. Brassac
Ancien Curé de l'Ascension.

Messrs: Narcisse Landry
Edward Duffel
Joseph Blanchard
Alexandre Braud
Edouard Gaudin
P. G. Dannequin
Marguilliers de l'Ascension

Pour copie conforme
P. G. Dannequin,

Secret

Dr. Souvay has in his keeping seventeen letters from Father Brassac written to his friend Rosati. Some of these give such a full picture of Brassac's priestly character, that I give them in full, while from others interesting extracts will be culled, in another part of this present issue of the *Review*.

Father van Tourenhaot, Rector of Ste. Genevieve, writes:

"I have found some traces of Father Hercule Brassac. He performed three baptisms in Ste. Genevieve, during the month of November, 1818. His name is not found in the marriage register nor in the book of the *enterrements*. For curiosity sake I send you a copy of his first three baptisms. I consulted the baptismal registers of the parish of Kaskaskia, which are kept in the Jesuit College in St. Louis. He was at Kaskaskia from April or May, 1822, until April, 1823.¹⁷ During this time he administered baptism to twenty-five children. For his first baptism he omitted the date of the month; the second was in August, 1822. Here are the three interesting records; the last of a slave:

Le sept Novembre, mil huit cent dix huit, nous prêtre soussigné
avons baptisé Marie Eloise, née le trente Octobre du légitime
mariage de Baptiste, marraine Marie Eloise Dequire.

Aucun n'a su signer.

Hle. Brassac,

Prêtre.

Le huit Novembre, mil huit cent dix huit, nous prêtre soussigné
avons baptisé Louis Sauveur, né le trois du mois ci-dessus du
légitime mariage de Jean Bequette et de Louis Henry-Parrain:
Henry Pratte; marraine: Eulalie Pratte, qui ont signe avec moi.

Hle. Brassac,

Prêtre.

Le huit Novembre, mil huit cent dix huit, nous prêtre soussigné
avons baptisé Emelie, esclave à M. Bogy-Parrain-André, mula-
tre; marraine Marie Madeline, negresse, qui n'ont su signer,

Hle. Brassac.

Prêtre.

From the data thus far furnished by these valuable sources, we can easily follow Brassac's activities from his ordination in the year 1818 until 1826. For a short time in the winter of 1818, he exercised the ministry in the neighborhood of St. Louis. But in May, 1819, he left for Louisiana. According to Bishop Blanc's notes he took charge of the Church of St. Jacques. But in his letter to Father Rosati, June 20, 1820, he states that he came to

¹⁷ Monsignor Tannrath, the present Chancellor of St. Louis, states that in 1822 Rev. Hercules Brassoek (*viz.* Brassac) was at Drury, Ill. (*Cath. Encycl.* xiii, p. 359.) Drury was the name of a family. This is evident from an entry in Rosati's *Diary*: 1824. September 23d. Ex Prairie (du Rocher) ad D. Drury iter fecimus; apud hunc prandimus. . . Vespere ad D. James pervenimus quarto ab Harrisonville milliario. This is the same Drury whom Brassac mentioned six years before in his letter to Father Rosati, November 15, 1818. If Brassac resided at Drury's, it must have been before he went to Kaskaskia. Did he visit it as a mission from Kaskaskia? According to the list of the early priests officiating at this place, given to the *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. iv (1891), p. 43, Brassac was there from 1822 to 1824 and was succeeded by Father Cellini, as mentioned above.

St. Charles, Opelousas, on June 1, 1819. He was pastor there till the spring of 1822. For, as Rev. A. M. Fontan, S.J., pastor of St. Charles, writes to me: "His signature appears on the Baptismal Register under date of May 15, 1822, for the last time, appended to a document drawn up by the bishop who had come to change the parish limits in view of erecting the new parish of St. John's, Vermillion. Said document reads thus: 'En foi de quoi J'ai signé en presence du Rev. Abbé Brassac, ci-devant curé de St. Charles, et du Rév. S. Valezano, curé actuel.'

✱ L. G., *Ev. de Louisiane.*
S. Valezano, *Curé.*
H. Brassac, *Missionary.*' "

From St. Charles, Brassac must have returned to Missouri, going to Kaskaskia, where he remained until April, 1823. At this time business called him back to Opelousas. It is a question whether he returned to Missouri or stayed in Louisiana. In a letter to Father Rosati, dated Pointe Coupée, La., July 23, 1823, Rev. A. Blanc (later Archbishop of New Orleans) says that he had written to his brother, J. B. Blanc, rector of Natchitoches, who had asked him for help, "apply to my friends, among them Rev. Brassac, who was then in your neighborhood, and who has several times promised to help." Towards the end of 1823 Brassac was sent to Donaldsonville, as appears from the notes of Bishop Blanc and from a letter of Father Janvier, dated Donaldsonville, November 11, 1823, where he states that there is \$147 due to the seminary which sum is to be collected from the people. "Some, probably, will give something; others nothing at all, others will promise to pay after the harvest. But as I shall leave this parish to get some rest, as the Bishop of New Orleans says, it will be impossible for me to pay that money. But if you write to Mr. Brassac, who is to replace me here, that he should take care of the matter, I believe you will do very well." Unfortunately, the good man proved a false prophet, as we know from Brassac's letter of January 26, 1824. Brassac was at Donaldsonville until 1826, when he disappears from us without further notice. But the trustees of the Ascension Church at Donaldsonville told us a little while ago that he was back there again in 1833 and remained with them until 1837.

Where did he spend the six years between 1826 and 1832? From the total absence of all trace so far in American records, printed or unprinted, I am inclined to think that Brassac spent all this time in France caring for his old father and his sister. It is true, the request, above mentioned, made by Rosati in September, 1824, that Bishop Du Bourg sent Father Brassac back to the St. Louis district, may have been granted.¹⁸ But if so, why is no mention of Brassac to be found in the parish records of that time and territory? My surmise is confirmed by the following item from the Archives of the Propaganda at Rome, furnished me by Rev. Dr. Souvay:

Parisiis (in Gallia) die 15 Novembris 1826. Litt. ad Secret. S. Cong. de Prop. Fide; postulat ut Revdo Herculi Brassac sit permissum visitare suum patrem senem qui morte perdidit uxorem et 10 liberos.
Auct. ✱ L. Guil. (Du Bourg), *Ev. de Montauban*.

From this it would appear that Bishop Du Bourg asked for a leave of absence for Father Brassac, which Rome undoubtedly granted. The next question then arises: When and from where did Brassac sail for France? From Bishop Rosati's *Diary*, it is plain that in the summer of 1826 Brassac was no longer at Donaldsonville. In November of the same year, Bishop Du Bourg, then already at Montauban, a suffragan See of Toulouse, asked Rome for a leave of absence for Brassac, now no longer his ecclesiastical subject. It is hard to explain this canonical anomaly. I strongly suspect that Brassac had come with Du Bourg in 1817, and again had accompanied him when this apostolic prelate, whom he always considered his spiritual father, left New Orleans for France sailing from New York on June 1, 1826. Du Bourg was still Bishop of New Orleans at the time, and might take any one of his priests with him as traveling companion. But when his resignation of the See of New Orleans was accepted and when he was appointed Bishop of Montauban

¹⁸ The reason why Bishop Rosati would apply to Bishop Du Bourg for the loan of Brassac, is found in a letter of Father Odin, dated August 2, 1823, and published in the *Annales*, Vol. i, No. 5, p. 72, where he complains that: "Bishop Du Bourg sends nearly all his priests to Lower Louisiana. It is sad to see how many congregations are abandoned in Upper Louisiana. We are only six priests in all Upper Louisiana. . . . Natches, New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Kaskaskias, St. Michel, the Portage, St. Charles and many small places are entirely given up. . . . We had the misfortune of seeing several missionaries return to Europe. Their departure leaves a great void in our missions."

in October, 1826, never to return to America again, then Brassac, not knowing what would be the future developments of the Diocese of New Orleans, St. Louis having at this same time been made a separate See with Rosati as bishop, might well have conceived the idea of spending a longer time in France. What more natural than to ask his former bishop to get him from Rome the needed leave of absence?¹⁹

Brassac did not intend to stay in Europe longer than one year. From a letter of Rev. A. Blanc to Bishop Rosati, then Administrator of New Orleans, dated June 11, 1827, we learn that the people of Donaldsonville expected Brassac to return soon. He says that the people at Donaldsonville wish to see Brassac back in their parish; but he fears, "that, as Rev. Tichitoli may not willingly give up the place, there may be trouble, much against Brassac's intentions." Brassac himself in a letter written to Bishop Rosati from Baton Rouge, June 25, 1832, speaks of a misunderstanding on the part of Rosati caused by Msgr. Du Bourg, who has forgotten to notify Rosati that he had given Brassac a leave of absence in France "per 12 menses." He says that he arrived in France on July 18, 1826, and intended to leave again in June next "as you could see from the letter of farewell sent me by my father." From this we may infer that Brassac had actually taken farewell of his father and sister to return to America. What the causes were that changed his mind and made him remain in France for fully five years more, we do not know. But as is evident from his letters, he did return in the autumn of 1831. In January, 1832, he left Louisville for Louisiana where we find him again at Baton Rouge. A. Blanc, on April 23, 1832, writes to Bishop Rosati from New Orleans: "L'abbé Lethorte is at Pointe Coupée, who succeeded me at Baton Rouge, and is himself replaced by Mr. Brassac. Both are doing very well, till now (*sic*) at their new posts." But on July 5, 1833, the same Rev. Blanc writes to Rosati, again from New Orleans. "Brassac must go back to his old parish," namely,

¹⁹ It is fairly probable from internal evidence that Brassac during his stay in France wrote the report on the Dioceses of New Orleans and St. Louis printed in the *Annales*, Vol. iii, (September, 1829), pp. 491ff. of which the editor says that it was "furnished by a Louisiana missionary who made a journey to France"? The letter printed *Ibid.*, p. 591 and dated from "Etat du Missouri, September, 1831," and signed "B. . . Miss. Ap.," was written by Rev. John Bouillier.

Donaldsonville. The change must have taken place late in 1833, since the *Catholic Almanac* of 1834 still places Brassac at Baton Rouge. Or were the episcopal chancellors at that early time as late in reporting to the *Catholic Directory* as some of them are now, a hundred years later?

Four years later (1837) Brassac left the American missions and sailed to Europe never to return. What were the reasons? From his letters to his intimate friend, Bishop Rosati, we infer that he feared eventually to get into difficulties with Bishop Blanc, who had always been his friend. So he preferred to leave. But why did he not join St. Louis, where Rosati was bishop? Perhaps out of a delicate consideration for Bishop Blanc. Or did he imagine that in France he might be able to do more for his beloved episcopal friends and their missions in America? Or was it the voice of filial love that called him back to help his old father and his lonely sister? Perhaps all these considerations did work together towards determining his action in returning to France.

For his second journey to Europe Brassac must have left Louisiana in the summer of 1837. His letter to the trustees of Donaldsonville is written from New Orleans, where he probably went to take leave of Bishop Blanc, his Ordinary and friend. He did not embark at New Orleans. It is likely that he went to see his friends at Cincinnati, where he had so many acquaintances, and where he had stopped on his return from Europe six years before. One thing seems certain; he did not wait for Bishop Purcell, who left Cincinnati for Europe in May, 1838, and sailed from New York on June 16. The *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, for August 23, states among its news that on the New York and Liverpool packet *South America*, Miss Mary Hall, a native of Dublin, died on June 28, fortified by the sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, and that Bishop Purcell officiated at her funeral at sea, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Kenrick, McGill and Vandeweyer. Had Brassac been with them, his name would have been mentioned. One might be inclined to think that Father Brassac accompanied Bishop Blanc from New Orleans, who was expected to stop at Cincinnati on his way to the Third Provincial Council of Baltimore, after Easter, 1837. But Bishop Blanc was present when that Council opened on

April 13, while Brassac was still at New Orleans on April 30. Whether he went to Cincinnati or not, he certainly was in New York by the middle of July. In a letter to Miss M. Reilly, then at St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg, Bishop Purcell writes on July 13, 1837: "I wrote to Mr. Brassac to New York and informed him of your intention to visit Europe. It is possible that he will not sail before the middle of the month or the first of next. I requested him in these latter cases to write to you."

Bishop Purcell landed at Liverpool early in July, 1838, and went to Ireland. After spending some time there, he went to Belgium and thence to France, where he was joined by Father Brassac. On September 12, 1838, Bishop Purcell writes from Paris to Miss Marianne Reilly of Cincinnati: "Mr. Brassac who begs kind and respectful remembrances to yourself and Anna, was with me," when the Bishop visited the Misses Hunter of New York, two converts, who were then at Paris on their way to Rome. Brassac then accompanied the Bishop on his journey through Germany, Austria and Italy. The statement is in the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, that both were in Vienna in December, 1838. In its issue of April 4, 1839, the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati has a letter from Bishop Purcell describing his journey from Vienna to Bologna in Italy. The letter is dated Bologna, June 20, 1839. There we read: "Mr. Brassac having been seized with a severe attack of rheumatism and a heavy cold, was obliged to keep to his bed for the first day of our sojourn in Venice, and I went alone to the Palace of the Doge." The report of Bishop Purcell's travels in Europe, of his visits in Rome, and of his activities in Paris, where he confirmed repeatedly for the Archbishop, was published in the *Ami de la Religion* and from there copied by the *Catholic Telegraph*, on August 12, 1839. It was apparently written by the bishop's faithful companion, Brassac. Having returned to France, they again visited Belgium. It was on this trip that Bishop Purcell went to the mother-house of the Sisters of Notre Dame at Namur "accompanied by Rev. F. Brassac, his former vicar-general."²⁰

After his return to America, Bishop Purcell failed to secure

²⁰ This adjective "former" is misleading, since it suggests the idea that Brassac had been Purcell's Vicar General in Cincinnati, which is not the case.

the services of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and Brassac advised him to apply for the Sisters of Namur, to which the Bishop agreed, authorizing Brassac to engage the Sisters for Cincinnati.²¹ Brassac's letter to Mother Ignace at Namur is given in the *Records*,²² also Purcell's letter to the Bishop of Namur on the same affair. The story of the Sisters' departure for America and the beginnings of their mission at Cincinnati have also been very interestingly told.²³ Brassac assisted them in every way. His vivid account of their embarking in September, 1840 is so characteristic of his amiable and charitable nature and pious disposition, that I cannot resist the temptation of copying here some portions given in the *Records* (l. c., pp. 323 ff). He writes to Mother Ignace as follows:

We have just left the shore, with the tide; our dear daughters (for they are also, in some manner mine, since they are those of the good bishop) have taken possession of their floating house with the calmness and intrepidity of true missionaries. A few moments and we were all on our knees, in a little room, prostrate before the Crucifix and invoking, through the intercession of Her who is truly called, "The Star of the Sea," the protection of Him who commands the winds and the waves. Our hearts were, I assure you, in accordance with our voices, in begging a blessing on our admirable missionaries. They did not leave the harbor until the next morning at low tide. All has gone on admirably, and we have only to bless the Lord for the benediction and graces that He has granted us. Mr. and Mrs. Borée have been admirable to the end, displaying great generosity and an indefatigable complacency.

I have written today to Bishop Purcell to apprise him of all this, and I have written to F. Rappe, both for himself and the Sisters letters which

²¹ See Brassac's letters of October 20, 1839; March 10, April 8 and July 7, 1840, on pp. 456-459.

²² Vol. xi (1900), p. 321.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 323-27. This article on the *Foundation of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in America* naturally suggests the idea that a splendid contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in the United States would be given, if our Sisterhoods especially the older ones, favored the *Catholic Historical Review* with a documentary story of their foundations in our land. Think of the early history here of the Benedictine, Dominican, Franciscan, Ursuline, Vincentian and Visitation Nuns: the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, of St. Joseph, of the Good Shepherd, of Mercy, and of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, not forgetting the Oblates of Providence, and others devoted especially to the moral and religious interests of the colored race. What most interesting and edifying pages might thus be culled from abundant sources undoubtedly hidden away in American and European convents. Our Catholic literature shows that there are fine historic writers among our Sisters. Let them start the good work without delay before precious memories have passed away.

will be useful to them in New York. We have done all in our power to insure the happiness and well-being of those dear children, so we may remain tranquil and feel sure that Providence will supply whatever is wanting to them. . . .

As the wind was calm, in the afternoon, about four o'clock, the pilot at last decided to weigh anchor, and the vessel is abandoned to wind and waves, but above all to Divine Providence, whose arm is not shortened on the broad sea. The Bishop of Ghent was on the shore at the moment of the vessel's departure, and our dear daughters having received his blessing, he remained but a few moments. After this we were alone with our chaplain and our good Father French—we withdrew to a retired part of the deck, where we fell on our knees, and turning towards the tower of Notre Dame, recited the *Veni Creator* and the *Sub Tuum*, then we sang with great feeling the verses of the Canticle: *Je mets ma confiance . . .* In the few words which I addressed to the Sisters, I chose for my text the last words of the hymn: *I would offer my life to gain a soul for God*, and then I gave them my blessing. I have given it, come what may. I bade them a last adieu and I turned my face towards Antwerp, which was a league distant. I followed them with my eyes until the masts were but a speck on the horizon. . . .

Yesterday evening I returned to the ship and presided at the general supper. I chose the places that I thought most convenient for the Sisters and Rev. F. Rappe, leaving the others to arrange themselves as they pleased; it was late when I left. This morning at half past five I returned to those worthy children and we conversed until the afternoon, on subjects from which we could derive spiritual advantage. These dear children had already commenced to work, some were sewing and knitting, others writing and drawing, others again studying, everyone of them calm and peaceful, showing neither enthusiasm nor discouragement. I envied that purity of conscience, that sublimity of sentiment and simplicity of manner so characteristic of those heroines of Faith. God will bless them, do not doubt it, my dear mother, and these blessings will reflect upon you and your worthy counsellors. God will not fail to recompense and protect these young persons so devoted and so generous in His service. I have learned to appreciate the hidden treasures concealed in those eight souls whom Providence has so mercifully chosen for the diocese of my friend, and I thank God for having made me instrumental in bringing about the departure of a colony that inspires me with such ardent hopes. . . .

Bishop Purcell left France in June to return to America, as we learn in one of Father Brassac's letters, written on June 4, 1839.

This is the first letter of a series of some forty letters written by Father Brassac from France to Bishop Purcell in Cincinnati,

covering a space of twenty-two years from 1839 to 1861. Through the kind services of Archbishop Moeller and the skilled assistance of Sister Mary Agnes, of Mt. St. Joseph, in Cincinnati, the historian of her order, and the jealous guardian of these Archives, I am enabled to furnish a number of extracts full of interest and replete with personal and historical items about American and European prelates, the travels of American bishops in Europe, the departure of new missionaries for America, political news, etc. But the main contents are the business transactions of Brassac for Bishop Purcell, especially his endeavors to get large allowances for the Cincinnati Diocese from the Paris Council of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith. In some of these letters Brassac signs himself as "Vicar General of Cincinnati and Nashville." From these letters we can easily form an idea of the man and of his life after his return to France. An alert missionary, still devoting his time and labor to the American mission which he dearly loves; a zealous priest, helping wherever he can in the sacred ministry by preaching and hearing confessions; a pious servant of God, willing at all times to give his best services for the good of the Church wherever they would be required, Brassac appears at the same time to be an enterprising business man, securing whatever help he possibly can for the missions; a loving son to his aged and sickly father and a tender brother to his sister; a true and loving friend to the zealous and energetic bishop of Cincinnati. From these letters we also infer that he must have had a very wide acquaintance with American bishops, priests and laymen. Brassac was well acquainted with Bishops Flaget, Eccleston, Kenrick, Blanc, Portier, Miles, Chanche, Rese, Rappe and de Goesbriand, and with Rev. Deluol, Superior of St. Mary's, Baltimore and his colleague, the Rev. H. Joubert. Brassac usually sends greetings to Rev. Messrs. Collins and Henni, Mr. and Mrs. Springer, the Misses Reilly, the Sisters of Charity, but particularly to Edward, Bishop Purcell's brother, showing that he was well acquainted in Cincinnati. Very often he sends "heartly compliments to our friends, Lamy, Machebeuf, Gacon, Cheymal, Navaron, Clevetti, Manuel and Father Huber." He nearly always sends greetings from his father and sister and from Dr. Nee and family. It is particularly interesting to learn from these letters that Bishop

Purcell proposed Brassac for the Episcopal See of Natchez in 1840; that Bishop Rosati wished Brassac to go with him to the Island of Hayti and San Domingo; that Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia appointed him his agent in 1840; that Bishop Miles wished Brassac to accompany him to Belgium that same year; and that Brassac was proposed as papal commissary to San Domingo in 1842.

Encouraged by Bishops Rosati, Miles, Portier and Purcell, Father Brassac submitted to the American hierarchy in the summer of 1840, a prospectus for a General Agency in Paris for the transaction of all kinds of American ecclesiastical affairs in Europe. It was established the next year and from May 4, 1841 until November 3, 1842, Brassac's letters bear the following heading: *Agence Ecclésiastique du Clergé Catholique des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.*

The prospectus is a valuable document for the student of the early Catholic American Church History. I give here an English translation of the French original which is in the Mount Saint Joseph Archives. It is accompanied by a letter from Brassac, dated Paris, July 30, 1840.

The need of an Ecclesiastical Agency established in Paris and devoted entirely to the interests of the episcopate and the clergy of the United States has been felt for a long time and yet an establishment of this kind is still wanting.

The undersigned, after having consulted persons of experience, has decided to attempt the enterprise, provided that his plan obtains the approval and encouragement of the archbishops and bishops of the United States, as it has already received it from Bishops Rosati, Portier and Miles. Here is what he has the honor of proposing:

I. The undersigned will act as representative before the Council of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith for the Right Reverend American prelates, who will thus authorize him for the purpose, to explain the needs of the dioceses, to defend their interests, to solicit assistance, to receive the sums allowed and send them to their destination by the surest means and with the shortest delay.

Nearly all the different missions of the world have with the Association a representative in the superiors of the Seminary of the Foreign missions, of the Lazarists, the Jesuits, and the House of Picpus, etc. Those of the United States are almost the only ones which are not officially represented and from this may come the difference in the allocations. In as much as the directors of the Association have no other information about the missions than the letters of the Bishops, which

are often read a long time before the sessions where the allowances are made, the demand made and the considerations to support them are likely to be forgotten, while a few remarks made verbally at that very moment might exert a very happy influence.

The funds allowed to the dioceses of the United States often remain a considerable time in the treasury of the Association. The time necessary to notify the interested parties of these allocations, the sending thereof or possibly the negotiation as to the manner and terms of payments which often follow long after the time when the matter has been presented, cause delays that could to a great extent be avoided by the proposed Agency.

II. Priests in Europe often obtain from their bishops an *exeat* gladly given in order to get rid of them; they arrive in America and the Ordinaries of the place where they present themselves for the missions, have no means of assuring themselves at once of their past conduct and their capabilities. Others again, led undoubtedly by good motives, but having had none to judge their vocations other than persons ignorant of the customs and ways of the United States, find themselves disappointed and unable to do much good. The undersigned will take it upon himself to obtain all possible information about the candidates who present themselves for America. He will try to learn of their character, their talents and their aptitude. As he knows a great number of the Dioceses of France, Belgium, and even Germany and Italy, and as he moreover exercised the holy ministry in the United States for nearly twenty years, he would be better able than many others to judge, with less chances of being mistaken, those who would be fitted for this kind of a mission. He could also provide for their embarkation according to the orders of the bishops.

III. In compliance with the wishes of prelates to obtain the establishment of religious orders of women, the undersigned will attempt to procure them and to attend to everything necessary for their voyage.

IV. The undersigned would also take care of the buying of books, ornaments, sacred vessels, paintings, engravings and lithographs, and Church furniture, also subscriptions to papers and magazines, and in general, of everything that would be recommended to him. He would give his personal attention to these matters, profiting by the assistance of merchants and manufacturers; he would spare no pains in obtaining the most advantageous terms at all times.

V. The undersigned promises to the archbishops and bishops that he will justify their confidence by constant zeal and absolute discretion in the matters entrusted to him.

VI. The undersigned would ask of each of the bishops and archbishops who would honor him with their confidence the sum of \$50.00 (250 francs) as compensation for his services and would pledge himself not to charge any further commissions for the business he would have to do; at least where he would not himself be obliged to pay interest in procuring the drafts for the transmission of moneys.

VII. In cases where the undersigned would be obliged to advance moneys, he would charge at the rate of 5 per cent interest annually and 1 per cent commission on the sum advanced.

VIII. The undersigned will also charge himself to fill the orders given him by colleges, convents, religious institutions and the clergy at large for a reasonable commission according to the importance of the demand; but those orders must be sent to him through the hands of the bishops, or otherwise the money must be sent in advance by draft or otherwise.

IX. The undersigned will give to the archbishops and bishops who desire it, a guarantee for the faithful administration of their funds.

The undersigned feels it his duty to impress upon the archbishops and bishops of the United States that his enterprise is not a money speculation, but simply a work which he believes to be most advantageous for the country that he considers as a second Fatherland.

Bishops Rosati, Portier and Miles have authorized the undersigned to make known to their venerable brothers of the United States the approbation and encouragement which they have given to his project, and to give their names as his reference. He takes the liberty to add the names of Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, of Mr. Jeanjean of New Orleans, of Madame Gallitzin, Superioress of the Sacred Heart of the United States. The Agency will open on January 1, 1841. Correspondence with the undersigned may be in French or in English. The following form signed and sealed will be a sufficient proxy to authorize the undersigned to act with full power. "I, the undersigned, Archbishop (or Bishop) of N. N. in the United States of America, recognize and authorize Monsieur l'Abbé Brassac, formerly missionary in America, as my agent with the Association for the Propagation of the Faith established in Europe, and I ask all persons whom it may concern to honor him in this quality with their confidence."

I have the honor to remain, most respectfully of Your Grace, the most humble and devoted servant,

H. BRASSAC,

Paris,

V. G. of Cincinnati and Nashville.

Rue Cassette 28.

P. S.—There will always be with this agent an apartment for the Archbishops and Bishops during their stay at Paris.

I am unable to find any information of the work this Agency accomplished. Two other questions arise in this connection. Keeping in mind Brassac's deep interest in the American missions and his intimate acquaintance with so many of the Bishops and priests, especially in the South, one would naturally infer that there must have been a wide and lively correspondence between Brassac and the American prelates and clergy. May not some very interesting letters be stored away in the Episcopal

Archives of New Orleans, St. Louis, Bardstown, Mobile, Nashville, Natchez and Buffalo? What, on the other hand has become of Brassac's own correspondence of a hundred or more letters which came to him from America?²⁴

From the later letters of Father Brassac, it is evident that for a time a coldness overshadowed his relations with Bishop Purcell, who seemed not to have been able to overcome a certain resentment against Brassac caused by false reports made to him in 1845. However, the fact that Bishop Purcell kept all these letters so carefully, shows conclusively that the bond of friendship was never entirely broken. In fact, that perfect harmony was restored between the two friends is evident by the cordial accent and soft ring of Brassac's last letter to Bishop Purcell. The cloud which for a time had veiled their friendship did pass away, as Brassac had foretold in his letter of November 13, 1844. Of his last years, we know nothing. From his last letter to Bishop Purcell in 1861, it would seem that Brassac finally had his cherished wish fulfilled, namely, to spend his last days in the quiet solitude of Marvéjols. Presuming that he was at least twenty-three years old, when ordained at St. Genevieve in 1818, he was sixty-six when this letter was written in 1861. Where did he die? Where is his grave to be sought? These questions may be answered, I trust, when the sun of peace again shines brightly over Brassac's home in the valley of Marvéjols and among the hills of Lozère.

✠ SEBASTIAN G. MESSMER,
Archbishop of Milwaukee.

²⁴ There are several hundred letters by Rosati, Blanc, Brassac, Jeanjean, Anduze and other pioneer missionaries still preserved in the Archives of St. Louis and at the Kenrick Seminary.

THE INQUISITION IN THE PHILIPPINES: THE SALCEDO AFFAIR

No institution of the Spanish colonial system has received less attention at the hands of modern scholars than the Inquisition. Introduced into the colonies during the reign of Charles V, when the heretical teachings of Luther were spreading throughout Europe, the Inquisition was designed to preserve the purity of the Faith in the Americas.¹ This institution was retained by Spain until well into the nineteenth century, long after other nations had discarded the policy upon which the Inquisition had originally been based. Long before its suppression, and as a reason for this action at last, its influence had come to be political as well as religious and its ill effects became manifest in the excesses of its agents and their utilization of the privileges and immunities of the Inquisition for personal ends. Although it may be said that the Inquisition contributed to the strengthening of the ecclesiastical power as opposed to the civil, it sometimes created dissensions within the Church, and especially between and even within the religious orders, and this considerably impaired the otherwise solid front of ecclesiastical unity. It is to these phases of the Inquisition's activities in the most isolated of Spain's colonies that this inquiry is directed.

The Inquisition, as represented by a commissary and three alternates, was established in the Philippines on March 1, 1583, by an act of the audiencia of Mexico.² The original rules of the establishment empowered the commissary to call upon the magistrates of the audiencia and the other civil authorities to aid him in the execution of his duties, but subsequently the customary inquisitorial staff was conceded to the commissary and he was aided by familiars, definitors, and *alguaciles*, who were endowed

¹ The first inquisitor was sent to America in 1531. Inquisitorial power was conferred on various Franciscan and Dominican friars until 1571, when the abuse of authority by these monks led to the establishment of a regular Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico, at the head of which was Pedro de Moya y Contreras, afterward archbishop and viceroy.—BANCROFT, *History of Mexico*, ii, 675-679.

² Instructions to Commissary of the Inquisition, March 1, 1583, BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, v, 256-273; see also DELGADO, *Historia de Filipinas*, 184.

with sufficient power to act on the order of their chief without the interposition of the civil officials.

The decree of establishment laid down the important regulation that the commissary should be a competent person, conversant with all phases of ecclesiastical law and experience, and selected because of his exceptional qualities. He was especially charged "not to employ the name and title of the Holy Office for avenging individual wrongs or for the intimidation or affront of any person." He had for his special field authority over questions of faith and heresy, "clearing away the errors and superstitions against the dogma and the lax opinions which pervert Christian morals."³ The natives of the Philippines were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.⁴

It is important to note that the inquisitor was authorized to employ secrecy in the detection and punishment of offenses against the faith. He was also to impose the obligation of secrecy upon all who worked under his direction, and he was authorized to impose various punishments, spiritual, pecuniary or corporal, upon those who betrayed the secrets of the Inquisition, or upon those who otherwise interfered with its operation. This power was an important one, for, by its use, he was able to command the support and assistance of practically all persons in the colony in any act which he might perform as Commissary of the Inquisition. According to the law of establishment the commissary could only make arrests on the authority of the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico or the Supreme Council of Madrid. It was decreed that since—

³ PÉREZ Y LÓPEZ, *Teatro de la Legislación Española*, xxviii, 208; see pp. 207-237.

⁴ As a part of his duty of preserving the faith and combatting heresy, the commissary was empowered to examine all books brought into the colony and seize any publications which were considered heretical or otherwise confictory with the expurgatories of the Holy Inquisition. No books were allowed to circulate without his approval and all civil officials were ordered to cooperate with the commissary in this matter. He was also charged with the investigation and apprehension of all persons suspected of the crime of bigamy. Up to 1754 this offense was dealt with solely by the Inquisition, but by the *cédula* on March 19 of that year bigamy was made a civil crime with a corporal or confiscatory punishment, it being prescribed, however, that the jurisdiction of the inquisitors should take precedence over that of the civil authorities. On September 7, 1766, this offense was again made punishable solely by the Inquisition, but on August 10, 1788, jurisdiction over cases of bigamy was taken entirely from the Inquisition and given to the royal authorities. See note to *Recopilación*, 1-19-4.

any arrest made by the Holy Faith is a matter of much reproach and dishonor for that person and of no less damage and injury to his property; therefore all arrests should be made with prudence, care and for just cause. Authority for this is not given to the commissary, who neither should nor can arrest a person except in special cases and by an especial order entrusted to him against the person who is arrested, and even then the commissary must see that the purpose of the said order be executed without exceeding it.

No provision was made for any special or extraordinary cases wherein he was to act on his own responsibility. Persons arrested by the commissary in the Philippines were to be sent to Mexico for trial. In short, the commissary was an executive arm in the Philippines of the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico and he was without independent judicial or executive authority.

The relations of the commissary with the civil and ecclesiastical officials were carefully prescribed in the law of establishment. He was ordered "to show (his said) title to the governor and to the ecclesiastical and lay *cabildos* in order that they receive, treat and recognize him as a commissary and agent of so holy an office." The act, however, of showing the certificate of appointment to the *cabildos* was said to be only one of courtesy, and in no way a necessary proceeding, "for there is no need of their permission or approbation."⁶ Thus, in matters of faith, which constituted

⁶ The laws of the Indies (*Recopilación*, 1-19-1) directed that inquisitors who were sent to the colonies should present their titles to the audiencias and viceroys and the latter were ordered to receive, assist and pay them all due respect. In fact, viceroys, audiencias and governors were ordered to execute the sentences of the inquisitors without question and to extend to them every facility and assistance (*Ibid.*, 1-19-18 and 19). From the very beginning, the dignitaries of the Inquisition were placed under special royal protection, with complete power over their own particular sphere, and both civil and ecclesiastical officials were warned not to interfere with them or oppose them in any manner. (Law of May 22, 1610, *Recopilación*, 1-19-2.) As early as March 10, 1553, the Council of the Indies placed itself and its dependent audiencias and officials in a position subordinate to that of the Inquisition. Any sort of interference with the latter by a civil official or court was forbidden. Civil officials could not restrain inquisitors, even when they were clearly infringing on the royal jurisdiction; the interdicts levied by inquisitors could not be raised and none of the means usually employed by the royal authorities for their own protection could be used against the Inquisition. The proper proceeding in such a case was prescribed to be an appeal to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, resident in Madrid. This Council was especially constituted to nullify or reverse any harmful act or decision which the inquisitors might make. (Law of March 10, 1553 *Recopilación*, 1-19-4.)

the special field of the Inquisition, the commissary was placed above the other civil or ecclesiastical officials of the colony. In all matters of faith or heresy, wherein a conflict might arise with the magistrates of the civil government, or between the prelate or vicar of the secular church and the commissary, the claims of the latter were to be respected at the time, the differences to be appealed to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid, or settled by adjustment between that tribunal and the Council of the Indies.

The establishment of a branch of the Inquisition in the Philippines was variously received by different persons and authorities in Manila. Bishop Salazar, the Dominican prelate of the Islands, was greatly pleased to have this additional weapon in the hands of his own order, and since his ecclesiastical administration was largely given over to combatting the so-called encroachments of the civil government upon the ecclesiastical sphere, any contribution to the power of the church in the Islands was sure to meet with his approval. The *audiencia* of Manila, however, voiced the opposition of the entire civil government when it protested against the establishment of the Inquisition "in a land so far from Your Majesty, where your faithful subjects may be reduced to fear by it." The *audiencia* correctly forecasted the future trend of affairs in the Islands when it predicted that the Inquisition would be used "as a citadel for the shelter of those desirous of resisting the royal authority."⁶

At various times in the history of the Islands efforts were made by the churchmen to have a tribunal of the Inquisition erected in the Philippines. This was proposed in 1598 by Archbishop Santibañez, who argued that the inadequate powers accorded to the commissary in the Philippines and the necessity of appealing all cases to Mexico had caused great injustice to be done to residents of the Philippines. The delays to which cases were subjected brought about great inconvenience and it was "manifestly unjust that residents of the Philippines should be judged by a foreign court."⁷ The same sentiments were expressed later by Francisco Bello, a religious procurator at Madrid, who, acting in the interests of the various religious orders in the

⁶ Audiencia to King, June 26, 1586, *A. I.*, 68-1-33.

⁷ Santibañez to Philip II, June 26, 1598, BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. X, p. 151.

Philippines, sought to delimit the authority of the Dominicans in inquisitorial matters by creating a tribunal in the Philippines. However, after obtaining the advice of the Viceroy of New Spain and consulting the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico and the Supreme Council in Madrid, the Council of the Indies refused to alter the existing arrangement. Conditions were not ripe for the establishment of a tribunal in Manila; on account of the small Spanish population there few cases demanded the attention of the Inquisition in the Philippines, and such as there were could be adjusted by the commissary. The Islands, moreover, could not sustain the expense of supporting a tribunal, and it was felt that serious abuses might arise from the establishment of one completely independent in a place so distant and isolated as Manila.⁸ Thus it was that the Inquisition continued to be represented in the Philippines by a commissary and no changes were made in the powers originally conferred upon him by the original decree of 1583.

While it is not the purpose here to give a complete history of the Inquisition in the Philippines, we may summarize its career by stating that, aside from its spiritual duties, it wielded an extensive political influence. All of the commissaries up to 1660 being Dominicans, as well as the majority of the prelates, they were mutually interested in the glorification of their own orders even at the expense of rival societies and the civil government.⁹ The latter were entirely without means to prevent the commissary from taking unfair advantage of his position and his utilization of the numerous exemptions and immunities which the Inquisition conferred upon him. An equally serious charge frequently brought against the representative of the Inquisition was that he took advantage of his position for the furtherance of his own interests and for the gratification of his own personal

⁸ *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, May 15, 1659, *A. I.*, 67-6-22.

⁹ This was especially true during the early history of the Islands. On June 20, 1585, the audiencia, in a letter to the king, cited several instances in which Bishop Salazar, unwilling to cede his claims to jurisdiction over certain civil offenders, handed the latter over to the Commissary of the Inquisition, instead of surrendering them to the audiencia, where jurisdiction over such cases belonged. The audiencia, appealing to the king for aid, alleged that the prelate had taken unfair advantage of the civil power, "by sheltering himself behind the Inquisition, . . . where the audiencia had no jurisdiction."—Audiencia to King, July 20, 1585, *A. I.*, 67-6-18.

desires.¹⁰ Under these conditions the Inquisition openly fought the government and on one notable occasion vanquished it completely.

The most striking example of an abuse by the Inquisition of its power in the Philippines, and one which may be considered as typical of the utmost excesses of which that institution was capable, occurred in the arrest, imprisonment and deportation of Governor Diego de Salcedo in 1688 by the Commissary of the Inquisition. An investigation of the circumstances surrounding this event shows that considerations of religion entered into the matter but slightly, if at all, and that the inquisitor was almost entirely influenced by personal and political motives. We shall examine in some detail the main events of this affair, considering it as an isolated example, perhaps, of the harm which the Inquisition might inflict upon a colony, noting at the same time the operation of the machinery which was available for dealing with such cases.

The good or bad qualities of the administration of any governor or viceroy in the Spanish colonies may always be estimated by contrasting it with the rule of his predecessor. The government of the latter furnishes a background or setting for a comparison which frequently works out to the discredit of the prevailing administration and explains why there is dissatisfaction with it. So it was in the case of Governor Salcedo. His predecessor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, was a man of mild manners, and of an easy-going disposition. During his term a coterie of ecclesiastics and merchants practically controlled the government and manipulated the governor as they chose.¹¹ During Lara's term the civil power reached a low ebb, official dishonesty flourished, matters of defense were neglected, the galleons were

¹⁰ Lea, in his *Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies*, 299-318, furnishes a general account of the history of the Holy Office in the Philippines. He says that "while this branch of the Inquisition did little for the faith, it was eminently successful in the function of contributing to the disorder and confusion which so disastrously affected colonial administration" (p. 308).

¹¹ A summary of "all the ten years' term of government of the prudent and magnanimous governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara," may be found written in terms of glowing appreciation in "Augustinians in the Philippines," in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 185-224. See also CONCEPCIÓN, *Historia General de Filipinas*, vii, 104-130.

mismanaged, several were lost, the revenues declined, and the colony was of no advantage or profit to the King, or, in fact, to any other person or persons except those comprising the inner circle of merchants and politicians who thrived at the expense of the colony.¹²

The need of reform was therefore so great that on December 2, 1661, a royal appointment as governor of the Philippines was conferred upon Diego de Salcedo, who was of Hispano-Flemish parentage, a native of Brussels, a favorite of Don Juan of Austria, and accordingly a man with considerable influence at court. He had acquired an excellent reputation as a capable military commander and as an efficient administrator during his career of service in the Netherlands, and it was thought that he possessed the proper qualities to meet the situation in the Philippines and could put an end to the abuses of the merchants and ecclesiastics of Manila. It was expected that he would restore the Islands to their former commercial prosperity, and establish adequate defenses. The accomplishment of these purposes, even in a limited way, or even an attempt to carry them out, was certain to raise up many enemies and their opposition, under determined leadership, was certain to cause the governor much embarrassment and difficulty.

Although Salcedo was appointed in 1661, irregularities in the sailing of the galleon compelled him to wait in Mexico for two years before he could proceed to his post. During his residence in Mexico he quarrelled with Fray José Paternina, an Augustinian who was awaiting transportation to Manila, where he was delegated to serve as Commissary of the Inquisition. Salcedo, it was said, had paid attentions to a female relative of the commissary, and his acts were resented by the latter.¹³ No

¹² A subsidy of 250,000 pesos was sent annually from Mexico for the support of the government of the Philippines, the cost of which averaged 400,000 pesos a year in the nineteenth century. Financially, therefore, the Philippines were maintained at a loss to the Spanish Government. See the controversial articles on *The Philippine Subsidy* by E. G. Bourne and James A. Leroy in the *American Historical Review*, x, 457-459, 929-932.

¹³ The above, and the other facts contained in this paragraph, were brought out in the secret investigation which was conducted by Governor León on his arrival at Manila. The papers relative to this proceeding were sent by him to the Council of the Indies on June 10, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-8.

sooner had the galleon departed from Acapulco than Salcedo, utilizing the authority which he exercised as governor over the *ad interim* appointment of galleon officials, deprived the commander of the galleon, Andrés de Medina, of his place and substituted Francisco García de Fresno.¹⁴ Medina was a friend of Paternina, and during the remainder of the voyage the commissary and his faction exhibited increased hostility to the governor on account of this act. This opposition was fanned into open resistance after the governor had publicly reprovved an Augustinian friar, who was also a friend of Paternina, for a sermon which the former preached on the voyage. Thus it was that before their arrival at Cagayán, in the north of Luzón, where they disembarked the last of August, 1663, Paternina had openly manifested his hostility to the governor and had made a threat in the hearing of all that he would cause Salcedo's downfall.

The reforms accomplished during the administration of Salcedo from 1663 to 1668 justified the hopes of those who had sent him to the Islands, but their fulfilment caused his downfall. He gave his predecessor a very severe *residencia*, removing from office a large number of the latter's dependents, thereby creating many enemies among the official class. In order to facilitate commerce and communication with New Spain, he at once gave his personal attention to the building of galleons, and during his rule a large number of ships were added to Spain's Pacific fleet. Salcedo endeavored to avoid the dissatisfaction and unrest

¹⁴ Medina had come to Mexico with a royal commission to explore and chart the Solomon Islands and had presented to the viceroy, the Conde de Baños, letters from the king ordering the viceroy to aid in fitting out an expedition. This the viceroy had failed to do, but believing that Medina's credentials gave him priority over García, he made the latter commander of the galleon on which he was to sail for the scene of his future operations, thus reducing García, who had brought the galleon from Manila in 1662, to the position of second-in-command. Convinced of the injustice of this proceeding, Salcedo restored the latter to his post, and Medina continued as a passenger to Manila, whence he subsequently embarked for Cochin China. Although no definite news of his expedition was ever received, it appears that he arrived at his destination and was there murdered by the natives. Some of the merchandise which he carried with him and a number of mathematical instruments were afterwards offered for sale to the Portuguese. *Autos* relative to the destitution exist in *A. I.*, 67-6-3. This act of Salcedo was approved by the Council of the Indies.—Testimony of Fray Enriquez, April 29, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3; secondary accounts may be found also in CONCEPCIÓN, vii, 131-135, and in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 234.

usually resulting from the hardships which the natives were compelled to undergo in the construction of these ships by a distribution of the burdens of shipbuilding among the various provinces.¹⁵ He strengthened the fortifications and defenses of the Islands, putting the garrisons under the command of experienced officers from the Low Countries. He enforced the laws and rules of the royal ecclesiastical patronage, compelling the archbishop and the provincials of the religious orders to acknowledge his headship over the church in all matters which pertained to the relation of the latter with the civil government.

With equal energy he applied himself to the development of the commercial resources of the islands, and to an elimination of the dishonesty which had been characteristic of the administration of the galleons for so many years. He developed native industries and encouraged trade with China, entering into commercial relations with the Dutch at Batavia and with the English in India. His aim was to make Manila the great commercial center of the Far East, and there was scarcely any time during the latter years of his administration, when the harbor of Manila did not shelter the ships of these various nations. Finally, and most importantly, he reformed the administration of trade at Manila, seeing that the galleon left the islands at the most favorable opportunity, and at the date prescribed by the royal *cédulas*.

These reformatory measures interfered with the *status quo* and spoiled the commercial monopolies and trading arrangements already perfected by the merchants of Manila. As a result,

¹⁵ *Repartimientos* or *polos* of Indians were forced to labor in building these ships. Owing to the cruel treatment suffered by the natives in this work hundreds paid the price of their lives for each galleon built. During Salcedo's rule the ship "Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro," the largest and best ever constructed in the Philippines was built at a cost to the king of sixty thousand pesos. The building of this ship occupied the remarkably short space of one year. Relative to the value of Philippine woods for the construction of galleons, Casimiro Díaz says in his *Conquistas* that "the woods of Filipinas are the best that can be found in all the universe; because for the inside work, the ribs and knees, the keel and rudder, molave is used, which is the hardest wood known; and at its disintegration it is converted into stone by being kept in the water. Lavang (lauan) is used for the sheathing outside the ribs; it is so strong and of such a nature that no artillery ball will pass through it; and the greatest harm that the ball can do is to stick in the wood without entering inside the ship." BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 251.

therefore, Governor Salcedo came to have enemies in every quarter. The city was filled with dissatisfied persons who were eager for revenge, and who were willing to cooperate with Paterina in his openly avowed invention to ruin the governor. The commissary was apparently glad to take advantage of the state of general unrest to carry out his purpose.¹⁶

It would seem, in fact, that Salcedo's enemies might be divided into three classes, all of whom, however, were united in their determination to ruin him. First, there were the dispossessed officials and disappointed office-seekers and their relatives, who clustered in Manila, and who were awaiting an opportunity to get into office, or otherwise drew their living from the government, even if they had to ruin the men who, up to that time, had prevented the fulfilment of their designs.¹⁷ The merchant classes were displeased because Salcedo's commercial reforms had interfered with their monopoly, and especially because, as they alleged, he caused the galleons to depart before their cargo was ready, carrying only his own commodities. Various charges of commercial dishonesty were brought by them against the governor. Some of the ecclesiastics were also dissatisfied with Salcedo's rule, notably the Archbishop and the personal following of the commissary, for reasons which have already been suggested.

The opposition to Salcedo reached such a point that on the night of October 9, 1668, his room was entered by the Commissary of the Inquisition, who was accompanied by his *alguaciles* and by about forty armed friars and officials of the classes described above. They seized and arrested Salcedo in his bed, on charges said to have been proffered by the Holy Inquisition, handcuffed him and conducted him in a hammock to the Franciscan convent, where he was imprisoned. Subsequently he was taken to the house of Diego de Palencia, his most bitter enemy, also a disappointed office-seeker, and a short time later he was transferred to the Augustinian convent for still greater security. Owing to the objections of the provincial of that order to his retention there, he was exiled to Cavite, where he awaited trans-

¹⁶ Governor de León to the Council of the Indies, June 10, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

¹⁷ They were thus characterized by the royal *fiscal* in his summary of the case before the Council of the Indies, May 9, 1671. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

fer to New Spain to be tried by the Tribunal of the Inquisition. After several months of imprisonment there he was put on the Acapulco galleon of 1669, but that ship encountered such foul weather that it was compelled to return to the Islands, and the governor was again imprisoned until the next year. His health, in the meantime, had become seriously impaired by the long series of vicissitudes which had befallen him, among which had been various unnecessary inflictions heaped upon him by his enemies. The discomforts of the long voyage to New Spain, and the abrupt changes of climate involved, further aggravated his condition, and he died at sea in 1670.

Ere this, however, and in fact just after Salcedo's arrest, a dispute arose between the *oidores* for the temporary governorship. The law of April 2, 1664, had authorized the audiencia to govern in case of a vacancy, the senior *oidor* assuming the leadership and particularly taking charge of the military affairs, while the audiencia as a body should concern itself with matters of administration.¹⁸ The dispute over the question of seniority became quite violent between *Oidores* Francisco de Coloma and Francisco Montemayor y Mansilla,¹⁹ and the settlement of the question was finally entrusted to the good offices of Juan Manuel de la Peña Bónifaz, the junior magistrate of the audiencia, who was put forward as arbiter by the ecclesiastical element. As soon as Bónifaz obtained control of the government, he assumed the rôle of dictator, marshalling the military forces of the Islands and dispensing money freely among soldiers and malcontents to insure his popularity.²⁰ Taking the precaution of exiling his

¹⁸ RECOPIACIÓN, 2-15-18. This law is also reproduced as *testimonio* in *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

¹⁹ Although Coloma's appointment bore a date which was a few days anterior to that of Montemayor and they had both come to the Philippines on the same galleon, the latter based his claims to seniority on the fact that he had hastened overland and arrived in the city a few days earlier than his colleague. See BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 29-30, 232-233.

²⁰ It is said that during the eleven months of his rule, which was chiefly supported by the military and ecclesiastical elements, he employed all the money which he found in the royal treasury, including the *situado* of 250,000 pesos, and in addition 400,000 pesos more which he confiscated. He made extensive use of bribes and threats. When he exiled *Oidores* Coloma and Montemayor and prosecuted *Fiscal* Borbera, he bribed a number of witnesses to testify against them. He hired a lawyer, Juan de Rosales, to act as his legal adviser, and to write a defense of his government

two former colleagues and the royal *fiscal*, this *oidor* was able to rule without notable interruption until the arrival of the new governor, Manuel de León, in September, 1669. In reality, the power behind the rule of Bónifaz was the Inquisition, as embodied in the person and power of José Paternina, its commissary in Manila. This episode shows the extremes to which the civil government of the Philippines could be reduced by the powerful institution of the Inquisition when it abused its authority.

Aside from the letters of Governor León and the correspondence between the Council of the Indies and that of the Inquisition, the most valuable evidence relative to the Salcedo affair and the circumstances which led to it are summarized in the official documents relative to the case, existing in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. One of these collections, containing the charges which were made preliminary to the *residencia* of Governor

(this *manifesto* is mentioned by Díaz in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxviii, 273). Rosales subsequently testified against Bónifaz (*Testimonio* of Juan de Rosales, April 8, 1670, A. I., 67-6-3). Among the abuses of Bónifaz was the appointment of his seven-year-old son as military captain at a salary of 1,500 pesos a year. He opened the correspondence of *oidores*, and literally harried to death the *Fiscal*, Don Diego de Corbera, who could not endorse his government as legal. Notwithstanding these facts, and in spite of the violence which Bónifaz displayed in his assumption and retention of the control of affairs, the Augustinian historians, CONCEPCIÓN (VII, 208) and Díaz (in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 271-275) say that his rule was wise and beneficial to all. It was without doubt favorable to the religious element, and notably to the Augustinian order, for the administration of Bónifaz was merely a cloak covering the rule of the Augustinian Commissary of the Inquisition. This accounts for the fact that the first reports which reached the Council of the Indies, coming from religious sources, described the moderation of the rule of Bónifaz. On the basis of these letters, the Council of the Indies, in its *consulta* of September 22, 1670, reported to the king on the salutary character of his administration. Subsequent testimony corrected these misrepresentations and properly described the evil character of the rule of the *oidor*. In the *consultas* of May 22 and May 30, 1671, the Council of the Indies discountenanced all the acts of the government of the *oidor*; he was accused of insurrection and treason by the *Fiscal* of the Council, his property was ordered to be confiscated, and it was prescribed that he should be exiled to Cavite while proceedings were brought against him by the governor and his *asesor*. The latter were expressly ordered to show him no leniency. Bónifaz frustrated the king's justice, however, by taking refuge in the convent of his friends, the Augustinians. Efforts were made to seize and prosecute him, but his ecclesiastical champions were able to afford him adequate shelter until his death. (*Consultas* of May 22, May 30 and June 1, 1670, A. I., 67-6-3; see BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 23-63, wherein is reproduced a letter dated January 15, 1669, written in prison by an unknown official who took a prominent part in the events described, and who was imprisoned by Bónifaz for opposing his rule.)

Salcedo,²¹ describes the commercial abuses of this governor, and these latter, no doubt, constituted sufficient justification for his arrest by the civil government, but not necessarily by the Inquisition. The other material referred to, which bears directly on Salcedo's arrest by the Inquisition, consists of the *testimonios* collected by Governor León on his arrival at Manila and forwarded to the Council of the Indies on June 10, 1670.²² It was on the basis of this evidence that the Council of the Indies rendered its final judgment on the case and entered into negotiation with the Council of the Inquisition with the object of bringing about such reforms as would prevent a recurrence of such abuses in the future.

The preliminaries of the *residencia* of Governor Salcedo were begun by *Oidor* Francisco de Coloma the day following the governor's arrest. Notice had already come to the colony of the appointment of Governor León to succeed Salcedo, whose term was about to expire, and the *residencia*, itself, in accordance with the law, was to be taken on the arrival of the new governor. The immediateness of this preliminary investigation was said to have been prompted by the apprehension that unless the government intervened, the commissary of the Inquisition would seize all of Salcedo's property²³ and that there would be no financial surety to cover the *residencia* in case the charges brought against Salcedo were proved. So it was that an investigation was begun by Coloma on October 10, 1668, and closed on the tenth of the following month. The evidence brought forth on this occasion

²¹ *Traslado de los autos de residencia del gobenador Don Diego de Salcedo y del capitán Don Juan de Zalcata, 10 de Noviembre de 1668, remitido por el arzobispo Félix Pardo, 10 de Julio de 1686.*

²² Governor León to the Council of the Indies, June 10, 1670, *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

²³ In seizing the property of Governor Salcedo, or in permitting it to be seized, Paternina was guilty of a flagrant violation of his instructions. As a matter of fact, the law of establishment, referred to already in his treatise, forbade the sequestration of property by the commissary, partially on account of the loss which its complete alienation might incur to its owner. Therefore, property should not be seized by the commissary, under any circumstances, but, instead, its care should be entrusted temporarily to some other person, preferably a friend of the person detained, who could manage it until the Tribunal of the Inquisition might investigate the case. Sequestration was to be effected only on the order of the tribunal, and then as a part of the punishment inflicted upon the guilty person, "for, in punishing a crime, the property of the guilty person is always regarded as an accessory element." BLAIR and ROBERTSON, v, 269.

had no bearing on the arrest of Salcedo by the Inquisition, being concerned only with his commercial excesses. Evidence was submitted to show that Salcedo had misappropriated government funds, utilizing them for the purchase of goods from the Chinese, Dutch and English traders. It was charged that Salcedo had paid the Chinese alone as much as 150,000 pesos of this money.²⁴ On three separate occasions he was said to have forced the treasury officials to give him sums of 18,000, 24,000 and 40,000 pesos respectively, and these expenditures were subsequently covered by falsification of the accounts.²⁵ In order to make it more easy to obtain money from the treasury, Salcedo was said to have taken Manuel de la Vega, a treasury official, into his confidence, sharing with him the profits derived from these various trading operations.²⁶ While the royal funds were thus being misspent, the salaries of the Manila officials, including the *oidores*, archbishop and minor churchmen, were left unpaid.²⁷

The fact was brought out in this investigation that at the time of Salcedo's arrest several Dutch, English and Chinese ships were anchored at Cavite, and that all of these had come to trade with Salcedo and his coterie. Not only was the royal *cédula* which forbade the trade of foreigners in Spain's colonies thus disregarded, but the governor was said to have bought up a large portion of their cargo with royal funds.²⁸ Probably the gravest

²⁴ *Testimonio de Capitan Juan de Santibañez*, 25 de Octubre de 1668, A. I., 68-133.

²⁵ *Testimonio de Maestre de Campo Don Agustín de Zepeda*, 10 de Octubre de 1668, *Ibid.* Zepeda had been imprisoned by Salcedo on a charge of complicity with his brother-in-law in utilizing a *repartimiento* of Indians to cut timber and build a house for his personal use. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 28.

²⁶ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 42.

²⁷ *Testimonio del Capitan Diego de Palencia*, 24 de Octubre de 1668, A. I., 68-133. Palencia was a sworn enemy of Salcedo and a friend of the commissary. As *alguazil* of the Inquisition, he had assisted in the arrest, and it was in his house that the prisoner had been confined for several days after he was taken into custody. Palencia was Bónifaz's right-hand man, being the custodian of the wealth seized by him, and at the same time serving as *alcalde* of the *Parídn* (the Chinese section of Manila). He was said to have made the statement publicly that the arrest of Salcedo was the best thing that ever happened in the Philippines, that in the future, as a result of it, governors would not be such thieves, and that all that had been needed in the colony had been men brave enough to check their avarice. (*Testimonio de Francisco de Enríquez*, 29 de April, 1670, *Ibid.*).

²⁸ For instance, it was said that Salcedo and his friends, General Tomás García y Cárdenas and Maestre de Campo Juan de Vergara, had bought cloth (*piezas de defante*) from these ships at seven and a half pesos the piece and sold them at ten

charges proffered against Salcedo were concerned with his whole-sale trade with the Dutch at Batavia. Not only did he encourage the Hollanders to come to Manila, but in 1666 and 1667 he was said to have dispatched ships, ostensibly for the relief of the Spanish colony at Ternate, but in reality under secret orders to Batavia and Jacatra instead. He confided the command of these vessels to his friends, Gaspar Ruiz de Aguazo and Captain Juan de Zaleata, respectively, entrusting them with sufficient funds, and giving them authority to purchase merchandise from the Dutch and return with it to Manila. A portion of these commodities was said to have been sold at high prices to the merchants of Manila by intermediaries of Salcedo.²⁹ Those who bought promptly were allowed the privilege of shipping to Acapulco, but those who did not were prevented from utilizing the galleon at all by the governor's failure to notify them of the exact sailing date.

This testimony, as already stated, was collected by the officials of the civil government, ostensibly to show that there were enough charges against the governor to justify the seizure of his property pending the *residencia* which was to come. Undoubtedly there was another purpose, and one much more important to Bónifaz and to those who had assisted or had passively permitted his arrest and imprisonment. From their point of view it was desirable for them to incorporate into a legal document such charges against the governor as would show that Salcedo's administration was intolerable to all and would justify his apprehension by the civil government. The dishonest character of his administration being patent, the submission of the *oidores* and other civil officials to the arrest of the governor by the commissary would probably be approved by the home government, since in this case the Inquisition would be sparing it the necessity of acting. The opinion that this was a leading motive for the formulation of this document immediately after the

pesos each to the merchants of Manila. The only way the latter could get this merchandise was by buying it from the governor at this outrageous price. *Testimonio de Licenciado Manuel Suárez de Olivera, 10 de Octubre de 1668, Ibid.* Suárez was one of the legal advisers and supporters of Bónifaz. BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 273.

²⁹ Palencia testified that Salcedo gave Zalaeta 50,000 pesos for investment in this venture. *Testimonio of Palencia, October 24, 1668, and of Manuel Suárez de Olivera, October 10, 1668, A. I., 68-1-33.*

arrest of the governor seems to be confirmed by the fact that this evidence was collected in the name of the *audiencia*,²⁰ whose magistrates did nothing to oppose the governor's arrest, and furthermore by the fact that the testimony obtained was entirely unfavorable to the governor, all of the witnesses being his sworn enemies and most of them being directly concerned with his arrest. At any rate this evidence is important in showing why the commissary was able to count on the cooperation of the merchants and residents of Manila as well as the ecclesiastical element and in demonstrating that there were other provocations for his arrest than those involving religion.

A more complete account of the proceedings of the Commissary of the Inquisition may be found in the records of the investigation conducted by Governor Manuel de León and forwarded to the court on June 10, 1670. Just as the trend of the testimony examined above was against the governor, so the general tendency of this evidence was to exculpate him and to demonstrate with what injustice the commissary and his ally, Bónifaz, had acted. It was shown that Paternina and Salcedo had been enemies from the beginning, and that the commissary had publicly declared his intention of ruining the governor on repeated occasions. Considerable evidence was adduced to show that Paternina was impulsive and hot-tempered and that he lacked the qualities appropriate for such an important and responsible office as that of Commissary of the Inquisition.²¹ So evident was this that even his provincial, Fray Alonzo Quijano, had written to the Tribunal of the Inquisition, asking for his removal and for the appointment of another commissary, urging

²⁰ Coloma's relations with Salcedo had not always been the most pleasant, however, and there is evidence to show that the *audiencia* had full knowledge of the commissary's efforts and intention to arrest the governor. (*Testimonio de Miguel Solano, Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús, 23 de Mayo de 1670, A. I., 67-6-3.*) It is easy to understand, therefore, why Coloma might be willing to submit such a body of evidence as this. Although Coloma did not assist in the arrest of the governor and could not at first countenance the legality of the government of Bónifaz, the *oidor* subsequently gave up his opposition to the rule of the usurper, was recalled from exile and even participated in the government during the last weeks of his rule.

²¹ *Testimonio de Don Gerónimo de Herrera, 1 de Mayo, 1670, A. I., 67-6-3.* Fray Miguel Solano, Provincial of the Jesuits, wrote that Paternina was "a youth without education and without experience." *Consulta* of September 22, 1670, A. I., 67-6-3.

that Paternina was not the right person for the place.³² On the other hand, it was conceded by all that Salcedo was avaricious. The accusations of his commercial abuses were confirmed, although evidence was submitted to show that many of the consignments made in his name were in reality for the provincial officials, and that much of the money found in his possession when arrested belonged to them. This, it seems, was the customary procedure whereby those absent in the distant provinces were able to trade, receive or remit merchandise or personal effects. It was also proved that the governor had repeatedly levied blackmail on the various religious orders.³³

Considerable testimony was submitted by the ecclesiastics to show that the governor had never failed to manifest openly his lack of respect for the holy faith and for those who labored in its service. He repeatedly showed his contempt for "meddling friars," he defied Archbishop Poblete³⁴ and scoffed at the Com-

³² *Testimonio de Fray Francisco Enríquez*. This friar testified that Paternina rebelled repeatedly against the rules of his Order, preferring to wander about the streets at night and conduct himself otherwise in a very unecclesiastical manner. He therefore had considerable difficulty with his own Provincial, to whose authority he was subject as an Augustinian friar. His Provincial refused to aid him in arresting the governor, holding at naught his threats of excommunication. On May 10, 1673, Fray Gerónimo de León, then Augustinian provincial, wrote the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico that Quijano, his predecessor, had protested repeatedly against the incumbency of Paternina as commissary, and hence disclaimed all responsibility for his acts. *A. I.*, 68-1-44.

³³ Fray Gerónimo de León stated on May 10, 1673, that Salcedo had deprived the Orders in the Philippines of sums exceeding 120,000 pesos and that Governor Manuel de León, since his arrival in 1669, had taken 40,000 in the same way. (*A. I.*, 68-1-44.) The *consulta* of the Council of the Indies, dated September 22, 1670, commented on the unpopularity of Governor Salcedo with the Augustinians, repeating the charge that he had taken 150,000 pesos from that Order. (*A. I.*, 67-6-3.) A footnote in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 60, says that after the arrest of Salcedo the Augustinians laid claim to 100,000 pesos to be taken from his estate, this sum having been paid to him by the order so that he would overlook the excesses which they had committed.

³⁴ It appeared from this testimony that Archbishop Poblete had repeatedly urged Paternina to arrest the governor for his continual disregard of the sanctity of the Holy Church, manifested in his many altercations with the archbishop. (*Testimonio* of Herrera, *op. cit.*) Poblete came to the Islands in 1653. His relations with Governor Lara were very pleasant, but in contrast to this he had considerable difficulty with Salcedo. One of their many controversies, and one sufficiently typical, was over the appointment of Diego de Cartagena y Pantoja, a renegade Jesuit of low morals and a notoriously bad reputation, as dean of the Cathedral in February, 1666. Cartagena's appointment was entirely

missary of the Inquisition. He had little sympathy with church festivals, frequently declining to take his place as vice-patron at the head of religious processions, even refusing to go to the window of his house to see them pass.³⁵ On one or two occasions Salcedo was said to have impetuously made sacrilegious remarks about divine service, and about the Mass, but these he immediately recalled, always showing great contrition and regret for his hastiness. He was faithful in attendance at the cathedral, and at all other religious services. He showed great interest in the conversion of the Igorrotes and in the extension of missionary work in China, furnishing considerable aid to the friars who were laboring there. He was also quite generous in giving alms, having conceded to the Franciscans the sum of 5,000 pesos for the completion of their convent, only a few days before his arrest.³⁶ Indeed, Salcedo appeared to have been on very friendly terms with the provincials of the Jesuits and the Augustinians, and in turn these friars refused to take any part in his arrest, and they subsequently testified in his favor in the investigation which was made of the affair.³⁷

We may therefore question the statement of the Dominican historian, Fonseca, who relates that Salcedo was arrested because all classes of Manila society were weary of his excesses, and that the Inquisition was the only institution which could

legal, but Poblete objected to him on personal grounds. Cartagena presented his credentials to the governor, who recognized them and ordered that he be given the place to which he had been appointed. Poblete appealed to the audiencia and that tribunal supported the governor. The Archbishop accused Paternina of cowardice for not arresting the governor on this occasion. Poblete died on December 8, 1667, a few months before the arrest of Salcedo. He was succeeded as archbishop (elect) in May, 1673, by Fray Juan López, former Bishop of Cebú.—León to the Council, May 8, 1673, A. I., 67-6-11.

³⁵ *Testimonio de Juan de Rosales, 8 de Abril de 1670; Carta del gobernador Manuel de León, 10 de Junio de 1670. A. I., 67-6-3.*

³⁶ *Ibid.* See also BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 265, where a footnote states: "Salcedo was taken to the Franciscan convent, and immediately the conspirators celebrated the event (of Salcedo's arrest) with suppers and the drinking of toasts through the night, according to previous arrangements made by them. In this manner did the fathers of St. Francis return his pious act, and the alms of 5,000 pesos which he had just given them for the building of their church. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 532.)"

³⁷ *Testimonio de Miguel Solano, Provincial de la Compañía de Jesus, 23 de Mayo de 1670. A. I., 67-6-3.*

afford relief.³⁸ On the contrary, it would appear that Salcedo had the support of the best elements in the Philippines. It is true, indeed, that the greater part of Manila "society" was composed of dissatisfied office-seekers, grasping merchants and their respective dependents. It would appear from the evidence examined up to this point that the chief objections to the governor were based on his political and commercial acts. The actual reasons for Salcedo's arrest still remain a secret of the Inquisition. It would seem, however, that his opposition to the friars, his soldierly bluntness, his impetuosity, and his lack of respect for some of the outward semblances of worship gave to the commissary a pretext of which the latter hastened to avail himself, being actuated by personal considerations and being able to command the support of persons who bore resentment against the government for political and commercial reasons. Some of these persons assisted willingly, pleased with the opportunity thus presented to avenge themselves, while others aided under threat of ecclesiastical censure.³⁹

The governor's commercial relations with the Dutch, his Flemish ancestry and origin, the fact of his having sent large sums of money out of the colony and that he had more in his possession, apparently ready to send, and above all, the circumstance that there were Dutch vessels in the harbor, with whose officers he had been very intimate, gave ground for the rumor that Salcedo was preparing to leave the Islands to take refuge in Java, and possibly surrender the colony to the heretics.⁴⁰

³⁸ FONSECA in his *Historia de la Provincia de Santo Rosario*, Lib. V, Cap. VIII (reproduced in part in *Sobre Una Reseña Histórica*, p. 92). The Jesuit provincial wrote to the Council of the Indies that Paternina proceeded without the aid or advice of the secular church, the ecclesiastical ordinary, the bishops or the audiencia, but only with the assistance of a few friars of his own choice. *Consulta* of September 22, 1670, cited above.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ This charge was made in a letter of the ecclesiastical *cabildo* of Manila and was considered in the Council of the Indies on September 22, 1670. This is proved, the letter alleges, by his traitorous correspondence with the Dutch at Batavia and the neglected state of defense into which the Islands had fallen. This charge was characterized by the *fiscal* of the Council, as a pretext for Salcedo's arrest in his opinion of May 9, 1671. See also LEA, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies*, p. 312. See also the letter of an unknown official dated January 15, 1669, in BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 56.

There is no certainty that this charge was officially made against Salcedo by the commissary, but had it been made, it would not have constituted any case for correction by the Inquisition. Certain it is that this report was circulated in Manila and was even carried to the Council of the Indies by Salcedo's ecclesiastical and political enemies, and there is accordingly no doubt that this was the general impression which was deliberately created regarding the intentions of this governor.

There is considerable evidence that Paternina was not sure of his right to make this arrest.⁴¹ He first endeavored to have the governor apprehended by the civil government on charges of treason and misgovernment. It is said that the question of the governor's detention was considered in the *audiencia*, but that tribunal refused to take the step. Although the *oidores* did nothing to deter Paternina from arresting the governor, they refused to coöperate in any way with him, or to enter into the plan which the commissary urged, of detaining the governor on civil charges. Disregarding the advice which was offered by the more prudent of his religious contemporaries, Paternina proceeded on his own responsibility.⁴²

The final point to be considered in this discussion is that of the authority for the commissary's act. It is clear that he proceeded hastily, that he was influenced, partially, at least, by worldly considerations, and that he was supported and assisted by persons whose motives were open to question. The main problem, however, to be solved, is whether the commissary exceeded his powers, or whether he was within his own rights and was proceeding on the basis of authority conceded to him by ecclesiastical and civil law. As these questions were finally settled in the Council of the Indies and in the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, we shall note the effect, on those two tribunals,

⁴¹ *Testimonio* of Juan de Rosales, April 8, 1670, and of the Provincial of the Jesuits, May 23, 1670, already cited. The letter of Governor de León, dated June 10, 1670, considered by the Council of the Indies in the *consulta* of May 30, 1671, described "the irresolution of Paternina, and his uncertainty whether Salcedo should be arrested as a tyrant, a traitor or a heretic." León stated that the former charges were abandoned, however, after consultation with the *oidores*. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

⁴² In the *consulta* of June 22, 1671, the observation was made that Paternina refused to consult regarding this matter with any person not already of his own opinion. *Ibid.*

of the acts which transpired in Manila and observe the manner in which the final settlement of the question was brought about.

Although the unofficial reports of the Salcedo affair reached the Council of the Indies on October 14, 1669, via Holland, the matter was first formally considered in that tribunal on the basis of reliable information on September 22, 1670.⁴³ Various communications were received from Manila at this time, and among them was a report from Bónifaz relative to his adjudication of the dispute between Coloma and Montemayor. Letters were also received from various religious sources, testifying to the beneficial effects of the administration of the *oidor*. Several accounts of the evil rule and of the subsequent arrest of Governor Salcedo also came to hand, the ecclesiastical *cabildo* relating that property to the value of 700,000 pesos belonging to the ex-governor had been seized, and *Oidor* Coloma reported that the preliminary steps of Salcedo's *residencia* had been taken.⁴⁴

In the *consulta* of September 22, 1670, which followed upon the receipt of these various letters, the Council expressed considerable surprise that neither the Viceroy of New Spain nor the inquisitorial tribunal of Mexico had made any report on the matter. From this it was deduced that Paternina had acted solely on his own responsibility, since otherwise the tribunal in Mexico would have reported to the viceroy in case it had prescribed Salcedo's arrest. Therefore, acting in the king's name, the Council of the Indies drafted a communication to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, asking for information relative to Paternina's character and fitness, desiring to know whether

⁴³ It is interesting to note that the first report which reached the court, communicating the news of the arrest of Governor Salcedo did not come through the regular channels, but was transmitted from Manila to the King of Bantam, thence to Holland via the Dutch trading galleons, and finally to Spain through the Spanish agents in the Low Countries. The retarded communication of news was due, in this case no doubt, to the precautions which Bónifaz took to prevent any report of his own accession to power from leaving the colony. His purpose, of course, was to prolong his dictatorship. In order to effect this, he suppressed all trade with the Dutch in 1668, and forbade the departure of the Dutch ships which were in the harbor at the time of Salcedo's arrest, until the middle of January, 1669.—Letter of an unknown official, January 15, 1669, BLAIR and ROBERTSON, xxxvii, 46.

⁴⁴ Report of Coloma to the Council of the Indies, November 10, 1668. *A. I.*, 67-6-3. This investigation has already been referred to in this paper.

he had been authorized to arrest Governor Salcedo and calling attention to the danger of suddenly removing the governor of a colony as isolated as the Philippines, without providing for his successor. Finally, the Council of the Inquisition was reminded that as governors were the representatives of the royal person, their positions in the colonies were inviolable, and they should not be interfered with on slight pretexts.⁴⁵

The Supreme Council of the Inquisition made reply to the above *consulta* on October 14, 1670. It stated that Paternina was known to Juan Everardo, Inquisitor General and Confessor to His Majesty, and that he had all the necessary qualifications for the post of commissary. The arrest of Salcedo, according to this letter, had been accomplished with all the characteristic expedition and quietness of the methods of the Inquisition. It was admitted that this arrest had not been authorized by the Tribunal of Mexico, but even so, the latter body would have been under no obligation to inform the viceroy of its resolution. In regard to the future, no further directions were necessary, as all commissaries and other servants of the Inquisition were provided with instructions designed to cope with every possible contingency. These regulations, the Supreme Council admitted, ordered that governors and viceroys should not be arrested unless that tribunal first authorized the act. Nevertheless, it stated, cases might arise wherein delay would work great harm and in these the commissaries were accustomed to proceed on their own responsibility.⁴⁶

The Council replied to this communication on October 17, 1670. It criticized the governmental system which would allow an inexperienced, vengeful and perhaps fanatical *mozo religioso* thirty-four years of age, to imprison a governor who represented the royal authority, and completely upset the civil government, endangering the peace and security of a distant colony, exposing it to danger of attack and loss at the hands of the foreign enemies who surrounded it. It charged that the Inquisition was ruled by laws and regulations which had been devised for an

⁴⁵ *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, September 22, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

⁴⁶ Council of the Inquisition to Council of the Indies, October 14, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

earlier age, and for conditions which were no longer extant. In Spain, where the provinces were only a few days' journey from the capital, it might be possible for a commissary to consult with his superior before arresting a governor, but in the Philippines, three thousand leagues distant from the mother country, this was impossible. Nor should a commissary decide alone whether an arrest were necessary. In future cases, therefore, if advice could not be obtained from the tribunal in Mexico, the Council of the Indies recommended that the Archbishop or Vicar-General in *sede vacante* should be consulted, and ample provisions should be made to avoid the disturbances and dangers which had arisen on this occasion. The Council also advised the Inquisition of the desirability of exercising care and judgment in the selection of its inquisitors.⁴⁷

The testimony transmitted by Governor de León from Manila on June 10, 1670, was received in the Council of the Indies in April, 1671. As already stated, this was the first accurate and unbiased information which the Council had obtained relative to the Salcedo affair, and in regard to the usurpation of the government by Bónifaz. As was customary on such occasions, the *autos* of the case were handed to the *fiscal* of the Council for his opinion before action by the Council; the papers were returned on May 9, and on the twenty-second of the same month the Council rendered its decision on the basis of the recommendations of the *fiscal*. The conduct of Paternina not only in this act but during the entire period of his service as commissary was characterized in the decision as scandalous. Salcedo's commercial excesses were admitted, but they were not held to constitute any justification whatever for the intervention of the Inquisition. The persons who aided the commissary were declared by the Council to be disappointed and ambitious office-seekers, avaricious and revengeful merchants, fanatical friars, and persons acting under the threat of ecclesiastical censure. The story of the governor's intention to leave the Islands surreptitiously and deliver the colony to the Dutch was declared to be fiction. The Council admitted its ignorance of the secret reasons for the governor's

⁴⁷ *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, October 17, 1670. A. I., 67-8-3.

arrest, but whatever they were, they should have been passed upon by the tribunal in Mexico before so radical a step was taken as the public disgrace of the king's representative.⁴⁸

The fact that Paternina had acted without instructions, which had been admitted already by the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in its communication of October 14, 1670, was further confirmed by receipt of two letters from the Viceroy of New Spain and the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico, dated January 18 and January 10, 1671, respectively. The viceroy, in his letter, stated that he had received no declaration of the intentions of the tribunal to order the arrest of the governor. This statement was corroborated by the tribunal, which had just received notice of these events, all of which it declared to be "new and strange." It confessed that it was utterly confused by the accounts which had come to it, though no statement as yet had been received from Paternina. The tribunal realized its responsibility for the commissary's acts and was aware of its obligation to report to the king and to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition on the events which had occurred. No account could be given at the time, however, but letters were expected daily from Acapulco—and they would no doubt throw light on the situation. In view of this state of affairs, the tribunal had requested that the viceroy should hold the *navio de aviso* a few days until the reports in question could be received and an opinion formulated. Apparently the expected papers did not arrive.

On May 30, 1671, the Council of the Indies forwarded this new evidence, recently arrived from Mexico, to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, repeating its former observations relative to the need of reforming the procedure of the Inquisition in the colonies and urging the necessity of obviating further abuses of the kind.⁴⁹ It judged Paternina to be unfit for the responsible post of commissary and recommended his removal.

⁴⁸ Opinion of the *Fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, May 9, 1671; *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, May 22, 1671. (*A. I.*, 67-6-3.) This *consulta* states that "the residents of the Philippines now say that they have at least learned how to put an end to a governor" and that "commissaries are of more account than governors or king's ministers."

⁴⁹ *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, May 30, 1671. *A. I.*, 67-6-3.

The Council of the Indies stated that in view of the harm done to His Majesty's government by the commissary, that tribunal had full authority and power to act in this matter, but that it desired to spare the Holy Inquisition from suffering the loss of prestige in the colony which would certainly occur were Paternina removed by the civil government. The Council repeated the recommendation which it first made in the *consulta* of October 17, 1670, that in future cases of an exceptional character the archbishop or ecclesiastical ordinary should be consulted before the commissaries might make arrests.⁵⁰

Various other *consultas* were celebrated by the respective councils of the Inquisition and Indies, with little result other than the reiteration of what had already been decreed in former resolutions. On May 30, 1671, the Council of the Inquisition wrote that Paternina had acted with sufficient justification in the arrest of Salcedo, since that governor's open defiance of the faith had been notorious. This tribunal repeated its former statement that in extraordinary cases such as this one the commissary might proceed without the authority of the Tribunal of Mexico. In its reply of June 20, 1671, the Council of the Indies repeated its former manifestations of dissent with this opinion, stating clearly and peremptorily that the agents of the Inquisition must not arrest governors or viceroys on their own responsibility. In this *consulta* the Council also mentioned having received Paternina's report of January 17, 1669, characterizing it as tardily made and tardily received. This report, the Council stated, had barely mentioned the fact of the governor's arrest, without relating any of the circumstances or giving any justification for the act.

⁵⁰ *Consulta* of the Council of the Indies, May 30, 1670. *A. I.*, 67-6-3. Paternina was deprived of his post by the Tribunal of Mexico on June 4, 1671. He was ordered to return to Spain to answer charges and the costs of his deportation were paid by the Augustinian order, 2,000 pesos being collected from that order by Fray Felipe Pardo, the new commissary. A vigorous complaint was made by Fray Manuel de León, Provincial of the Augustinians in the Philippines on May 14, 1673, against the injustice of this requirement, especially in view of the fact that his predecessor, Fray Alonso Quijano, had repeatedly protested against the continuance of Paternina as Commissary of the Inquisition, on account of his unfitness for the post. (*A. I.*, 68-1-44.) Paternina ultimately met the same fate as the man he had ruined, dying at sea in 1674, while on the way to New Spain to answer charges before the Tribunal of the Inquisition there.

The Council especially commented on the absence of any statement in Paternina's report to the effect that the commissary had acted with the previous authorization of the tribunal, or of any allusion to a preliminary consultation with a bishop, archbishop, vicar-general, or even with the provincial of his own order or of the Jesuits. The Council inferred from this that he had acted in the heat of passion and hence his actions were reprehensible, for he not only showed a great lack of respect for His Majesty, but he had also failed to manifest the proper appreciation of the sanctity of the Holy Inquisition when he employed it as a vehicle of personal vengeance. The Council concluded by referring again to its recommendations, made on two former occasions, designed to prevent a repetition of such abuses, this time insisting that the reforms should be put into immediate effect. In pursuance of these oft repeated suggestions, a *cédula* was issued on June 22, 1671, ordering that commissaries should ordinarily not make arrests except by the authority of their tribunals, but in cases which demanded immediate action they should consult beforehand with the archbishops or the vicars-general in *sede vacante*. Special orders were also given to viceroys and governors to see that this law was observed, informing them at the same time that they were not to obey the summons of commissaries unless the latter complied with the prescribed law.⁶¹

Although Salcedo's commercial abuses were admitted by the home government, his arrest, imprisonment and exile by the Commissary of the Inquisition were condemned on the grounds that the latter had acted without the proper authority from his superiors. Considerable difficulty was experienced in bringing the Supreme Council of the Inquisition to share this point of view and discountenance the acts of the commissary, because of the undesirability of setting precedents which would affect future relations between the Inquisition and the civil govern-

⁶¹ *Cédula* of June 22, 1671, *A. I.*, 67-6-3. This law was followed by the *consulta* of July 16, 1674, which was especially addressed to the Philippines, prescribing that commissaries and governors in the Philippines should mutually show each other the respect which was due to their offices and especially that the former, in the execution of his duties, should take no rash steps which would endanger the peace and security of the Islands. *A. I.*, 67-6-11.

ment. However, the tribunal of Mexico, which was more familiar with the facts, and which had immediate jurisdiction over the case, promptly condemned its agent and cancelled his acts before the ruling of the Supreme Council was received.

Considered as a conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, or between Church and State, the commissary was triumphant in the colony because he was able to utilize secret methods and extraordinary powers which could not be successfully met or opposed; but in the final test of authority between the Council of the Indies and the Council of the Inquisition, the former was able to secure the punishment of the offending commissary, the disavowal of his acts, and, what was still more important, a reform of the law which would prevent a repetition of such abuses in the future. The chief concern of the Council of the Indies in the entire affair was the maintenance of the royal prerogative, the preservation of the dignity of the office of governor as the representative of the king, its inviolability in the eyes of all subjects, and finally, the maintenance in the Philippines of a government which would adequately uphold the prestige of Spain. The chief sin of the commissary had been that of disgracing the representative of the royal person, and furthermore that of weakening the government and exposing the Islands to the attack of outside enemies.

Aside from these considerations, the Salcedo affair and succeeding events demonstrated the antiquated character of the Inquisition as an instrument of government in the Spanish colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its presence illustrated the tendency of Spain to retain her old institutions even though they were no longer serviceable, instead of eliminating them as other nations had done.⁵² It exhibited the

⁵² In the eighteenth century the Inquisition lost its position of supremacy. On August 2, 1748, a decree was promulgated whereby chanceries, audiencias and *corregidores* were authorized to prevent inquisitorial commissaries and tribunals from maltreating their own prisoners. This same law provided for the punishment by the civil courts of inquisitors who contravened this law (Pérez y López, *Teatro*, xxviii, 207). This was in reality the first law which gave the civil courts the power necessary to restrain the acts of the Inquisition. By the law of August 10, 1788, jurisdiction over the crime of bigamy and over cases involving the infraction of the marriage relation was given to the civil courts (*Recopilación*, 1-19-4). By the *cedula*

glaring defect of the retention of a system in the modern age wherein the reins of government could be violently seized by ambitious friars, corrupt merchants and office-seekers, and wherein affairs of state and religion were still hopelessly confused. It typified the projection of fifteenth-century governmental machinery, methods and ideas into the modern age, and illustrates Spain's failure to adjust herself to modern conditions. Nevertheless, this episode brought home to the Spanish government the need of a change, and it actually resulted in the reform

of December 12, 1807, authority was given to the royal justices to receive inquisitors to inspect their titles, to assign them to their districts and to exercise such authority as would prevent the presence of an excessive number of these functionaries. The magistrates of the audiencias were especially instructed to act as the guardians of the royal prerogative in dealing with the representatives of the Inquisition, and to report to the governors or viceroys on all their relations with them. This *cédula*, repeated the principle that the activities of inquisitors should be limited to matters of the faith and that all cases treated by them might be appealed to the tribunals and ultimately to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition without the intervention of the civil government (*Recopilación*, 1-19, note 1).

The tendency toward restriction of the power of the Inquisition culminated in the decree of February 22, 1813, which suppressed the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, and bestowed upon bishops and vicars authority over cases involving the faith. It was ordered that all property belonging to the Inquisition should revert to the crown. Soon after the restoration of Ferdinand VII the Inquisition was revived, against the will of that monarch, it is said, but it was again abolished by the decrees of March 9, 1820 and July 1 (or July 15), 1834. Its property was reserved for the payment of the public debt, and, as in the former decree of extinction, its authority over cases involving the faith was transferred to the bishops.

As a result of the suppression of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition on March 9, 1820, and the transfer of its authority over matters of faith to the vicars and bishops, Escriche, in his *Diccionario de la Legislación Española*, says that "in the exercise of their jurisdiction some of these prelates exceeded their authority and established in their respective dioceses *juntas de fé* which proved to be inquisitorial tribunals with the same authority which the former tribunals had exercised of inflicting punishments, spiritual as well as corporal, and of guarding in their ministry the most inviolable secrecy." As soon as reports of these unjustifiable abuses came to the notice of the government, Ferdinand hastened to order the suppression of these unauthorized tribunals, without immediate success, however. Escriche tells us that the local tribunals continued their excesses, "depriving accused persons of the means of defense, keeping from them the names of witnesses testifying against them" and flagrantly disregarding the dispositions of the brief of Pius VII, dated October 5, 1829, which forbade such abuses of power. The Spanish Government made another attempt to deal with the situation on February 6, 1830, when it authorized appeals in questions relative to the faith, before different magistrates until three conforming decisions were reached. The decree of July 1, 1835, finally abolished these special tribunals, ordering the prelates to exercise jurisdiction with appeal to the Department of Grace and Justice. ESCRICHE, *Diccionario*, I, 773.

of June 22, 1671, which considerably limited the power and authority of the Inquisition in arresting governors and viceroys, thus making a repetition of such abuses impossible in the future.⁵³

CHARLES H. CUNNINGHAM, Ph.D.,
University of Texas.

⁵³ Attention should be called to the error in the note on page 317 of LEA's *Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies*, which reads as follows: "It is perhaps worth while remarking that Juan de la Concepcion makes no allusion to this episode (referring to the Salcedo affair), so prominent in the history of the Colony and so little creditable to his Augustinian order." Two chapters of the *Historia General de Philipinas*, by CONCEPCIÓN (Volume VII, Chapters VI and VIII, pages 130 to 144 and 162 to 200) are devoted to an account of Salcedo's alleged excesses and government, his difficulties with the archbishop, his arrest and imprisonment by the commissary, and the succeeding events.

MISCELLANY

THE EARLIEST KNOWN MESOPOTAMIAN TRAVELLER IN AMERICA

An account of a journey into America, in the years 1668-1683, by the Rev. Elias Hanna, a Chaldean Catholic priest of the Diocese of Mossoul, in Mesopotamia.

It was somewhat of a surprise to the writer a few years ago when he came across in the Arabic monthly, *Al-Mashriq (The Orient)*, published by the Jesuit Fathers of the University of Beyrouth, Syria, a series of articles describing the journey of a Catholic Chaldean priest to America in the years 1668-1683. No one had ever suspected that a Catholic priest, hailing from the distant cities of Mossoul and Bagdad, and as early as 1668, and with the explicit approbation of the Spanish government and the recommendation of the Holy See, should or could have undertaken such a long, arduous and perilous journey to the New World. It had long been the intention of the present writer to publish an English translation of this remarkable Arabic manuscript, but the difficulty of identifying the hundreds of Spanish and South American geographical and personal names, so carelessly transliterated and so badly disfigured in their Arabic form, deterred him from the undertaking. However, at the request of the Rev. Dr. Guilday he submits here a brief sketch of the contents of the work in the hope that it may prove of interest to the readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The manuscript in question was discovered in 1905, in the episcopal library of the Syrian Catholic Church in Aleppo, Syria, by a Jesuit Father, Antoun Rabbât, and published by him in the *Mashriq*. (Vol. viii, pp. 821ff, 875ff, 931ff, 974ff, 1022ff, 1080ff and 1118ff.) It is about 8 by 6 inches in size, containing 269 pages, 21 lines to the page. The narrative of the journey proper occupies the first one hundred pages. From pp. 100-214 we have a short history, in 17 chapters, of the discovery of America and a description of its inhabitants, customs, etc. The last part of the manuscript, viz., from pp. 214-269, contains the account of a journey to France undertaken in 1719, by a certain Sa'id Basha, Turkish Ambassador to that country. Our manuscript is not the original, but a fairly well written copy made of the original by a certain Gabriel ibn Joseph Qurmuz, in the year 1819, and belongs to the Maronite Hanna ibn Diyab, of Aleppo.

The author of the journey was a Catholic priest of the Chaldean Church, of the diocese of Mossoul in Mesopotamia. His full name

appears as Father Elias, the son of Father Hanna, the Mausulite (*i. e.*, from Mossoul), and of the family of Beth-'Ammûda.

Our traveller started his journey from Bagdad in 1668 with the avowed intention of visiting the Holy Land, and, after spending some time in the city of Aleppo, he sailed from Alexandretta to Italy. From there he journeyed to France, Spain, Portugal, Sicily and again to Spain. Having obtained the proper credentials from the Holy See and from the Spanish government, he sailed from Cadiz to America and, after a voyage of fifty-five days, landed at Carthagena in South America. From there he travelled through Panama and almost the whole western coast, through Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile, whence he returned, in 1680, to Lima, in Peru. It was in this last city that our traveller composed the narrative of his journey, which forms the first part of the work. In 1680, he travelled through Mexico and Central America, where he spent a considerable time. In 1683, he started his journey back to Spain and Rome, where he was cordially received by Pope Innocent XI.

Of the author nothing else is known. The object of his journey, judging from the few vague allusions in his narrative, seems to have been that of collecting funds for the poor and needy churches and dioceses of his country.

GABRIEL OUSSANI,
St. Joseph's Seminary,
Dunwoodie, N. Y.

DOCUMENTS

BRASSAC'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE AMERICAN BISHOPS

(1818-1861)¹

(Contributed by the Most Reverend Archbishop Messmer)

I

Brassac's Letter to Bishop Du Bourg

Donaldsonville, April 30th, 1825.

Your Lordship & Dear Father:

I would consider it a lack of duty, did I neglect to inform you of the manner in which Holy Week has been spent in the parish that it pleased Your Grace to confide in my care. Moreover, I consider myself bound to give this public testimony of the piety of most of my parishioners.

During Lent I gave my usual mission services in the farthest sections of the parish, although a large number of persons had already made their Easter duty with great edification. On Palm Sunday after the sermon I announced the hours of the various ceremonies during the following days. From Tuesday on, some twenty women and young ladies made it their duty to arrange everything for the Repository which was to be placed under the large entrance of the Church. Indeed, it was not a bit less remarkable than many altars of this kind in the cities of our native land. Four columns ornamented with branches of oak supported the great white Baldachino surrounded by flowers and green plants. Lower down was a portable Baldachino, crimson velvet, ornamented with gold fringes; five oval shells supported a niche, very elegant in its plainness. Here the Blessed Sacrament was to be placed. The Altar also was decorated with natural and artificial flowers; and a great number of candles gave to all the rest an aspect most touching and at the same time most impressive.

Wednesday I spent nearly all in the confessional. The next morning I was there again with break of day. At 8 o'clock I gave Holy Communion and preached on the disposition of the Soul, with which every Christian must approach this awful mystery. At 10 o'clock I began the services. The Church was filled. Procession followed with much solemnity. Four trustees (*Marguilliers*), who had received Communion in the morning, carried the Baldachino. Before me walked the Chanter and Sacristan in surplice and some twenty choir boys in red cassocks. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon I preached for an hour on the Institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the great devotion it demanded of us. With the beginning of the night we sang the *Stabat*. Then followed the rosary and an act of reparation to the Blessed Sacrament. The Church was again filled as in the morning. Towards 10 o'clock we had night prayers. All night through, until daylight, the people came in considerable numbers, notwithstanding the rain, which fell in torrents. Men as well as women came to offer their adoration to their God. With sweetest satisfaction I saw nearly all the French inhabitants of our small city make their visits in Church. Some of them passed the whole night there and mingled their voices in the chanting of the Canticles, which only ceased on giving way to public prayers or pious reading. Towards midnight I retired to rest a little to prepare myself for the morning.

¹ These documents form the archival material for Archbishop Messmer's article on Father Brassac, to be found on pages 392-416 of this issue.

With daybreak I was in the confessional. The services began at 8 o'clock. Before the ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross I preached on the Passion, and I had the consolation to see all that were in Church (for it was filled) approach and devoutly kiss the sign of our redemption. In view of the repeated request made to me, I consented to leave the Blessed Sacrament in the Repository until the afternoon. At 3 o'clock I preached the three hours' agony of our Lord. In the intervals between the exaltations and meditations which I gave, the ladies sang the hymn *To the Blood which God will shed*. After this devotion they sang the *Stabat* which was followed by the Rosary and the night prayers. Then I replaced the Blessed Sacrament in the Tabernacle. I am justified in saying that all this chanting, the loud prayers and public readings, never ceased for fully two hours, and I feel confident that the most hardened heart could not have witnessed without being deeply moved, a spectacle so touching and so pious. Sometimes I felt bound to tell some of the people that they should leave the Church and go to take something and get some rest.

We had services on Saturday morning; but I could not give any instructions, as I had to reserve my strength for the following day. The afternoon I spent in the confessional.

On Easter Sunday at 8 o'clock, I said early Mass, preached and gave Holy Communion to a great number of people. At 10 o'clock, I sang the High Mass, and preached on the Resurrection. The Church could not hold the crowds, and after Mass there were several Baptisms. For the next fortnight I was played out and hoarse; but the piety of these good people kept up my strength and courage.

Here then, Your Grace, is an exact report of what has been done. Your own knowledge of our parish will help you duly to appreciate the piety that reigns there. What in my view adds great merit to it all, especially during the last week, is the excessive rain that fell, and the bad roads on which the people had to come for two or three leagues. The number of Easter Communions is about the same as last year. However, I wish to let you know that four or five persons, who for a long time (one for 22 years), had not approached the Sacrament, saw their wrong, repented of it and came to partake of Holy Easter Communion, to the great edification of the parish.

I beg of you, my Dear Father, that in your prayers and the Holy sacrifices you will remember the flock which you have entrusted to me, and that you will pray the Lord to give me all the graces I need.

Very respectfully, your unworthy child,

HERCULES BRASSAC.

II

Brassac's Letters to Rosati

St. Louis, le 15 9bre, 1818.

Monsieur et bien cher ami:

C'est pour le coup que vous vous fachiez tout net si j'étais assez insouciant que de laisser partir M^r Casto¹ et D'Aubert² sans vous dire un bon jour ou bon soir. je ne sais trop lequel: vous avez du rire du billet que je vous fis passer il y a huit

¹ Casto Gonzales, a Spaniard who came from Rome with the band of Father De Andreis; had just been ordained subdeacon at St. Genevieve, on November 1, 1818, the same day as Father Brassac was raised to the priesthood, and thence had gone up to St. Louis with Bishop Du Bourg.

² Daubert. One of the first boys of the College at the *Barrens*.

jours par M. P. Tucker. Je vous avoue que j'avais presque la colique quand je vous l'écrivis; mais heureusement que M^r Prat^s arriva dans la nuit. M^{gr} m'a installé dans mon poste mardi matin. Nous sommes ici depuis mercredi matin. J'en serais parti hier de grand matin si le vent ne s'était opposé à mon passage. Nous partirons je crois demain avec M^r le Curé des Barrens, M^r Valezano. M^r Caretti a été administré hier matin.⁴ M^r Dahmen a bien mal aux yeux. Hier on l'a amusé avec des emethiques, une saignée et un vésicatoire. Adieu, Mon cher Monsieur, croyez à l'estime, au respect et à l'amitié de

Votre très dévoué serviteur,

Hle Brassac.

J'espère que si vous allez à St Louis vous voudrez bien m'honorer de votre visite. Je suis à 5 milles de la prairie du Rocher, sur le grand chemin chez M^r Raphael Drury.

On board *The Maid of Orleans*, Captⁿ Turner.
May the 15th, 1819.

Rev^d and Dear Sir.

M^r Perrodin through a mistake, put in a trunk of mine a long letter which I had written and directed to you, & he did not perceive it till it was no more time to get it out; its object was to inform you about my departure from the upper part of this diocese; you have probably heard that from our R^t Rev^d and most beloved Bishop: I wish I had had a horse of my own, when he went to the Barrens, I would have asked him for the favor of accompanying him as far as y^r settlement, to enjoy the pleasure of both of being with his lordship a little longer, and of bidding you my Adieu; when will we see us one the other, and renew that happy acquaintance which Almighty God permitted us to get, 18 months ago; alas! I know nothing about it, you neither, God alone can see in the time to come; that enormous distance which will separate me from the father of this mission, and from the worthy coöperators he has secured in this part of the country shall be very painful to my feelings. Yet, in spite of that sacrifice, which a more pious priest would find less hard, I obey the orders of my superiors without any murmur even without the least objection, being in hope that my submission will obtain from God some graces, which would not have been bestowed upon me; I do not want to recommend myself to y^r prayers and holy sacrifices; the experience you have had during our staying together has undoubtedly made you acquainted with all my wants on that account; think on him who will never forget you, & who prays you to depend on the sincerity of the sentiment of respect, and friendship with which I shall always be Dear Sir

of y^r Reverence the obedient servant and unchangeable friend

Hle Brassac

Cathol. Missy.

Remember me to all y^r community especially to MM. Maenhaut, Barrau, D'Aubert & De Geither. M^r De Andreis and all other gentlemen are hearty and mingle the expression of their respective sentiment to those which I have expressed above for my own part.

St Charles of Opelousas, june 27th 1820

Rev. and Dear Sir.

You certainly think that Brassac has forgotten you, since he has not yet given you any sign of life. I grant to my confusion that my silence is much prejudicing

³ Father Pratte, Pastor of St. Genevieve.

⁴ He died December 3, 1818, at St. Louis.

against myself; because tho' I might alledge very good reasons to justify it, there are great many to be found to condemn it. Therefore I will not attempt to apologize for it, but confessing the little negligence I may be guilty of in that respect I will trust on your goodness and indulgence for my pardon.

I arrived at St Charles' on the first of june 1819. From that day till december I spent my time in sickness, recovering, relapses and troubles of every kind. Almighty God in his mercy deigned to give me a share of crosses, and tribulations; I suffered not as much as I deserved, but as much as I could bear; calumnies, on the most delicate matters, evil constructions put on the most innocent of my actions, my zeal for the glory of Religion taxed of hypocrisy, &c. . . . nothing has been spared, during more than eight months, to try my little virtue; I begin to see an opening to a more quiet existence, and to enjoy some consolations; the flock entrusted to my care is made up with people of all nations, Americans, french, irish, dutch, spaniards, Danes, Creoles, are to be counted in my congregation. The french and english languages are spoken by the majority: few americans and irish excepted all the rest was plunged in the grossest ignorance, and dulness for their eternal welfare. It was not their fault; they lived at a great distance from the church & they were but very seldom visitated by their pastors. They begin to be a little more anxious to learn their christian duties and their attendance to Mass on sundays is also more regular; it is on those days only that we have the chance of instructing them; they live scattered about, and it is impossible to gather them oftener; they are eager to give some education to their children and by that means Religion gains more because they insist that the catechism may be the first book put in their children's hands. The slaves are in general treated with humanity. But the article of marriage among them is on the same footing as on the coast of the Mississippi.

My church is about the size of that of St Thomas in Kentucky but framed. It is almost as well furnished and may be better than yours. Besides what I got from St Louis to adorn, I have received lately from France for the amount of \$700, and add the position of the church is the handsomest I ever saw in this country. It is in the most elevated point of a large prairie the prospect of which is very much diversified by the woods which surround it, the plantations which are along the woods, and the numerous ponds full of a very clear water. Add to that the herds of cattle and horses grazing peaceably on it.

The virtuous Mr Perrodin lives with me, and has few boarders whom he teaches. My presbitary has been converted into a little Seminary; after the vacations we expect about a dozen of boarders and we intend to open also an out-school. On holidays we have a piano in the church and the voices of three ladies who play and sing equally, latin, french and english himns. But we are extremely poor of musick books; if by the means of y^r pupils you were able to have one or two masses, and some of y^r english or latin himns at three voices, copied and sent to me directed to the Bishop's Brother in Orleans you should oblige very much.

I will conclude my Rev. and Dear Sir by begging a remembrance in y^r fervent prayers and holy sacrifices, and in those of the community, and by renewing to you the assurance of the love, esteem and respect with which I'll always be

Y^r m^t obed^t humble scr^t & friend

Hle Brassac

Please to remember me to my acquaintances, especially Barro, DeGeither, D'Aubert.

I suspect all the other Gentelment in whose company I have been have left the Barrens.

I will be very anxious to hear from you; I have no time to read over my letter. Excuse me. Good bye.

St Charles of Opeloussas, November 24th, 1820

Rev^d & Dear Sir

The mournful news of the death of the Rev^d M^r De Andreis, reached me last week in New Orleans. I will not attempt to express to you the feeling which it excited in me and the other Rev. gentlemen of the City. We had been indirectly apprized of the illness of our worthy Superior and were for several days in the greatest anxiety of hearing from St Louis; alas! we did not expect that our impatience would be so dreadfully terminated; after paying to the memory of our late Sup^r the tribute of our tears and regret, which he was so much entitled to. his eminent sanctity and virtue became the only topic of our conversations for the remainder of the day: what comfort faith is for Christians! in the very moment of our grief it seemed to us that undoubtedly some great good was preparing for this diocese while Almighty God was asking so great a victim; we cannot help seeing the extraordinary change which took place in this Lower Louisiana directly after the death of the three missionaries who died three years ago in New Orleans: let us join therefore, my Dear Sir, to thank that just hand which is merciful to us even at the time she strikes the hardest blows upon us.

I have condoled with you and our R^t R. Bishop in the loss the rising church in this new country has suffered, and joined my poor prayers to y^{rs} that Almighty God may suscite some apostolical men to replace the one he was pleased to call to himself. There is to be on this very day a solemn service for M^r De Andreis in the cathedral of New Orleans. I will have one performed in my church in the course of next week.

I had the pleasure of meeting in the city with the Rev. M^r Borgna & renew with him the short acquaintance we had got about two years ago, in the Barrens; he was at M^r Martial's, but as there was nothing in that place which could be of service to him to be restored to his health I offered him to come & spend some time with me in Opeloussas, which he was advised to do by MM. Sibourd, Moni, Jeanjean, etc., and to which he agreed. Tho' I make a very bad country fare, he will be at home with me, and I will neglect nothing in my power to render his staying here as agreeable as possible; we enjoy a very pure air and horses are plenty enough that he may take exercise; I live in the middle of a large prairie without any near neighbors in such a manner that we are and may be without any ceremony. As I was in great hurry to get home I left him behind not to fatigue him too much; I expect him to night here.

As I think you have left the Seminary and stay in St Louis I forward my letter to that place; please to give to our R^t Rev. Father & bishop my best respects and take for y^rself the assurance of the esteem and respectful attachement of y^r

M^t obed^t serv^t & friend

Hle Brassac

Rector of St Charles

P. S. Pray for me I am in the greatest need of it.

S. Genevieve, March 18th, 1823.

Very Reverend and much respected Sir

Since the right Rev^d Bishop left this quarter to go to the eastwards I had the honour to address him for the purpose of obtaining the permission of absenting myself from my congregations during five or six weeks; and tho' since I wrote about three months have elapsed, I have received no answer whatever, I am afraid my letter has miscarried; the business for which I wish to absent myself demand my presence in Opeloussas towards the end of April next & if I do not go down I must

use a considerable sum of money, on the account of some debts due me which I could not settle when I left there and which nobody can settle for me now; would you therefore Rev^d Sir grant me the permission of going down you would much oblige me and that favor I would highly value: my congregations will miss me but once & before I leave them I will take care to cause them all to perform their Easter duty. I will also observe to y^r reverence that I receive no salary from these congregations & therefore think myself less bound in justice to attend to them at the great detriment of my interest. I would like very much to go down with the rev^d M^r Borgna: please to forward y^r answer to M^r Dahmen who will be kind enough to send it to me.

Please to remind me to all the Gentlemen of the Seminary & believe me for ever with great respect & affection

Very Reverend Sir

Y^r most humble obed^t serv^t & unworthy friend

H^{le} Brassac

DONALDSONVILLE, JAN. 26TH, 1824. "The Rev. Mr. Janvier whom I succeeded in this parish," etc. "I am extremely sorry, Right Rev. Sir, not to have it in my power to advance the money due you. I myself very much involved at this time, and I owe yet my provisions of last year and will be obliged to take the necessary ones on credit, if I am not better paid than I have been heretofore." Brassac offers his congratulations to Rosati on his election as coadjutor, and the sentiments to which he will give full vent "when I shall have the honor to receive you in my poor cabin. . . . Our most worthy bishop is still unwell; I saw him this morning."

NEW YORK, NOV. 18TH, 1831. They are still at Sandy Hook but expect to land on the 20th of Nov. Sorry that he cannot go to St. Louis to greet the bishop, but is afraid of the climate. Hence he will go straight to New Orleans. "True to my standard I return to it. If I have been so long away from it, it is due to circumstances that were stronger than I. But since they allowed me to leave my Fatherland, I have come back to place myself under its shadow. . . . I shall no longer find there the old chief⁶ under whom I bore my first arms, not even the one whom providence had so wisely given him to bear part of his solicitude.⁶ But he who succeeds to them? for a long time my esteem and my respect.⁷ Hence it will be sweet for me to offer him the assurance of my submission. If I can, my intention is to visit next Spring Missouri and Illinois to see again my old friends and the (?) theatre of my first efforts in the apostolic career."

P. S. "I left Bishop Dubourg in good health at Paris. Mgr. Dubuis of New York came across in the same boat with me accompanied by Rev. Mr. McGerry whose acquaintance we made at Emmitsburg."

LOUISVILLE, JAN. 12TH, 1832. "After a month's waiting we are at last on the eve of our departure. Navigation is opening and we expect to leave tomorrow for Louisiana. Fatigued by the journey from Cincinnati we came here twenty-eight days ago, where I had the happiness of meeting with good Mr. Abell, the

⁶ Du Bourg.

⁶ Rosati.

⁷ De Neckere and Brassac came to America together in 1817.

worthy and amiable Bishop Flaget whom an influencer a la mode kept here since the consecration of the new church of this city. . . . Last Sunday in order to please friend Abell I had to preach to his numerous and ever growing congregation. You may imagine what it cost me to speak publicly in a language which for six years I had entirely lost. The bishop urged me very much to stay in his diocese and help Rev. Abell in his pastoral work. I was strongly tempted to do it, but I decided to return and put myself at the orders of Bishop De Neckere. . . . I have tried in vain to hear something of my old and respected friend Mrs. Smith. You know my friendship for her and the many obligations under which I am to her. Will you kindly give me some news of her?"

BATON ROUGE, APR. 10TH, 1832. "I have been much surprised at your kind offer to serve in your diocese. The Archbishop and the Bishops of Baltimore, New York, Cincinnati and Bardstown have already urged me to join their diocese. But I considered it my duty first to present myself to my Ordinary and, as he may well need me, not to go elsewhere."

BATON ROUGE, AUG. 29TH, 1832. "Mgr. De Neckere and Mr. Blanc arrived here in good health. The latter spent the Feast of H. Assumption with me. . . . Some people had expected to see him arrive in mitre and crozier. For my part I was not surprised as I knew from himself what his intentions were.*

DONALDSONVILLE, Aug. 20TH, 1835. "After six days navigation I arrived happily at Donaldsonville at half past eleven o'clock at night on the 11th inst. . . . However contented I found myself at St. Louis I felt that my affairs there were finished. I was no more at my place, and my duty as well as desire commanded me to return to my post and again to take up my responsibility. Were it not for this, Monsignor, I believe I would be (?) with you, so much was I pleasantly edified by the conduct so full of zeal and regularity of the clergy of St. Louis, which seems to me destined to effect in that vast country a moral revolution for the great benefit of religion and for the glory of God." Brassac then speaks of the opposition in New Orleans to Rev. Blanc. "I understand that during my absence they tried to make him believe that I also was against him. I will not even attempt to justify and clear myself of such a calumny. You know my sentiments on this subject, and he himself need only recall our conversations on it. I leave it all to God, and go my way en vieux bonhomme."

DONALDSONVILLE, May 31st, 1836. "Bishop Blanc has left directly for Havre on the 29th of April at 10:00 o'clock P. M. Things here don't go as well as one might wish. I was on the point of looking for an asylum with you and to offer you my feeble services in the ministry. I have in fact offered and given my resignation to the bishop; but he would not accept it. However, I presume that upon his return, unless things here are settled, I shall renew my resignation and that it will be accepted."

DONALDSONVILLE, JUNE 15TH, 1836. "I told you two words of my little

* Blanc had without his own knowledge been appointed coadjutor to Bishop De Neckere the same year; but he returned the bulls to Rome.

difficulty with Bishop Blanc who would not accept my resignation. I would have insisted more strongly, had it not been just when he was departing, and that he did not have priests enough. I think he will bring an abundance of them with him and I shall then feel more free to retire. Where? I don't know at all as yet, probably to Europe. I am disgusted where the good one tries to do is reduced to so little, and yet where the responsibility is so terrible. On the other hand, I foresee that I shall not get along well with the new administration to which Mr. Bone has decidedly joined himself." Brassac asks Rosati for his advice.

DONALDSONVILLE, SEPT. 4TH, 1836. Brassac repeats that he is determined to leave.

III.

Extracts from Brassac's Letters to Bishop Purcell.

PARIS, JULY 4, 1839. "Bishop Flaget will sail with you. . . . Your company will be composed of Mr. Machebeuf, who is now with you, and Messrs. Lamy (now very well), Gacon, Gemal, Navaron, Father Huber. Mgr. de Janson will come with us to Havre to bid you farewell, but will not embark."⁹

MARVÉJOIS (LOZÈRE), AUGUST 2, 1839. His emotions when taking leave of Bishop Purcell at Havre. . . . Bishop Rese sailed from England to Antwerp to meet there his Vicar General M. de Bruyn.¹⁰ The latter took . . . his way to the United States, while the former went to Paris where he stayed a couple of weeks, lodged in a public hotel, but where he saw neither the Archbishop nor any of his clergy. . . . The impression of Mr. Desnoyers,¹¹ the bishop's travelling companion from Detroit, was that Bishop Rese would not return if he could obtain some other appointment in Rome. . . . "Two days after leaving Paris, I met our friend Mr. Beauprez¹² with carpet bag in his arms,

⁹ Very Rev. John McGill, then Vicar General of Bishop Flaget, but later (1850-1872) Bishop of Richmond, was also of the party. Their voyage on the *Sylvie de Grasse*, which left Havre July 9th and arrived at New York on August 21st, with various incidents of ocean travel, is very entertainingly told in Machebeuf's letter to his father, written on board the vessel. See *Life of Bishop Machebeuf*, by Rev. W. J. Howlett, p. 56ff. Of the first missionary labors of these young priests in the Diocese of Cincinnati, at Tiffin and Sandusky (Machebeuf), at Newark and Mt. Vernon (Lamy), at the French Settlement (Navaron), at St. Martin's (Gacon and Cheymol) [Gemal is a wrong spelling], see pp. 63-156. Rev. Projectus Jos. Machebeuf, born 1812, ordained 1836, consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Colorado, 1868, died Bishop of Denver, 1889. Rev. J. B. Lamy (later Archbishop of Santa Fe, died 1888) had been very sick before sailing and was just recovering from his illness. Rev. Francis Ludwig Huber, O.S.F., was assistant priest at Holy Trinity Church, Cincinnati, from 1839 till 1848, when his name is no longer found in the *Catholic Almanac*. He had been highly esteemed as an excellent priest and vigorous preacher and writer in Bavaria, and was a regular contributor to the *Wahrheitsfreund* of Cincinnati.

¹⁰ De Bruyn was born at Liège, Belgium. Having been ordained in 1832, he came to Detroit the next year. For some time he was stationed at Arbre Croche. The *Almanac* of 1836 places him at St. Joseph's in Detroit. In 1837 and 1838 he was prefect of studies and president of St. Philip's College, in Detroit, later called St. Philip's University. He was Vicar General of the Diocese of Detroit from 1837 until his death in 1839.

¹¹ Was this the old pioneer Desnoyers, born in France in 1773? He came first to Gallipolis, then to Pittsburgh, and later to Detroit. In 1839 he was State Treasurer of Michigan. He died in Detroit, March 6, 1880.

¹² Rev. D. Beauprez was pastor of Baton Rouge, La., from 1834-1838 and thus a neighbor of Father Brassac.

alighting from the stage-coach, who had made up his mind to return to Louisiana, and will probably sail on the *Great Western*."

MARVÉJOLS, OCT. 20, 1839. Brassac writes, that he reminded the Baroness Terese de Coppens of Belgium to pay Bishop Purcell the 10,000 francs, which her mother left for the Sisters' convent at Cincinnati. He tells that the new plans adopted at the general council of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart held in Rome, would delay for a while the departure of the colony of these Ladies intended for Cincinnati; that this procrastination must be quite a disappointment to Bishop Purcell, who had planned to start the establishment immediately. He is sorry that Bishop Purcell did not take with him some sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, who seemed to be ready to go and would be particularly fitted for the people of the West. . . . Mr. Jeanjean¹³ left France a week ago with several Lazarists and one or two clergymen for New Orleans. . . . "I heard with a great deal of regret the death of our much respected friend Bishop Bruté. . . . Msgr. Janson must be with you by this time."¹⁴ Brassac is inclined to settle in Paris, "if I can find a suitable situation. . . . Please pray for me at the altar, that I may not be condemned to be a useless servant to my God, and favor me with your advise. Your friendship is so dear to me," etc.

MARVÉJOLS, JAN. 14, 1840. Brassac speaks of a mission given at this

¹³ Rev. Augustine Jeanjean, C.M., came from Europe with Bishop Du Bourg and was first appointed with Rev. A. Blanc to Vincennes on April 25, 1818. They went there on June 1. Jeanjean was to found a college there, but through the opposition of the so-called "Vincennes Faction," the attempt failed; hence, in January, 1819 Bishop Du Bourg recalled Jeanjean and sent him to New Orleans. See *Life of Bishop Flaget*, pp. 177ff. At the I Prov. Council Balt., 1829, he was theologian for Bishop Rosati. After the Council, he and Blanc accompanied Bishop Rosati to Boston in the month of November to visit Bishop Fenwick. At the II Prov. Council at Balt., 1833, he represented the vacant Diocese of New Orleans. While Rosati was Administrator of New Orleans, Jeanjean often acted as his Pro-Secretary. (A. C. H. S., *Records*, Vol. xix, p. 308.) In Spring of 1835, Jeanjean, then intending to go to Europe, accompanied Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati on his last visitation to the northern part of his diocese in Michigan. When the Bishop took sick at Michillimackinac, he asked Jeanjean to visit the missions in the prairies and at the Green Bay. (See HENRI, *Ein Blick in das Ohio Thal*, p. 62; *Annales*, vi, p. 138.) He was secretary of the diocesan synod of New Orleans, February, 1832, under Bishop De Neckere. From a letter of Jeanjean to Rosati, September 20th, 1830, it seems that the latter expected to visit San Domingo that same year and wished Jeanjean to accompany him. Bishop England wanted to take Jeanjean with him as Secretary on his mission to Hayti in 1833; but the latter was not ready to go (A. C. H. S. *Records*, vii, pp. 470-473). In May, 1832, he accompanied Bishop Rosati to Rome (*Ibid.*, xix, p. 313; Rosati's letters, pp. 132, 134). In 1834 he was chosen successor to Bishop De Neckere, but he returned the bulls (SHEA, iii, p. 671). During Bishop Blanc's absence in Europe, 1836 to 1837, he was Administrator of the Diocese. At Blanc's request he went to Europe in 1838, to recruit his health. On his return he was made Vicar General, but he died soon afterwards, on April 11, 1841, at the age of forty-six.

¹⁴ Forbin-Janson, Charles Auruste, was Bishop of Nancy-Toul and Primate of Lorraine. He was consecrated in 1824 by the Archbishop of Rouen, with Bishop Cheverus, formerly Bishop of Boston as one of the assistant consecrators. Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati was also present. Bishop Janson consecrated Bishop Hailandière of Vincennes, at Paris, in 1839. At the request of Bishop Flaget and Purcell, Bishop Janson was sent by Pope Gregory XVI on a mission tour to the United States in 1839. On account of his work in the United States for two years, he was given a seat with decisive vote among the American prelates at the IV Prov. Council of Balt. in 1840. On their return from the Council, Bishops Purcell and Janson sailed from Buffalo for Cleveland, in June, 1840, and encountered a fearful storm during which the Bishop of Nancy was once in imminent peril (SHEA, iii, p. 626). Returning to France in 1842, Bishop Janson founded the Holy Childhood Association and the Missionaires de France (a missionary society of secular priests for the home missions). He was instrumental in bringing the society of the Fathers of Mercy to the United States. Bishop Janson was born in 1785 and died in 1844. The late Bishop Maes of Covington has written his life.

city by four Jesuits, at which "numberless old sinners have returned to the Grace of Heaven. . . . About 180 of them received the Sacrament of Confirmation, several of whom were past 80 years of age, and one in his 90th. The Bishop who confirmed was himself over 80 years old. The scene was really one of the most touching I have witnessed. I did not preach, but I had very long sittings in the confession box. . . . I can but bless my God to have put me to some use." Says the Baroness de Coppens is ready to pay the 10,000 francs. "Probably you are willing to sign the following receipt," which follows in French, to which Bishop Purcell adds on the margin: "I can never do this." Brassac expected this and suggests that the Bishop make out a receipt himself and send it on. . . . "I have met with a misfortune which in my present circumstances is considerable. A sum of \$1,100 due me in Louisiana was paid by my desire to a man whom the whole community considered as most upright and honest; but he has run away. . . . Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, sit nomen Dni. benedictum, I say with the utmost resignation; but the money is gone, and I have it not." He regrets having missed Bishop Hughes of New York and Dr. Wiseman¹⁶ who had been in Paris lately. Finally he says "I am not happy, because I cannot be with you. I feel that I cannot abandon my old father or sister, unless God himself manifests His will in some way than by the desires of my heart."

PARIS, FEB. 22, 1840. In the absence of Madame Barat, Superior General of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, Brassac calls on Madame Bouchaud, Superior of the Novitiate, to inform her that Bishop Purcell cannot wait much longer and has charged Brassac to procure Ladies of another order. "I saw Mr. Carriere¹⁶ in regard to Mr. Goesbriand¹⁷ and he gave the most satisfactory testimony upon the young ecclesiastic. . . . Bishop Rese¹⁸ is still in Rome, but I could learn no particulars. . . . Drs. Nee and Moore desire their respects to you."

PARIS, MARCH 10TH, 1840. Madame Barat cannot send her sisters. So Brassac writes to Namur and promises to attend himself to all the preparations for the voyage across the ocean. Will send a priest with the sisters.

PARIS, APRIL 6, 1840. Mlle. Coppens has paid the 10,000 francs which are in Brassac's hands subject to Bishop Purcell's orders. He negotiates with Mother Ignace of Namur on the terms of her starting an institution at Cincinnati. "I address this letter to the Most Reverend Archbishop thinking that it will find you there for the Council. Please offer my best regards to those of your

¹⁶ Then on his return from England to Rome, where he was Rector of the English College.

¹⁷ A famous theologian, superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice from 1850-1864.

¹⁸ Later Bishop of Burlington, N. Y., consecrated 1853; died 1899.

¹⁹ Frederick Rese, born 1791 in Germany, studied theology and was ordained in Rome. Went on the African mission. Failing health brought him back to Germany. In 1824, he came with Bishop Fenwick to Cincinnati; the first German priest in the Northwest. On his tour through Europe in 1829, became one of the founders of the Leopoldine Association for the American missions. See CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, April, 1915, p. 51ff. He became Bishop of Detroit in 1833, but retired in 1837. In 1839, he went to Rome, where he remained till 1849, and then returned to Germany, his formerly brilliant mind having given away entirely. He died there in 1871.

brother prelates, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted, Drs. Flaget, Eccleston, Kenrick, Blanc, Portier, Chanche, Deloul, Joubert."¹⁹

PARIS, JUNE 5, 1840. "Meline brought four pamphlets of Mr. Lucas and two copies of the debate.²⁰ Bishop Hughes left Paris a few days ago; did not know he was there. Reynolds of Kentucky is here.²¹ I met him by chance on the street yesterday. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart promised a colony to Bishop Hughes. Shameful! . . . Mr. Loisson de Guimamont of Pierry near Epenery, is very anxious to know what results you have had from the invoice of that champagne wine which he gave you. If favorable, he would be disposed, I believe, to give some more again this year. The Sisters of Namur will be ready to leave in August or September. Mr. Goesbriand is to be ordained next Saturday week. If so, he may be ready to sail at the end of this month with Mr. Reynolds. Mr. Rappe²² of Boulogne has written to me about his intended departure for Cincinnati. . . . I have expressed to him a wish that he might take charge of the nuns in September next. . . . May I inquire of Mr. Larne of Havre what has been the operation in the champagne wine?"

PARIS, JUNE 25, 1840. "Your kind letter of the 30th of May last has duly come to hand through Rt. Rev. Bishop Rosati. It would be difficult to express by words the pleasure I experienced in seeing again that old friend and his worthy travelling companions, Bishops Portier and Miles. . . . I must give you my thanks for your benevolent disposition for me in giving in my name as candidate for the See at Natchez. You overrated my abilities in thus presenting me, and however flattered by your step in my behalf, I assure you that I rejoiced heartily to see that it was unavailing. . . . The Central Council of Paris met yesterday, and the three American Bishops attended. I was also invited and accompanied them; and after Bishops Rosati and Portier had spoken of their dioceses, I took the word as interpreter of Bishop Miles who begged me to act as such. After I was done for Tennessee, I begged leave to entertain the members of yourself and your diocese. . . . I had their promises that they would remember you in the next year's allocation."²³ Brassac then

¹⁹ Rev. Louis Deloul, for many years President of St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore and Superior of the Sulpicians in America. Rev. Hector Nicholas Joubert, S.S., professor and vice-president of St. Mary's Seminary, was born in France, 1777; went to San Domingo in 1801; from there came to the United States in 1804. He became the founder and superior of the Colored Oblate Sister of Providence. To him President Boyer of Hayti, after Rosati's mission, applied for a colony of those Sisters (*Cath. Cabinet*, 1842, p. 355). He died November 5, 1843. On the work of these two Sulpicians see HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, pp. 194, 230. New York, 1915.

²⁰ The famous debate on the Roman Catholic religion between Alexander Campbell and Bishop Purcell, held at Cincinnati in January, 1837.

²¹ Rev. Ignatius Aloysius Reynolds, born near Bardstown, 1798. Ordained, 1823. Went to Europe, 1840, to restore his health; was then Vicar General of Bardstown. Consecrated Bishop of Charleston, S. C., 1849. Died, 1855.

²² Louis Amadée Rappe, born in France, 1801, ordained, 1829, was chaplain of the Ursuline convent at Boulogne from 1834-1839. Came to America, 1840, and was for several years pastor of Toledo, Ohio. Consecrated Bishop of Cleveland, 1847; resigned 1870; died, 1877.

²³ The *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati states on July 25, 1840: "We learn that the Rt. Rev. Bishops of St. Louis, Mobile and Tennessee arrived in safety at Paris and had an interview with the committee of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. The Very Rev. M. Brassac was present on this occasion with the foregoing prelates and as Vicar General of the Bishop of Cincinnati represented the claims of this diocese to the attention and liberality of the Society."

states that Bishops Portier and Miles approve of his project of establishing in Paris a General Agency for the American Bishops, he himself to be their authorized representative. He wants Bishop Purcell's opinion on the subject.

PARIS, JULY 12, 1840. "Our young friend Goesbriand will leave France in the course of this week on board packetship *Iowa*, Captain Pell, my good friend. Rev. Mr. Reynolds will be his Mentor to Cincinnati. Madame Gallitzin together with seven other Ladies of the Sacred Heart will take their passage on board the same ship. I have had two very long conversations with Madame Gallitzin²⁴ and Madame de Bouchaud, Mother of Novices, and told them my mind upon the conduct of Madame Barat towards you. . . . I think, however, you will not regret to have the Ladies of Namur instead of them." States the reasons. "I have written to the Abbé Louis²⁵ of Rennes to know whether he could take charge of your seminary. . . . It would be well for the sisters of Emmitsburg to write themselves to the Queen for the painting promised." Will soon send circulars to the American Bishops regarding the General Agency.

PARIS, JULY 7, 1840. "I have had a few days of very severe illness, a most violent fever and my head as it were on the rack. . . . I have received since my last to you a very amiable letter from the Superior General of the Sisters of Namur, Sister Ignace, sending me a copy of your really *first rate* communication to the Bishop of Namur. The good prelate, a matter of fact man, like a Belgian, gave permission to prepare the departure. . . . They will be eight and will leave Europe at the latest on the 16th of September next. Abbé Rappe will accompany them. Bishop Miles left Paris last week for Belgium; he pressed me very much to accompany him, but cannot do it. Bishop Rosati is still here and will remain for some time at the Lazarists. . . . Bishop Portier has gone direct from Lyons and Marseilles to Rome, but expects to sail from England on the first of October."

PARIS, JULY 30, 1840. "I send you herewith a copy of the circular letter which I take the liberty of sending to the Most and Rt. Rev. Archbishops and Bishops of the United States.²⁶ I have had the boldness to give your name as reference and hope you will not be displeased at it. The three American Bishops who passed here lately have strongly insisted that I should begin that Agency as soon as possible, considering it of a great advantage to the Episcopal body. I will be happy, however, if it meets your own approbation, because I would be

²⁴ Princess Elizabeth Gallitzin, born in Russia 1795. When 26 years old she became a Catholic at Petrograd. Entered the community of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in 1826. Came to America in 1840 as Provincial Superior. Died at St. Michel, La., December 8, 1843. (*Cath. Cabinet*, 1843, p. 579.) She was a cousin of Prince Augustine Demetrius Gallitzin, the pioneer missionary of the Alleghenies.

²⁵ Abbé Louis, a Breton priest, was one of the organizers of the society of the Eudists after the French Revolution. He was at this time the superior of the Eudist college of St. Martin, which he had founded at Rennes. Here the Ven. F. M. P. Liebermann was, even as a simple acolyte, master of novices from 1837 to 1839. The Eudists were originally founded by Rev. John Budes (died 1680) as a community of secular priests with the object of conducting higher seminaries for candidates to the priesthood. The Eudist fathers were brought to the United States by Bishop Hallandière for his Seminary at Vincennes in 1839. They remained only a few years. In 1843, they took charge of Spring Hill College near Mobile under Bishop Portier.

²⁶ See pages 413-415, of this issue.

very sorry indeed to do anything contrary to your wishes or advice. I will be very much obliged to you to recommend me to your venerable brothers in regard to the enterprise, which of course, will never prevent me from giving my particular attentions to the business of my dearest and best friend. In a short time I will send another circular to the clergy in general, to apprize them of the establishment of the Agency and the manner in which it may be useful to them. To succeed in this will be, I confess to you, very gratifying to my heart, because truly it will seem to me I am serving that mission to which I would be so happy to sacrifice my life.

Bishop Rosati left Paris for Lyons and Rome the day before yesterday. I still expect the Ladies of Namur will sail the 8th of September, but I cannot say yet from what port. I expect every moment letters from England and Belgium which will settle the point. Nothing new here, but great agitation about the *Question d'Orient*, war between France and the rest of Europe is not improbable; however, hopes of the continuance of peace are entertained by many. Msgr. D'Affre has received his bulls and will be consecrated in the fortnight coming; he has not become more popular. Nothing official about the appointment of Canon Raess of Strasburg. I hope Mr. Goesbriand will have arrived safely when this reaches you. Give him, please, my best compliments, also to our Clermontese friends. Abbé Rappe is here in good spirit. Farewell my dear and Rt. Reverend friend. Remember me to your brother, Messrs. Henni & Collins, the Misses Reilly, etc. Pray for me and believe me always with my whole heart, *Your true and devoted friend*.

PARIS, Aug. 20, 1840. "The storm you encountered on Lake Erie in company with Msgr. de Janson was mentioned in one of our religious papers with very much ado. . . . The Ladies of Namur and the excellent and pious Abbé Rappe will positively (God and weather permitting) sail from Antwerp on the first of September next on board the splendid ship, 700 tons burden, the *Elixa Thompson*, commanded by Captain Leander Joss, bound to New York. Bishop Miles is still in Belgium, has given up the idea of going to Vienna and instead will return next month to Paris and thence to Rome. . . . The Rev. Mr. Bayer from St. John's Church in Baltimore arrived here a few days ago, also on a begging campaign for building a German church, college, presbytery, etc. He goes to Vienna, he says, with the mission of arranging matters for the settlement in the Archdiocese of the Fathers Redemptorists. He has instructions from both Father Prost⁷⁷ and from the Archbishop. . . . L'Abbé Louis wrote to me to say that he could not take charge of your seminary for want of subjects." Brassac suggests the idea of detaching two or three subjects from Vincennes, to send them to Cincinnati, and supply them with new hands. . . . "Bishop Murphy of Cork was in Paris last week and went back glorious, says McCarthy, after having bought 6 or 7,000 old bouquins (old books). . . . I expect Bishop Portier towards the middle of next month. He will sail on the first of October on board *The President*. Ten priests of the

⁷⁷ On Rev. Jos. Prost, see *Cath. Hist. Review*, July, 1916, p. 185. Cf. also MULLANEY, *Four Score Years*, pp. 12-34. Rochester, 1914.

Missionaires de France will sail about the same time for Mobile and several Lazarists for Missouri."

MARVÉJOIS, DECEMBER 14, 1840. Brassac has heard of the safe arrival in New York of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and those of Namur. He complains of trouble caused him by a draft at sight by Bishop Purcell on Brassac without any previous notice for the large sum of 33,000 francs. He mentions payment of \$600 to Mr. Hiram Powers,²⁰ the artist at Florence. He speaks of Schwartz's²¹ fruitless efforts in Vienna to get a contribution for Cincinnati from the Leopoldine Association. Mueller of the Munich Missionary Society also fails. Bishop Rosati writes to Brassac that "the Pope told him that the Church of America was his consolation and that he was very much pleased with the American Bishops." "I preached last year before a crowded audience in the Cathedral of Mende for the Propagation of the Faith and endeavored to demonstrate that the missions of America were the most important. . . . Had a very kind letter from Bishop Blanc who complains of the scarcity of priests in his diocese. Bishop Kenrick has appointed me his agent." This letter contains a detailed financial account of Bishop Purcell with Brassac.

PARIS, FEBRUARY 16, 1841. Brassac is glad to hear that the nuns from Namur are enjoying better health in Ohio than in Belgium. He has been much displeased with the draft of 33,000 francs. The Munich Association has made an allocation for the nuns of Belgium in Cincinnati. "Bishop Miles writes to me that the publication of the infamous pamphlet of the German priest you had so wisely interdicted, has caused great rumour in Vienna and has very much prejudiced the old Prince Archbishop against the Church of the United States."

PARIS, MAY 4, 1841. Brassac mentions money paid for Frederick Wood²² at the Urban College, Rome. Will ship twenty-five chalices, thirteen Roman Missals to Cincinnati. Endeavors to have Mother Ignace of Namur to get a loan to help the new establishment of her heroic daughters in America. "This letter will probably be handed to you by my good friends Mr. and Mrs. Labaume of St. Louis, with their dear little daughter, my God-child."²³ . . . I am very

²⁰ Hiram Powers, the famous American sculptor, was born in Vermont in 1805, and came to Ohio in 1819. He lived for several years in Cincinnati, where later he had charge of the wax department of the Western Museum. He was very well skilled in the art of modelling clay. In 1835, he went to Washington and two years later to Florence, Italy, where he remained until his death in 1873. Bishop Purcell was acquainted with him and ordered from him some statues and panels for his cathedral. Mr. Powers' son Preston, born in Florence in 1843, followed in the footsteps of his father. In 1881, he made the statue of Reuben R. Springer for the Music Hall in Cincinnati.

²¹ John George Schwartz was for over fifteen years the American Consul at Vienna, Austria. He took great interest in the Leopoldine Society for the American missions and acted as agent there for the American bishops. He usually forwarded to America, at his own expense, the church articles bought or donated for these missions.

²² James Frederick Wood, born 1813; became a Catholic in 1838. Went to study at Rome, where he was ordained in 1844. In 1857, became Coadjutor of Bishop Neuman of Philadelphia; in 1860 Bishop, and in 1875, Archbishop, of Philadelphia. Died, 1883.

²³ By persevering efforts Father Van Tourenhout has been able to trace five families of the name La Baume in St. Louis. One branch of the family had returned to France many years ago. "After much searching," he says, "I have found the God-child of Father Brassac to be Madame Hicks-La Baume, for many years living at No. 106 Boulevard de Courcelles, Paris, France. She is now 82 years old." A letter sent to the lady brought a very kind reply, written in clear and strong English to Father

much afraid that the Archbishop of Paris will do very little for your painting with the King and Queen. . . . I have not heard anything of the Springers yet. We have heard with the greatest sympathy of the death of President Harrison and the shameful transactions of the United States Bank."²²

PARIS, JUNE 26, 1841. "Our good friend Mueller of Munich was in Paris a few weeks ago and it was a real pleasure to me to reciprocate to him some of those attentions he bestowed upon us during our stay in Bavaria. He assured me that the two Franciscan friars who were to join Father Hubert, would leave Europe in the Fall and would come by Paris and Havre. Mr. Juncker²³ desires to go to Rome before returning to America. The champagne wine sent to Mr. Franque was sold by his brother-in-law in Havre. It brought only 1,000 francs. The expenses for storage, drayage, commission, etc., amounted to 150 francs and 50 centimes. The rest was placed to Bishop Purcell's credit. I am in search of the treatise on Hell, which Mr. Rappe desires me to send to you. . . . The pamphlet of Vienna written against you produced a very bad effect in Bavaria. The Bishop of Augsburg has written to his clergy to discourage subscriptions to the Association. I am told so by Mr. Mueller who was very much vexed at the Bishop's conduct. . . . The allocations of the Association are very much curtailed this year. . . . The Propaganda at Rome has thrown on the Association all the European Missions which it did not assist previously, these having an association of their own, called L'Oeuvre Catholique. . . . The Lazarists here seem anxious that Mr. Odin may not accept the coadjutorship. However, Bishop Blanc writes to me that he thinks the acceptance undoubted. . . . Bishop England is in Ireland to recruit. Bishop Miles and Mr. McMahon²⁴ are in England or Ireland and will sail very shortly for the United States. . . . Mr. Wood informs me that Bishop Rosati will leave the Eternal City after the feast of St. Peter and Paul. . . . Messrs. Timon and Bouillier²⁵ arrived here this morning (29th). . . . Will see with pleasure Mrs. Springer and render myself useful to them."

Van Tourenhout, from which I take the following: "Rev. Father Brassac was a great friend of my beloved father, Louis F. La Baume. That must be the reason he became my God-father. Being then a child I do not remember him. He was a very holy man and was greatly appreciated by all who knew him, and had many warm friends. I am so sorry not to be able to say more about him."

²² The Bank of the United States was founded in Philadelphia in 1791 by an act of Congress as financial agent of the government and to help pay the national debt. When Congress in 1832 renewed its charter, President Jackson vetoed the bill. The next year the Secretary of the Treasury withdrew all the government deposits from it and thus it ceased to be a federal bank; it secured a charter from Pennsylvania and did business as a State bank. Under President Harrison, in 1841, a bill was passed in Congress to revive the Federal National Bank, but President Tyler who had in the meantime succeeded Harrison, vetoed the bill. Then the crash came and the bank failed. How Rev. John Timon, then visitor of the Lazarists and later Bishop of Buffalo, saved from the United States Bank failure 200,000 francs entrusted to him by religious communities in Europe, is told in the *Life of Bishop Timon*, p. 63ff. Buffalo, 1870.

²³ Damian Juncker was born in Lorraine in 1809; was the first priest ordained by Bishop Purcell, 1834; was pastor of Holy Trinity in Cincinnati 1834; in 1836 pastor of St. Mary's, Canton; in 1846 pastor at Dayton; consecrated first Bishop of Alton, Ill., 1857; died 1868.

²⁴ The Rev. Edward McMahon pastor of St. Peter's at Lexington, Lafayette Co., Ky. See WESS, *Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 99 and 331.

²⁵ Rev. John Timon, then visitor of the Lazarists, later in 1847, bishop of Buffalo. Died 1967. Rev. John Bouillier, C.M., accompanied Bishop Rosati in his episcopal visitation of the Diocese of New Orleans of which he gives a full report in a letter dated Donaldsonville, March 1, 1828. (*Annales*,

PARIS, JULY 23, 1841. "I have incorporated into your diocese a young man of the Diocese of Versailles, a student of the St. Stanislaus College, and highly recommended by the Rev. Froment and the other clergymen of the establishment. . . . I gave him dimissorial letters that he may receive the four minor orders. The young gentleman's name is Dumas. . . . Five ladies of the Sacred Heart are preparing to go and join Madame Gallitzin in New York. . . . I am going to spend a few weeks at my father's with two young Louisianians who live with me."

PARIS, JULY 31, 1841. "You are very fortunate not to have been curtailed in the same proportion as your brother prelates in the United States. Some of them will be very much surprised. . . . You have been allowed 41,800 francs; but this sum will not be paid off until the end of the month of December next. . . . The refusal of Mr. Odin has been accepted at Rome; but he has been appointed Bishop in partibus and Apostolic Vicar of Texas with positive orders to accept. Mr. Lefebvre of Missouri has been appointed Coadjutor of Detroit. This last appointment has excited much surprise. Mr. Juncker intends to leave Rome in September and ship to the United States. . . . The Association has made no special allowances for the Sisters of Notre Dame at Cincinnati; the institute is only recommended to your solicitude."

PARIS, OCTOBER 15, 1841. "Mr. Juncker is here preparing to sail from Havre to New Orleans on the twenty-sixth next with a colony of Brothers of the Christian Schools going to Missouri. . . . Juncker is full of spirits, has said farewell to his relations and native land like a brave man indeed. . . . Bishop Rosati is here lately returned from Rome. He will sail from England on the 4th of November next in company of Mr. Lutz.³⁶ Fathers Van de Velde and De Buisson³⁷; arrived here the day before yesterday, on their way

iii, p. 513.) In 1833, during Easter time, Bouillier went from St. Louis to visit Father Duprey in Arkansas who was 600 miles from the nearest priest, that the latter might make his Easter duty (*Ibid.*, p. 123). In 1835, Bouillier built the church and parsonage at the Old Mines (Potosi, Mo.), where he had been appointed in 1828. For a time he was also stationed at New Madrid. In 1842, he finished the new church at Donaldsonville, begun in 1840. In 1841 he accompanied the visitor Rev. John Timon to the general chapter of the Lazarists at Paris.

³⁶ Rev. Joseph Anton Lutz was the first missionary among the Kansas Indians in 1827. See interesting sketch in SHEA, *Catholic Missions*, p. 457. Interesting details of his work among these Indians are found in the *Annales*, iii, pp. 516, 535, 545, 549 and 565. In 1831 Fathers Lutz and Paillasson were sent by Bishop Rosati to establish the first resident mission for the Illinois Indians at Prairie du Chien, *ibid.*, v, pp. 567, 585. Of a strange sick call of Father Lutz, *ibid.*, vii, p. 148. In 1828 or 1831, Fathers Lutz and Van Quickenborne, S.J., came up to Galena and the surrounding country in northern Illinois (KEMPNER, *Hist. of the Catholic Church in Iowa*, p. 16). From 1833-1835, Father Lutz was at the Cathedral in St. Louis and secretary to Bishop Rosati. In 1840, he was theologian for Bishop Rosati at the IV. Prov. Council of Balt. In 1848, Father Lutz became attached to the Diocese of New York, where he was pastor of St. John the Baptist parish until 1852. Then he became pastor of Holy Cross Church until 1855. The following three years he was rector of German parish in Syracuse. In 1859 and 1860, he was at Wheatland, now New Muenster, in the diocese of Milwaukee. He died in 1861 in New York.

³⁷ James Oliver Van de Velde, S.J., born in Belgium, 1796, came to America with Father Nerinx in 1817, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Georgetown, Md. Became President of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., in 1840. Consecrated Bishop of Chicago 1849; transferred to Natchez 1853; died 1855. Stephen L. De Buisson, S.J., came from Europe with Rese in 1829 (*Annales*, iv, p. 526) and was the first priest ordained in the new cathedral of Baltimore in 1821. Was an important witness in the Mattingly miracle at Washington, in 1824. In 1833 he took charge of St. Joseph's parish in Philadelphia with many missions in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. While in Vienna in 1836

to the General Council of their Society, where they are sent by their provinces. . . . I will renew your subscription to the *Ami de la Religion*. You are not the only one to complain of it. It has decidedly fallen off. Egli was very near struck by lightning riding in a carriage with Archbishop D'Affre. . . . Mr. Dumas will probably be ordained subdeacon at Christmas."

PARIS, MARCH 28, 1842. Brassac reports that Mr. Nealy arrived safely and was at once admitted to the care and patronage of Messrs. Whelan, O'Brian, Goodwin and others from Boston. . . . "A letter from our friend Schwarz of Vienna brings a very agreeable intelligence: 3,000 Florins has been allowed you by the Leopoldine Association, and though that is a small sum, it shows at least that the prejudice created by Pisbach's pamphlet is dying away and that the truth is coming out. *Potens est veritas et praevalēbit*. God be blessed. Will have Dumas ordained priest in September and send him immediately to Cincinnati via New Orleans. . . . Mother Ignace of Namur died on the 16th inst. Great loss. A great many priests have offered themselves, but I do not think it prudent to address them to you. One of the name of . . . may come; but beware of him. . . . Mrs. Bouillon, a lady whose family you and I visited together, rue d'Assas, and whose young son you blessed, has presented me with a very handsome alb for you."

PARIS, APRIL 5, 1842. "Bishop Rosati has returned from Hayti quite satisfied with his mission there. He returns to Rome in a few days."⁸⁸

PARIS, APRIL 14, 1842. Brassac speaks of a seminarian, Pratte from Westphalia, who will go to Cincinnati, also a Bavarian priest Mueller who goes to Baltimore, but would prefer Cincinnati. Hopes to get Rev. Schonat also for Cincinnati. "I understand, but I am not sure of the fact, that a Canon of the church of Salzburg had gone over to America to judge and examine the conduct of the American Bishops towards the German priests in order to report on the subject to the Leopoldine Association."⁸⁹

PARIS, MAY 31, 1842. Brassac speaks in praise of Mr. O'Mealy. Has not received the letters sent by Goesbriand and Rappe. "Who is the Mr. Menghi d'Arville at Toulouse, who styles himself in public prints *Vicaire Général de Cincinnati pour les missions d'Amérique en Europe, etc. etc.*? I tried yesterday to direct another German missionary to Cincinnati; but I could not succeed; he had bound himself to Mexico and you know what a German head is. He was immovable. . . . Mueller of Munich writes me that the painting for the new German church will soon be ready. . . . We have heard with sorrow the death of Dr. England. . . . I have just received a letter from Bishop Rosati in Rome. He is well. The Holy Father has created Knights of St. Gregory the Consul General of France in Hayti and Mr. Lartigue, Captain of the ship which brought the bishop back to Europe, for their kind offices to Bishop Rosati."

or 1837, shortly after Bishop Bruté's visit there, he completed and revised Bruté's report on the American missions. It was printed in the *Leopoldinen Berichte* (1838) and is undoubtedly the report mentioned in the A. Cath. Hist. *Researches*, xxiii, (1906) p. 384.

⁸⁸ On the successful mission of Bishop Rosati to Hayti, see CLARKE, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops*, Vol. i, pp. 370ff.

⁸⁹ Cf. CHR., i, p. 357, for an account of SALEBACHER'S *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842*.

PARIS, JUNE 30, 1842. Brassac's great joy at hearing from the bishop that he will visit Europe again this year. "No doubt your presence in Bavaria may have the result of softening the hardness of some of the bishops, especially of Count Reisach."⁴⁰ Brassac will accompany the bishop again. Mr. Schonat is on his way to Rome, thence to France and to America. He will be a great acquisition. He congratulates Bishop Purcell on his success in Austria. "I always thought that if you could get somebody to remind Prince Metternich of you and to ask him to say a few words to the old Archbishop in your favor, it might be better than anything else." Remarks on Bishop P. R. Kenrick and "poor Beauprez, who has too much of a Flemish head." "Let me know the doings of Canon Salzbacher. It were good if you made him take a little of the hard ridings, hard and scanty fares which American bishops are sometimes obliged to submit themselves to, and his conviction might be that they must be assisted somehow or others."

MARÉJOIS, JULY 27, 1842. Brassac mentions the terrible railroad accident at Versailles, the earthquake at Hayti, the fire at Hamburg, the death of the Duke of Orleans. "Our *Avenir* has become very dark and portentous. The politician loses himself in speculations, but the Christian reverts to Providence." Dumas will be ordained priest in September. "I have had, however, some misgivings about his disposition to embark for the missions." Of the loan of some \$20-25,000 in Europe, desired by Bishop Purcell, Brassac sees no prospect or possibility. "I had expected to receive from New Orleans \$5 to 6,000 due me; but the notes were protested and I am likely to lose a great part, if not all the sum due me; so Bishop Blanc writes to me. You know all about Hayti; but what I did not want you to hear from another source is that they think at Rome to send me there next winter as Commissaire Apostolique to prepare the way for the bishop who is to be sent there, and who I think will be no other than Mr. Meanhout."⁴¹

⁴⁰ Count Charles August Reisach, born in Bavaria, 1800. Studied theology at the Germanicum at Rome. Ordained 1828; became prefect of studies at the Propaganda in 1829; consecrated Bishop of Eichstaedt, Bavaria, in 1836; coadjutor (1841) and Archbishop of Munich, 1847. Created Cardinal in 1855. In 1865 member of the preparatory commission for the Vatican Council; in 1869 first papal legate of the Council. Died December 22, 1869 at Contamine, Savoy.

⁴¹ Rev. Constantine Meanhout, immediately after his ordination at St. Louis, became pastor of Natches, where he remained until 1824. But he had to leave for lack of support, as foreseen by Bishop Rosati. Then he was sent to Pensacola, in Florida. The Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar in the story of his journey to Florida pays a high tribute to Father Meanhout. He is undoubtedly one of the two priests of the Vicariate mentioned by Bishop Portiere in 1827, whom he is soon to lose because they belong to New Orleans. In 1834, he was pastor of St. Mary's, New Orleans. On April 30, 1836, he left New Orleans with Bishop Blanc on the steamer *Creole* for Liverpool, and returned again with him early in 1838. But it seems that Meanhout had intended to go to Europe in 1835, since we find among Rosati's letters a copy of a commendatory letter given to Meanhout, February 5, 1835, for Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Propaganda. In 1842, he was again appointed by Bishop Blanc Rector of St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, but the trustees refused to admit him. He was appointed there again in 1844, and remained until 1861. In 1860 he was Archbishop Blanc's theologian at the II Prov. Council of New Orleans. From 1861 to 1865, no report of the southern dioceses are found in the *Catholic Almanac*. In the *Almanac* of 1866, Meanhout's name is not given. He must therefore have died within that period. Father Brassac was mistaken in his expectation. Instead of Father Meanhout, the Rev. Father Tisserand of the Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, was sent by Rome to Hayti. See GOSPERT, *Life of the Ven. F. M. P. Liebermann*, p. 336ff.

"I have made my remonstrances and expressed my serious objections to the mission proposed. This is between ourselves." In a postscript to Rev. Edward Purcell, Brassac acknowledges the draft for 937 francs and 50 centimes from James Slevin of New York, and promises to write immediately to the persons concerned at Coire, Canton des Grisons, in Switzerland; thus everything will be settled.

MARVÉJOLS, JULY 30, 1842. Brassac has received a letter from Msgr. Raes of Strasburg in answer to his inquiry regarding the Society of the priests Pretiosissimi Sanguinis;⁴³ the bishop speaks highly of them, but fails to mention the place in Switzerland where the Mother House of the Institute is to be found. Brassac wants to know on what conditions Bishop Purcell wants them to come.

PARIS, OCTOBER 26, 1842. Brassac speaks of the sudden illness of his father, an attack of palsy and apoplexy. He is now recovering. Schonat sails for New Orleans next month with Rev. Messrs. Chalon, McGarahan and another young German priest sent by Count Reisach to Bishop Flaget. Dumas is a disappointment although ordained priest for Cincinnati, he refuses to sail and wants to stay longer on account of an old but rich aunt from whom he expects to inherit. No answer yet from Coire where Brassac has sent the draft of Rev. Ed. Purcell on account of Rev. Mr. Henni. Brassac hears the false and slanderous reports about Rev. Anduze of New Orleans.⁴⁴ Rumor has it that the Ladies of the Sacred Heart will yet come to Cincinnati. More Sisters of Notre Dame sailed on September 7 from Antwerp for Cincinnati. Rosati will probably pass the winter in Rome. "The *Catholic Telegraph* comes regularly now and affords me great pleasure."

PARIS, NOVEMBER 26, 1842. Brassac writes of the departure of Schonat,

⁴³ The Fathers of the Precious Blood, invited by Rev. Henni, Vicar General of Cincinnati, came to America in 1843, with their Superior, Rev. Francis de Sales Brunner. In Havre, they met Bishop Purcell who offered them a house with some land in Cincinnati, where they arrived on New Year's day, 1844. They did not remain there but went to St. Alfonsus mission near Norwalk, Huron Co., Ohio. See ALERDING: *The Diocese of Ft. Wayne*, p. 433; *Leben und Wirken des Peter Franz Sales Brunner*, Carthagens, Ohio, 1882.

⁴⁴ This Rev. A. B. Anduze has a singular place in the diocesan history of New Orleans. According to the notes of Bishop Bruté, rector of St. Mary's College, Emmittsburg, "in 1818 Mr. Anduze was the first person permitted by the Archbishop to study theology here for two years." While yet a student in theology Anduze was tutor in St. Mary's College, from 1819 to 1820. Anduze was ordained for New Orleans by Bishop Du Bourg, in 1821. In April, 1821, he writes to Bishop Rosati from Ste. Genevieve. According to the *Catholic Almanac* (1822), he was professor at the Catholic College of St. Louis from where he writes to Bishop Rosati on March 2, 1822. According to Bishop Blanc's notes he succeeded Brassac as pastor of St. James, Louisiana, about 1823. On July 23, 1823, Blanc writes to Rosati that Bishop Du Bourg intends to install Anduze at Natchitoches next October. But it seems that from 1824 to 1834, Anduze was pastor of St. Gabriel's, Iberville, La., from where he visited Natchitoches with Bishop Du Bourg in 1825. The story of a strange deathbed conversion brought about by Father Anduze in the parish of St. James is related in the *Annales* (v. p. 593). In 1824 he preached the sermon at Bishop Rosati's consecration. He also preached when Bishop Blanc laid the cornerstone of St. Claude's Chapel, in New Orleans on November 14, 1841. On October 10, 1827, Rev. A. Blanc writes to Rosati that "Anduze is in Paris since the end of July. . . . It is not probable that he will return before two years." On November 1, 1828, he writes from Paris to Rosati that he has visited Bishops Du Bourg and Cheverus. In 1837, Anduze is sent by Bishop Blanc to the missions in Texas. On February 21, 1838, Jeanjean writes to Rosati, "Mr. Anduze is in Havana; when leaving he expected to be absent about two months. He intended to visit the islands of Cuba, San Domingo, St. Thomas, etc." After 1840, the name of A. B. Anduze is not given in the *Catholic Almanac*; but M. B. or B. M. Anduze figures as theologian at the Cathedral of New Orleans.

and another German priest, Mr. Heiss. Rev. Tusch, "a Bavarian Capuchin from Eichstädt will also sail. "This Mr. Tusch seems to be a very good pious man and may be a very excellent missionary. However, I think he is rather too old and I will be very much mistaken if he ever changes the bed of the Ohio River." He travels with another German or Tirolese priest, Mr. Inama, who goes to America "for his improvement." "I have tried to prevail on him (Inama) to go to Cincinnati which he intends to visit. I think him a man of high learning, eminent talents, great piety, and a gentleman." Since writing last Brassac has neither seen or heard from Mr. Dumas, whose conduct is severely blamed by all. Bishop Clancy has fallen out with the Association having drawn on it at sight for a pretty large sum. The draft was refused and protested and His Lordship wrote a very — letter. "My old father keeps mending slowly. P. S.—Did you know that I lost all that I had in New Orleans, about \$6,000. Sit nomen Dni. benedictum. Have you got room for me?"

PARIS, DECEMBER 30, 1842. Brassac has received a sort of apology from Rev. Mr. Dumas; but told him he was released of his engagement. "I am sorry Pratte was obliged to leave you; the Ligorians ought to refund to you the money it cost you to have him go over to Cincinnati." Speaks of Bishop Blanc's troubles at New Orleans. "Bishop Rosati is still in Rome, but will be here before long. I may have to go to Hayti very shortly. Do not be too much surprised if I meet you in Baltimore about the time of the Council. . . . We have lost our Reverend Master, the Rev. Mr. Liantard at the college; at the funeral service I met Egli (Vicaire Général honoraire of Paris) who inquired eagerly about you. Msgr. Garibaldi is appointed Archbishop in *partibus* and goes as Nuncio to Brussels; and Msgr. Fornari whom we saw in Belgium, comes to Paris in the same capacity."

PARIS, FEBRUARY 22, 1843. "I send you an account of our respective pecuniary situation by which you stand in my debt of the sum of 566 francs 96 centimes, which you will refund when convenient. Bishop Rosati has insisted too pressing about my going with him to San Domingo, that I have consented to do so. Expect to sail in a couple of weeks and return to Europe to meet you here. Mr. Combes of Clermont has sent me 100 francs for Mr. Lamy."

PARIS, APRIL 10, 1843. Brassac says it is impossible to meet Bishop Purcell at the Baltimore Council, because Bishop Rosati is too sick to cross the ocean. They intended to sail May 4 and be in Baltimore by the twentieth "but God only knows whether Bishop Rosati will be well enough for that." . . . My visit to the United States will have much less charm for me if you are not there and Cincinnati will appear to me like a dreary waste. . . . All of our friends will be happy to see you again."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Andreas Tusch was at first assistant at St. Mary's, Cincinnati. From 1846 to 1851, he was at St. Thomas', Potosi, Wisconsin, where he started the mission of St. Andrew. In 1852 he was at St. Stephen's, Howell Road (New Coeln), Wisconsin, from where he also attended St. Francis. In 1856, he said the first Mass ever offered at Schimmels, now La Crosse, in Laporte Co., Indiana. From 1857 to 1858 he was pastor of St. John's, Lake Co., Indiana. Cf. ALDERING, l.c., pp. 225, 405.

⁴¹ Father Brassac's misgivings were well founded. Bishop Rosati left Paris for Rome on the advice of his physician in the hope that the more genial air of his native country would restore his health, but it was too late. He expired at Rome September 25, 1843.

⁴² Bishop Purcell must have informed Brassac of his coming to Europe, for he met him at Antwerp .

PARIS, OCTOBER 7, 1843. "Mr. Thierry renews invitation that you and I visit him at Fecamps. I answered that you had left Paris for Boulogne. Mr. Goesbriand, father of the missionary, tried to see you at Havre and then searched for you in Paris, but was disappointed. He is a jovial old gentleman, talks English exceedingly well and writes poetry in two languages and in verse. He left me 100 francs for his reverend son."

PARIS, OCTOBER 13, 1843. Brassac is sorry that Bishop Purcell has to wait so long in that most disagreeable port of Havre. "What you must endure and the anxiety you must feel, I know by experience, having had to remain there a long spell in 1831, waiting for a favorable wind. Mr. Thierry wrote a long letter about our meeting on the Rhine and which bespoke all the happiness it had afforded him. . . . I am very busy with our installation having the material department as my share. We have some difficulties also; the Archbishop may occasion us some trouble."

PARIS, JUNE 15, 1844. Brassac informs Bishop Purcell that he sent via Havre to the care of Peter Hargons of New York, a painting as a present to the Bishop from Mr. Digby;⁴⁷ also a chasuble from the same gentleman. "I have left the institution which I had contributed to form. That kind of life did not suit me at all and I am glad to have recovered my freedom." He suggests to the Bishop to send him a little of the money due him. "My parting with Mr. Le Boucher has considerably disarranged my plans and put me to no little inconvenience. . . . I have to thank you for your remembrance to me in your letters to the young seminarians. Still I would have preferred a line direct. . . . I have done the best I could to put up with my disappointment since October last."

PARIS, NOVEMBER 13, 1844. "I have been much humbled indeed by your apologies for your long silence towards me and thus you have caused me to regret my complaints to you on that head. Friendship founded on mutual regard and esteem is proof against the appearance of neglect and such I hope is ours. A cloud may one moment veil the rays of the sun; but to destroy its genial heat it cannot. The thing is, I hope, so understood between us. . . . Your allocation for this year is 33,000 francs and something. The nuns of Namur will send a supply of their Sisters for the foundation intended at Toledo. They will leave Europe with Mr. Machebeuf.⁴⁸ This reverend gentleman is traveling in the interior in order to recruit some priests and in his last letter he seemed in hopes of obtaining a few worthy ones. I will do my best to procure the means necessary to meet their expenses. Mr. Digby was not yet in Paris a few days ago. He never received the books you had sent him to Paris from Boulogne. . . . I wrote to our friend Leclere about your desire to know

In a letter to Miss M. Reilly, dated from that place, August 13, 1843, the bishop speaks of his visit to Mr. and Mrs. Haight, being accompanied by the V. Rev. Mr. Brassac. "We were in full costume ecclesiastique, as is the custom here, and rode in a splendid carriage placed at my disposal to make this and similar visits."

⁴⁷ Kenelm Henry Digby, the famous English convert and Catholic author.

⁴⁸ From the *Life of Bishop Machebeuf*, Vol. i, p. 133, it appears that these Sisters sailed from Antwerp accompanied by a priest and seminarian sent to them by Father Machebeuf, while he embarked at Havre, having in his party fifteen Ursuline nuns destined for the Diocese of Cincinnati.

whether the Sisters Hospitalières⁴⁹ would accept of the Invalids Hotel founded in Cincinnati and which was offered to your direction. . . . Leclere and Cecile charge me to express to you their respectful and very cordial gratitude for the trust and confidence manifested by your kind proposal." Then follows a *Compte Courant de Mgr. J. B. Purcell, Ev. de Cincinnati avec H. Brassac* for 1843 to 1844, closing with the remark *sauf erreur ou omission*.

PARIS, FEBRUARY 4, 1845. Brassac acknowledges the receipt of a letter dated January 3. "The persual of it caused me mingled feelings of grief and satisfaction. I will not say a word more on the subject of my letter . . . except to express my sincere regret that any expressions of mine would have offended you. . . . I thank you most sincerely for the frank communication of Mr. —'s letter and Mr. —'s charges against me. Were I to follow my first feelings, I would answer to neither; they are rather low for a man of my age to stoop to. If I notice them, it is merely to satisfy you and to show you that I am still worthy of the esteem of the continuation of which you give me the assurance no matter what may occur." (Here follows a long explanation.) "I dismiss, never to take it up again, this subject of my justification against the accusations of two inexperienced young men. . . . I forgive them as I wish to be forgiven at the last day. . . . I am to leave Paris altogether and settle near my father in the course of this summer. My pious and excellent pupil will have soon finished his studies and returning to Louisiana leaves me at liberty to seek the solitude and bury myself in it."⁵⁰ Farewell, Rt. Reverend and dear Sir. Please remember me in your prayers and holy sacrifices and be sure that in spite of what evil tongues . . . may have done and said of me and notwithstanding all that has passed between us, I have never ceased to entertain towards you the truest sentiments of esteem and respect."

MARVEJOIS, JANUARY 14, 1846. "Monseigneur, Vous ne vous attendez guères sans doute à recevoir une lettre de moi après une rupture aussi complète de correspondance entre nous, et je dois avouer que sans une raison imperieuse je ne me serais permis de vous adresser ces lignes. . . . Je n'ai pas moins souvent pensé à vous et n'en ai pas fait moins de vœux pour votre bonheur et la réussite de vos efforts pour le bien de la religion et la gloire de notre commun Maître." Brassac then states that a dying man left him 100 francs for the Propagation of the Faith, which he might apply as he thought best. "Knowing the needs of your Diocese, to which my heart belongs always, though my name figures no more, I could not do better than send this small donation to you. Please do accept and pray for its donor (your namesake) John Baptist Clavel. Puisse, Monseigneur, ce faible temoignage de mon souvenir vous rappeler le respectueux devouement de celui que pendant de longues années vous appeliez votre ami."

BEDARIEUX (HERAULT), MARCH 15, 1850. "Your kind favor of the 16th of

⁴⁹ The Hospitallers of St. Joseph, a religious community of women, were founded in France in 1636. They came to Montreal in 1689, and came to the United States in 1894, where they settled in the Diocese of Burlington, N. Y. They came to Chicago, in 1903, where they conduct St. Bernard's Hospital.

⁵⁰ Brassac had two pupils from Louisiana studying at Paris. No clue to their identity is anywhere given in his letters.

January last reached me in due time while on my way to this place where I am preaching the stations of Lent. I will not attempt to express the pleasure it caused me and the readiness with which I am willing to dismiss from my heart and mind the causeless suspension of our friendly and so long amicable relations. I was well certain that the time would come when you would do me justice. . . . The views of the different churches of your city has been a treat to me. . . . Bishop Timon passed at Montpelier about two weeks before I passed there to come here. . . . I regret very much to have missed that opportunity of shaking hands with my old friend. . . . One of the inhabitants of this place hearing that I have been in America came to show me letters of his son in Cincinnati. Enclosed is a letter for the said son, whose name is Alexander Marconier, workman, hatter." Brassac hopes that the Bishop will again come to old France.⁶¹

MARVÉJOLS, AUGUST 20, 1861. Brassac regrets that his letter did not reach the Bishop at Paris and concludes that he left for Rome, otherwise would have been happy to accompany him there.⁶² He hopes these lines will reach him there, so that he may know of the Bishop's return to Paris. He would be exceedingly happy if Bishop Purcell could come from Marseilles to Marvéjols, "where your old friend would do his best to restore you after your long journey. Your visit would be for him one of the greatest consolations possible. Remember that he is an old man with white hair, though his heart is still vigorous and warm. After seeing you under his modest but hospitable roof, he would be ready to sing his *Nunc dimittis*. . . . As of old, your very humble and devoted friend, Hle Brassac."

H. Brassac
cure

⁶¹ Purcell went to Rome in 1851, to receive the pallium from the hands of Pius IX.

⁶² Purcell went to Rome for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs in 1862.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. By Thomas Kilby Smith, New York: The Encyclopedia Press. 1917. Pp. v+318.

Several series of handbooks on the States of the Union have appeared in recent years, all aiming to supply information that is needed yet each following its own plan in respect of order, emphasis and proportion. For Pennsylvania in particular there is a goodly number of publications that deal either with the State as a whole or with some phase of its development. The present volume combines the best features of its predecessors and adds others which are essential to a fairly complete and impartial survey.

Within small compass, Mr. Smith condenses a mass of data which otherwise could only be obtained by an investigation at many sources and through various monographs. In the first chapter he gives a general survey including physical characteristics, political divisions and statistics of population. This might well serve as an answer, in the first instance, to the question: What is Pennsylvania?

There follows, in three chapters, an historical statement, showing how Pennsylvania came to be what it is—whence its people came, how they bore themselves in the struggle for independence and how they used their freedom to build up a great commonwealth. The results of this development and its principal factors are then set forth in chapters dealing with government and military affairs, and describing the financial and industrial progress of the State. Emphasis is laid on the human element as this appears in “manners and customs” and in “conditions affecting the home.” Institutional activities are described under “education and the professions;” “social systems;” and “care of criminals.” The chapter on “literature, art and science” records the contributions of Pennsylvanians in each of these departments and shows that in a State abounding with material resources and wealth-getting activities, culture has had a vigorous and fruitful growth.

It may be said, with justice, of this book, that its chief interest lies in telling of the people, of their life and tendencies and of the higher spiritual influences by which they have been affected. First among these is religion; and the chapter on this topic is instructive not only as furnishing information but also as setting an example of fairness and moderation. The Catholic Church receives its due share of prominence in the account that is given of its organization, schools and charitable institutions. But similar information is supplied regarding the Protestant bodies, and credit is given to their leaders and their contributions to the public welfare. In this respect the book marks a distinct advance.

It also suggests much that is encouraging in regard to the later volumes of the series which the Encyclopedia Press has arranged to publish. A book of the same character on each State will be useful both to the citizens of that particular state and to all Americans, while the collection as a whole will form a unique history of our country.

There is a specially urgent need of such books at this time when we are engaged in a struggle for the principles of democracy and for its salvation. The fundamental lesson which all our people should learn is the meaning of "our country;" and the best way to learn it is by studying the facts and institutions which in States that differ so widely have manifested and preserved the democratic ideal.

This volume, and its successors, will naturally find a place on the desk of the general reader who will welcome its succinct statements as an introduction and who will make use of the bibliographies under each chapter for further investigation. It will also serve as a means of ready reference for the busy man who must get his information quickly and in condensed form. But it will accomplish its best results in the schools. It is high time that our children, even in the grades, were more thoroughly instructed in American history. To teach them a few things about wars and battles and the succession of presidents is not enough. They should understand their country in the making. With a knowledge of their own State such as this volume offers and a proportionate acquaintance with the other States, they would be better prepared to see clearly and to act manfully in the crisis through which we are passing.

Early Philadelphia, Its People, Life and Progress. By Horace Mather Lippincott, joint author of "The Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and Its Neighborhood." With a photogravure frontispiece by Charles H. Stephens and 119 illustrations from photographs and prints. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1917. Pp. 340.

The volume might fairly be styled a Study in Origins. Its interest for the general reader will lie in the fact that these origins do not concern merely one great American city and its institutions but as well the civic growth and institutional development of the American Colonies. Much of this activity had its first beginnings in Philadelphia, which thus became a pioneer for cities older or younger than itself. And in some instances where the City cannot claim priority, it can "point with pride" to things still extant which have the distinction of being "the oldest" in our American history. Elizabeth Pennell had briefly summarized this greatness of Philadelphia in her declaration that the City "had worked, and still worked, and worked so well as to be the first to have given America much that is best and most vital in the country—the first to show the right way with its schools and hospitals and libraries and newspapers and galleries and museums, the leader in the fight for liberty of conscience, the scene of the first Colonial Congress and the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the Centennial Exposition to commemorate it, a pioneer in science and industry and manufacture—a town upon which all the others in the land could not do better than model themselves—while all the time it maintained its fine air of calm that perplexes the stranger and misleads the native" (*Our Philadelphia*, pp. 266-7). We read such a declaration as this, however, with the tugging fear that it is only a series of brilliant generalities based rather on a pardonable civic pride than on cold historical facts, although one specific instance is given (p. 253) of priority, in the statement that Philadelphia "had been the first American town to publish a daily paper" and that this paper "set an example for all America."

Agnes Repplier, in her *Philadelphia, the Place and the People*, had previously furnished her readers with other specific instances of "first" or "oldest." Thus it was a Philadelphia playhouse that produced "the first American play ever publicly acted in

the colonies" (p. 75); and the Philadelphia Academy of the Natural Sciences is "the oldest institution of its kind in America" (p. 81); and it was in Philadelphia that Franklin "invented the stove which warmed nearly every parlour in town . . . invented the lightning-rod . . . organized the fire companies . . ." (p. 87); and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts is "the oldest institution of its kind in the United States" (p. 376); and the "Fishing Company . . . is the oldest club of its kind in the United States" (p. 387). But the City has still other kinds of preëminence, for its University has "an unequalled institute of anatomy" (p. 380), and its Fairmount Park "is the largest in the United States, and the most beautiful in the world" (p. 382). One more quotation will probably exhaust the priorities mentioned in Agnes Repplier's volume without, it is hoped, exhausting the patience of the reader. Of Philadelphia (now personified) we read: "She it was, among American cities, who printed the first daily newspaper, and the first magazine. She established the first circulating library, the first corporate bank, and the first medical college. She laid the keel of the first American warship, and unfurled the first American flag. She was the home of the first National Congress, and of the first Supreme Court of the United States. Finally, she organized the first World's Fair that this country had ever seen, no facile task, as those who bore a part in it can testify" (p. 368).

Miss Repplier's treatment of the origins enters into greater detail than that of Mrs. Pennell, but is summary nevertheless. Mr. Lippincott undertakes quite a different task. His "first" and "oldests" are generally accorded separate chapters in which the origin is pointed out and the development down to the present day is described. He justifies the title of the volume by first of all picturing "Early Philadelphia" topographically and socially and then categorizing its early activities and showing their "progress." His constant interest in the personalities of the Quaker City results in frequently-recurring and extensive lists of names of those who were associated with the City's enterprises. Nowhere do we find a formal posing of the famous question, "What is a Biddle?" But the book will answer that question and a hundred similar ones. It also answers the query, "What is a Wistar Party?" It is an old, old institution of Philadelphia;

but the present reviewer would have been glad to have the answer when he received a perplexing invitation to a "Wistar Party" but a few months ago. For reasons like these, the book will doubtless offer many an arid page to all but Philadelphians. To these latter, however, its minute descriptions of interesting spots in the City, its care in localizing certain old colonial houses (many of which are still extant), its genial story of early customs and their modern survivals, and its really unpretentious, albeit apparently assertive, claims for the origins, can hardly be other than entertaining.

Entertaining—but instructive as well. For few Philadelphians really know their city, despite the large literature of history and description devoted thereto. To pick up a work like that of Mr. Lippincott is to embark on a voyage of discovery. And to find Philadelphia is to love it. The voyage may not prove entirely pleasant for readers who have not the enviable distinction of living or having been born in the City, but they will discover many things which they ought to be glad to know. For it is a *City of American Origins*. And so we return whence we set out—to call attention briefly to the "first" and the "oldest" things mentioned in the volume. Meanwhile, the reader should be cautioned not to indulge the natural surmise that pretentiousness, which is the very opposite of the City's own prevailing sentiment, characterizes the volume. He will nowhere find a glowing summary of the City's great achievements. Even the eight columns of the Index will not furnish a single reference to "first" or "oldest" or "origin." Only patient search will reveal items like the following (to which it is therefore desirable to attach page-references):

"The English Bible was first published in America at Philadelphia" (p. 43), "the first and greatest medical school in America" (p. 170), "the oldest institution dedicated to the fine arts in the United States" (p. 185), "the oldest institution (viz., the Philadelphia Academy of the Natural Sciences) of its kind in America" (p. 189), "so began pharmaceutical education and degrees in the western hemisphere" (p. 193), "the first exhibition of manufacturers in America . . . and the first electrical exhibition" (p. 196), "the first bank chartered on the continent" (p. 227), "the first Trust Company in the United States" (p.

234), "the oldest Fire Insurance Company in America, but also one of the strongest active Fire Insurance Companies in the world" (p. 244), "the first Savings Fund Society in America" (p. 264); and the franchise granted in 1876 by the Governor of Pennsylvania to a Title Insurance Company "was the first ever granted by any governmental authority in the world" (p. 267).

We are thus brought down to quite modern times—the year of the Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia. What has been here condensed into a few phrases forms the basis for many an instructive chapter. If the story ended here, the author would be justified in his declaration that the City "is noted for its organizing spirit. If the Philadelphian has anything to do or a pet idea to promulgate he immediately sets to work to found a Society for that specific purpose, chooses officers and adopts a constitution" (p. 197). But the tale is not fully told. The City is proud to "harbour the oldest business concern in America" (p. 268), while the printing business founded by Franklin in 1728 "has continued without a break and still bears the name of its originator" (p. 272). How shall we find space for all the origins? We read further of "the first ships for the American Navy" (p. 276), the first steamboat (p. 277), "the oldest social organization in the English speaking world" (p. 303), the first asylum for the insane established entirely for their care (p. 309), "the hospital department of the Almshouse . . . the first in the United States" (p. 313), a separate dispensary for the poor opened in 1786 as the "oldest in the United States" (p. 319), the first volunteer organization to fight the claims of the British Government (p. 285), the first protest against slavery (p. 321), the first organization established for the abolition of slavery (p. 322), the First Continental Congress (p. 333), "the oldest life insurance company in the United States" (p. 329), the first game of cricket (p. 222), the first cricket club (p. 223), the first intercollegiate game of cricket (p. 223) and the first intercollegiate cricket club (p. 225).

The City might well urge a modest claim to be first in peace, first in war. But she has reason to fear her place is not first in the hearts of her sister-cities, for she has long been the butt for ridicule as a "slow town." We should not quarrel with the present volume, even if it seems to challenge by implication such older

cities as New York or Boston. We may rather feel that it challenges the attention of the civic historian and the sociologist, for very much of the City's olden spirit of organization has survived the changes of two centuries and is unobtrusively energizing its present manifold activities.

A very brief but kindly account is given of Catholicity in Philadelphia (p. 76), but a curious *post hoc ergo propter hoc* implication appears (p. 20) in the statement that the early settlers were "free from mediaeval dogmas and far advanced in the line of the Reformation" and that as nearly all were Quakers ("the most advanced sect"), "the effect of their liberalism on the growth of Pennsylvania was marked." In addition to the text, the volume contains 108 pages of inserted pictorial illustrations.

My Story: Being the Memoirs of Benedict Arnold, Late Major-General in the Continental Army and Brigadier-General in that of His Britannic Majesty. By Frederic J. Stimson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917. Portraits and a map. Pp. 622.

The author of this interesting and instructive book has already worked successfully in the field of fiction, but his present story is by no means a creation of fancy, for it is largely constructed of the materials of history. In the fascinating pages of those who describe the war for American independence it may be doubted whether any among the multitude of characters encountered by the reader possessed so many elements of the literatesque as did Benedict Arnold. One thinks of *The Rivals*, in which Hamilton and Burr are the principals, of *The Conqueror*, Miss Atherton's enthusiastic biography of Hamilton, of the *Winning of the West*, which records the deeds of George Rogers Clark, and of many other books whose heroes adorn historic tales.

But the difficult march through the Drowned Lands, one of the most glorious achievements of the Revolution, an exploit well described by Roosevelt, had its fellow in the dangers of the Dead River and the boiling Chaudiere and that is but a single incident in the career of Arnold. Indeed, with the exception of Beaumarchais, the brilliant French dramatist, a man of more varied experience and of greater gifts than the American soldier, to the

literary artist the hero of Saratoga is the most attractive figure in the struggle for American independence. He alone made the difficult journey from patriotism to treason. Charles Lee and Gates, to be sure, were ever ready to accept similar terms from the authorities of their native land, but one was a coward and the other an obvious knave whose rascality was too apparent for success in an intrigue. But, perhaps, Lee with his American command was, after all, of more value to King George III in the rôle of a rebel.

Mr. Stimson does not attempt a life of General Arnold, but has cast his narrative in the form of an autobiography, purporting to have been intended for the eye of His Majesty, yet not entirely overlooking his English kinsmen and his American countrymen. Here and there may be found anachronisms, but the main story is one that Arnold might have prepared for the instruction of posterity. It is a tragic volume on the calamities that followed in the train of treason.

In recent years there has been amongst American historians not a little activity concerning the facts of the war for independence. Yet this research has told us about Arnold but little that is new. Probably a majority of those who know the events of the Revolution as they know the letters of the alphabet have long been prepared to acknowledge that his treatment was infamous and to wonder whether under similar provocation any but the most exalted characters could have triumphed over the temptation to retaliate on little men. The unreported victories, the gross discrimination in conferring promotions, the wicked slanders of artful men would commonly have proved too much for flesh and blood. From his glorious past we can imagine how Arnold wrestled with his urgent impulses, but never can we know how much he resisted. One thinks of the verses of Robert Burns, who had known the temptations of adversity:

“Who made the heart, ’tis He alone
Decidedly can try us.”

Doubtless the struggle of the ruined General was not protracted though from boyhood the phantoms of honor and riches must often have whispered to his hopes, but he never expected them to come in a form so questionable as the proffers of André.

In describing the eventful career of Arnold one surveys anew a considerable part of the Revolution. As arranged by the author the criticism and persecution, for to that it came, are fully emphasized. His treatment by Joseph Reed better than any incident in those crowded times shows how insignificant were some of the leaders in the darkest days of the war. George Bancroft made and retracted the charge that Joseph Reed was a "trimmer." It appears, however, that it was another Reed whose integrity was shaken by the winds of intrigue. Admitting all this, yet Joseph Reed's treatment of Arnold was unpatriotic, because it promoted the interests of the enemy, and if the President of the Pennsylvania Council is to be acquitted of having himself flirted with treason, there is no sort of historical proof that he should be remembered as a leader entitled to the dignity of contempt. Reed Street, in Philadelphia, is his fitting memorial. Arnold made the mistake of not courting that busy patriot. In fact he never learned the art of getting on, but was designed by nature for a blunt soldier.

Though the author lacks the perfect art of Milton, whose Satan, we know, has often been admired by readers of *Paradise Lost*, he does much for his hero. From the outset the reader of Mr. Stimson's story finds himself not altogether out of sympathy with the unfortunate soldier who is the subject of this book.

It is not easy to understand how with the eyes of eighteenth century New England, Arnold could have seen that section as we now behold it. There is an unmistakable note of bitterness in all his reputed allusions to New England Puritans and their Yankee leaders. The attitude toward Samuel Adams and his cousin John is one of extreme antipathy. The former, for instance, is censured for failing to subscribe to an object at a time when it is doubtful whether because of his interest in public affairs, he possessed the ability to do so. One feels that as a youth Arnold was, perhaps, not rigidly righteous and probably for that reason was admired by neither of the Massachusetts statesmen. Moreover, it is not at all certain that the desirability of gaining political independence appealed to him as early as it had to the Adamses, who were the foremost among the radicals, or that in fact he was at any time convinced of its wisdom.

The intolerance of Arnold's New England contemporaries

cannot be denied. But when he had gone over to the enemy, he strongly appealed to Protestant hatred of Catholics in order to persuade his countrymen to follow his example. Puritan fanaticism was, it is true, a cause but not a major cause of the war with England. In the beginning there were in America few who dreamed of independence. There is, perhaps, no more stupid interpretation of military history than the assumption that wars begun for one object have been so skillfully directed that unexpected forces have been powerless even slightly to alter their tendencies and their objects. Many great wars, as is well known, commenced for one purpose have been waged to effect objects very different.

The demagogues who now harrangue American audiences, hoping to arouse in their hearers sentiments which will force our Government to make a new statement of its terms of peace, have no other purpose than the future embarrassment of the United States. But shallow as is the artifice it is not generally perceived, otherwise the agitators would be made to feel the resentment of angry patriots. If, for example, at its present session, Congress demands from President Wilson a new statement of the terms on which the United States would consent to make peace, any subsequent modification of those terms would be condemned because it was not in harmony with the objects originally declared. Few people are as fully persuaded as was Emerson that consistency is the vice of little minds. Circumstances, it has been well said, not only alter cases but make them. Those now shouting for America's terms of peace are not ignorant citizens but disloyal ones. In the quiet of prisons they should be given opportunity to get acquainted with the principles of political science and to re-read their histories.

Americans from 1765 to 1776 were contending for a redress of grievances, but before July 4 they were driven by the pressure of recent events to occupy other ground. This, indeed, was inconsistency, but by that charge the great leaders were not distressed. History does not make it perfectly clear whether or no General Arnold had kept step with the march of events.

Apart from those affairs that touched him personally the feelings of Arnold were grievously wounded by the alliance with France, a Catholic power, and the hereditary enemy of old Eng-

land as well as New England. In his section of the country, to be sure, there was much fanaticism, but Arnold, a man undoubtedly influenced by religious intolerance, was not exactly the proper person to rebuke bigotry. When so grand a character as Washington did so in connection with a proposed celebration of Guy Fawkes' day, it was necessary that his objection be stated with great circumspection.

Our author should have known that George Washington was not born at Mount Vernon. A better knowledge of the characters of the Revolutionary era would have told him that Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a cousin, not a brother of Reverend John Carroll. Yet from one or two slips the reader of this very interesting story is not to conclude that Mr. Stimson knows little of the Revolution, for he knows the epoch not only in outline but in nearly all its important details. Every citizen having even a distant interest in the progress of the struggle for American independence should read this book, for in its attractive pages he will learn many useful facts not sufficiently emphasized by the historians. So long after that crowning act of infamy at West Point we can only regret that all Americans of that day did not see things as clearly as General Washington and that in consequence of their limitations a great soldier was driven from the ranks of the Revolutionary army.

The Quest of El Dorado. By the Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C., Ph.D. (H. J. Mozans). New York and London: D. Appleton & Co., 1917. Pp. xvi+261. Maps and illustrations.

Frequent reference has been made in the pages of the *Catholic Historical Review* to the scholarly contribution to South American history, especially Catholic history, given to the world by Dr. Zahm, under the attractive form of travelogues. His work is all the more valuable because it is unique. Dr. Zahm is the only Catholic scholar writing in English who has made extensive use of the sources of South American history, and the phenomenal success met by his trilogy, *Following the Conquistadores*, contains an urgent invitation to Catholic scholars to follow him in this interesting and profitable study.

The present volume, which comes as a sort of appendix to the other three, drops the travelogue form, and consists of a

collection of the most authentic accounts of what is described in the sub-title as "the most romantic episode in the history of South American conquest." The book is made up almost entirely of a series of essays written in 1912 for the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*. Interest in the subject has widened since that time, and Dr. Zahm's publishers have felt justified in preserving these articles in book form. Historians must be grateful for this care, for they present the only complete and accurate account in English of the various expeditions that for almost a century explored northern South America in search of the elusive Gilded Man.

If it served no other purpose than to introduce us to its sources, Dr. Zahm's book would be invaluable. Juan de Castellanos, soldier, priest, poet and historian, is the first of the obscure literary geniuses to whom we are introduced. Castellanos, like Calderon de la Barca, abandoned his military career at an advanced age, to seek the spiritual solace of the ecclesiastical state, and the rare consolations of versification. He wrote history in easy, flowing, graphic verse, and his two books, *Elegías de Varones Ilustres de Indias* and *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, constitute the best account of the conquest of northern South America. And yet so little is his work known that the latter book, published first in 1889, is described in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (*s.v.* Castellanos) as existing only in MS.

The chronicler Fresle, son of one of the conquistadores of New Granada, is another obscure writer of merit from whom Dr. Zahm borrows accounts of El Dorado. Don Lucas Piedrahita, the famous *mestizo* Bishop of Panama, and Padre Simon are two ecclesiastical historians of the highest merit. Father Zahm rescues from the obscurity of their rare works interesting details of the exploration of northern South America that anticipated modern travel by three and a half centuries. Padre Gumilla, Fray Laureano de la Cruz, Francisco Vasquez and Toribio de Ortiguera, blend their accounts with the better-known authorities, Herrera, Oviedo y Valdés, Garcilaso de la Vega, Zárate and López Gómara. Fray Gaspar de Carvajal—a character who should be set down with Juan de Castellanos for special biographical study by some enthusiastic lover of romance—gives us the account of the discovery and first exploration of the

Amazon River—an account written long after his supposed murder by the discoverer, Francisco de Orellana. Bibliographers would do well to note the existence of this book, *Descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas, según la Relación hasta ahora inédita de Fr. Gaspar Carvajal* (Sevilla, 1894), and avoid the egregious blunder of a recent writer whose short biography of the author repeats the story handed down by Zárata and others through Prescott, that Carvajal was left to die in the jungle, and although it describes his later life as Provincial of the Dominicans in Peru, makes no reference to his chronicle of Orellana's expedition.

The Quest of El Dorado is a bibliographical study only in a secondary way, but since it is unique in its field, its bibliographical material is of the highest importance for the historian. Dr. Zahm's main purpose is to tell the story of El Dorado. This he does by reviewing the accounts of twelve different expeditions.

The name El Dorado seems first to have been given by the Spaniards, in 1535, to an Indian chieftain, described to them by a roving Indian as the lord of a rich city and province, and priest of a cult that offered a sacrifice of gold to the Devil. Castellanos and Fresle describe the ritual of the sacrifice. On assuming office, they say, the chieftain, after being stripped, was anointed with a resinous substance that served as a base for powdered gold that was blown over him through hollow canes until he glistened with gold from head to foot. He then proceeded to the middle of a sacred lake (supposedly Guatavita, northeast of Bogotá) in a *balsa*, with a great quantity of gold and emeralds to be offered in sacrifice. After throwing these into the lake, to the accompaniment of sacred music, the Gilded Man returned to shore and was received by the people as their lawful chief.

With the spread of the account of this strange ceremony, and the increased interest aroused in the search for the country so rich in treasure, the story varied, and the name itself lost its restricted sense and came to be applied to the city and province over which the chieftain ruled. It is in this wider sense that the expression has come down to us as designating a place of vast riches.

Of course, the expeditions in search of El Dorado all had the same dismal result: drenched with rains that "baptized

their very souls," men starved in the wilderness or returned haggard and ill to spend their remaining days in broken health; fortunes many times greater than that spent in the discovery of America were swallowed up in the jungle; enmities arose out of keen competition to find the prize. But though there is a sameness in the narratives, each has its peculiar romance. The expedition of the German Von Hutten, for instance, claimed to have come within sight of the fabled city, which was so large that it stretched beyond their range of vision, and then, after defeating an army of 15,000 Indians with forty Europeans, turned back for more men to pursue the enterprise. This story was graphically told, and was so confidently believed that it formed the chief argument for some of the expeditions that followed.

The account of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition (Chapter VIII), is a skilful and pleasant argument against the common belief that the Spaniards were the only credulous seekers after phantom gold in that day when so many dreams really came true. The account of Raleigh's expedition is taken from his own story, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado*, etc. (Hakluyt Society, 1848). The tales he tells and the impossible inhabitants with which he peoples the far-away land have been preserved in the maps of De Bry and others. Raleigh read and believed all the fanciful accounts of the Spanish chroniclers, and when he reached the delta of the Orinoco and captured Indians and Spaniards to obtain from them precise information regarding El Dorado, he believed the wildest tales they told him. He transcribes from Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias*, the following account of the Gilded Man:

"All the vessels of his home, table and kitchen, were of gold and siluer and the meanest of siluer and copper for strength and hardiness of the metal. He had in his wardroppe, hollow statues of golde which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beasts, birdes, trees and hearbes that the earth bringeth forth; and of all the fishes that the sea or the waters of his kingdom breedeth. Hee also had ropes, budgets, chests, and troughs of golde and siluer, heaps of billets of golde that seemed woode, marked out to brune. Finally

there was nothing in his country, whereof he had not the counterfeet in golde."

For an estimate of the simple faith of this staid Briton, Dr. Zahm goes to his countryman, Sir Frederick Treves, who declares:

"There never was a more romantic river voyager; never a more rapturous wild-geese chase. Raleigh was infinitely gullible. He believed every word the romance-loving Spaniards told him as if he had been a gaping schoolboy. He trusted Juan Martines as a modern traveler trusts his Baedeker. He gathered inspiration and assurance from any dull-witted Indian who nodded 'yes' to the unintelligible questions of his interpreter."

Dr. Zahm's book, especially the chapter on Raleigh, will do noble service in readjusting historical values. Catholics must be thankful for the service, since so much is still done in our time to disparage the exploits of Catholic Spain in the discovery and exploration of America. Typographically, the book is worthy of the publishers. The numerous illustrations that enliven the narrative are from ancient woodcuts in De Bry, Colijn, Gottfried and Herrera. There is a good bibliography and full index.

The Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution.

By James Miller Leake, Ph.D., Associate in History in Bryn Mawr College. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1917. Pp. 152, Series xxxv, No. 1. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, under the Direction of the Departments of History, Political Economy, and Political Science.

A service of special importance has been rendered to students of early American history by Dr. Leake's skillful presentation of the above difficult subject. Personal researches by the author in the Library of Congress and among the valuable archives of the Virginia State Library and of the Virginia Historical Society, give added weight to his conclusions.

A good insight into the purpose and character of the work is afforded by a study of the brief, but comprehensive, introduction. The author points out how, heretofore, the committees of the Virginia system have been studied mainly as isolated units

rather than as parts of a well-developed system. "To show the continuity, to explain the organization of the committees of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and to show their part in the calling of the first Continental Congress," is the purpose of his study.

The work is divided into four chapters. In the first Dr. Leake shows that, "a system of English legislative committees, transplanted from the mother country . . . has become the very ground-work of the American legislative system . . . From special committees to do certain specific things, after which the committees were discharged, to permanent standing committees, with wider, but equally definite functions, was a process of evolution." The Journal of the House of Burgesses during the session of 1702-3, records the appointment of three standing committees, namely, the committee of public claims, the committee of election and privileges, and the committee of propositions and grievances. The author explains the function of these different committees, as also that of the committee of the whole. Other committees touched upon in succeeding chapters, but not indicated in the general headings, are the committees of courts of justice, of trade, and of religion.

Chapter the second is taken up with the Committee of Correspondence (1759-1770), to whom pertained the special function of communicating with the colonial agent, and the relationship existing between the committee and the House of Burgesses. This committee, according to the author, later developed into the committee for intercolonial correspondence.

In chapter third, a comparative study is made between the committee of correspondence of 1773 and the earlier one of 1759. In the fourth and final chapter, the writer proves that "the first Continental Congress was the creation of the intercolonial committees of correspondence, their efforts having made its calling possible." Of the members of the Congress of 1774, a majority belong to the committees of correspondence.

The transition from the Virginia Committee of Correspondence to the Virginia Committee of Safety will be discussed by Dr. Leake in a future treatise, which, doubtless, will show the same painstaking care, the same orderly, scientific and comprehensive treatment as is found in his scholarly presentation of the Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Catholic historical students will rejoice in the honor conferred upon Father Joseph Michael Gleason, of Palo Alto, California, in his election to the presidency of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Father Gleason was born on August 23, 1869, at San Francisco. He attended the Washington Grammar School and the Boys High School in that city, and studied at the Sacred Heart College and the College of St. Ignatius, from which latter institution he received the degree of M.A., in 1888. After finishing his theological course at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, he was ordained to the priesthood, and then began graduate studies at the Catholic University of America, where he studied under Drs. Shahan, Pace, Grannan, and Hyvernat. Father Gleason's library is known to all bibliophiles and scholars on the Pacific coast. He has collected many rare volumes on Spanish-American history, and his library at Palo Alto merits a visit from all who are interested in that fascinating period of American development which culminates with the heroic figure of Junipero Serra, the Franciscan.

There is a bit of war romance connected with the publication of Dr. Rudolph Schuller's edition of Fray Benigno Bibblotti's *Moseteno Vocabulary and Treatises* (Northwestern University Press: Evanston and Chicago, 1917). Dr. Schuller had finished the rough draft of the Introduction and a revision of the MS. (which is taken from Northwestern University's collection of Boliviana) when the rupture of diplomatic relations between Austria-Hungary and the United States forced his withdrawal from this country. The work as it appears now has been revised by Drs. Edward and Lichtenstein of Northwestern and Dr. Michelson of the Smithsonian. To anyone acquainted with the international reputation of Dr. Schuller as a student of South American linguistics, the apology of Dr. Lichtenstein for the publication of the work seems hardly necessary. The scholarship of the present editors seems sufficient guarantee that Dr. Schuller will not have to make a complaint similar to the following one, which he made on the publication of his "*Yñerre*" o "*Stammvater*" *dos Indios Maynas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1912): "I was in Europe when this paper was published, so I could not oversee the proofs. It is very badly corrected by someone who doesn't know Portuguese."

The book itself is a useful contribution to the history of the South America of sixty or seventy years ago. The author was a missionary among the Indians of Bolivia and his manuscript consists of a vocabulary and three sermons in the Moseteno language, for the instruction of young missionaries, and a short life of the saintly Franciscan, Fray Pablo Mateo Cerdá. The work is a silent witness that the apostolic labors of the South American clergy of the past century—a period much slandered by contemporary writers—were but a continuation of the quiet zeal of their predecessors who had spent three and a half centuries of thankless labor in quest of heathen souls. The book is worthy of study.

In a previous issue (April, 1917, pp. 110-111), we called attention to the prospective volume of Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame, to be entitled *Readings in Latin American Church History*. Father O'Hara has kindly consented to our publishing some of the introductory notes he has made for this much needed work, and it is with pleasure we offer them to our readers.

READINGS IN LATIN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Introductory

PERIOD OF DISCOVERY (1492-1525)

- I. Religious motives in the enterprise.
 1. Declarations of Isabella and Jiménez.
CORTÉS, *Cartas de Relación*, p. 54 n.
 2. Alexander VI, in the Bull of Demarcation.
GÓMARA, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 169.
 3. Letter of Columbus to the Pope.
Col. de Documentos Inéditos, 39:20.
 4. Cortés and Pizarro
CORTÉS, *o. c.*, p. 54.
ZAHM, *Along the Andes and Down the Amazon*, 454.
- II. First fruits of the American Church.
 - Baptism of the first Indians in Spain.
GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 167.
CASTELLANOS, *Elegías de Varones Ilustres de Indias*, 22.
- III. First provisions for missionaries.
 1. Padre Boil appointed Vicar Apostolic.
ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, vol. i, Appendix.
Doc. in., 38:199; 30:180.
 2. Orders to monasteries to furnish chaplains and missionaries.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 22.
GÓMARA, 170.
Doc. in., 30:20, 220, 201, 219, 31:99.
 3. Orders for Church ornaments and supplies.
Doc. in., 30:174 et seq.
- IV. Work of first missionaries.
 1. First Mass in the New World.
 2. Difficulties of P. Boil with Columbus.
Doc. in., 30:180.
GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 170.
MENDIETA, *Hist. Ecol. Ind.*, 32, 33.
 3. Return of Boil to Spain.
GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 170.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 34.
 4. Baptism of Indians.
 - (a) Favorable reports.
GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 176.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 30-34, 51.
 - (b) Adverse testimony.
LAS CASAS, *Apologética Hist. de Indias*, 322.

5. *Repartimientos* intended as an aid to conversion.
QUINTANA, *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, 437, 438.
Doc. in., 36:174.

6. Difficulties created by bad conduct of Spaniards.
Doc. in., 35, 199-240.

7. Work of education.
Doc. in., 31:194.

V. Permanent establishments in Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico and Cuba.

1. Convents, churches and hospitals.
Doc. in., 31:478.

2. Renewed supply of missionaries.
Doc. in., 39:166.

3. Literary work.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 45, 143.

4. Depopulation of Santo Domingo.
Doc. in., 1:376, 386.

OVIEDO, *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias*, 474.

5. Criminals as immigrants.
Doc. in., 36:162, 168; 38:386.

6. First Mass of Las Casas.
QUINTANA, *o. c.*, 434.

7. Disorders in Church affairs.
Doc. in., 34:111.

VI. Ecclesiastics as civil rulers.

1. Cardinal Jiménez and Adrian VI.
Cath. Hist. Rev., iii, 147, 150.

2. Fray Benito and Columbus.
BERNÁLDEZ, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*.

3. Fonseca.
NAVARRETE, *Viajes y descubrimientos*, ii, 316.
BERNÁLDEZ, *o. c.*
Cath. Hist. Rev., iii, 131-150.

4. Ovando.
Doc. in., 30:512.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 46.

5. Inquisitorial powers.
GÓMARA, *o. c.*, 175.

6. The Jeronymite *audiencia*.
Doc. in., 1:264, 7:391.

VII. The Church as protector of the Indians.

A. Preliminary steps.

1. Royal decrees on Indian labor.
Doc. in., 31:206, 209, 214, 216; 36:174.

2. Decree for Indians to have their own towns.
Doc. in., 32:79.

3. Regulations on slavery.
Doc. in., 1:237; 10:545; 32:292, 304, 319, 329.

4. Sermon of Montesinos on slavery.
LAS CASAS, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. 3, c. 78.

5. Conversion of Las Casas to the cause of the Indians.
LAS CASAS, *o. c.*, lib. 3, c. 78.

6. Santo Domingo missionaries suggest reforms.
Doc. in., 1:347; 7:397.
7. Missionaries ordered to free all slaves.
Doc. in., 11:258.
- B. Colonies on the mainland for the protection of Indians.
 1. Dominicans at Chichiriviche.
CASTELLANOS, 143.
LAS CASAS, *Apologética Historia*, 642, 643.
 2. Franciscans at Cumaná.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 143.
 3. War against the Caribs.
Doc. in., 1:439.
 4. Destruction of the monasteries caused by the depredations of Ojeda.
LAS CASAS, *Apologética Historia*, 643.
PETER MARTYR, *De Orbe Novo*, dec. 7, c. 4.
CASTELLANOS, *o. c.*, 144, 145.
 5. Colony of Las Casas, and the Knights of the Golden Spur.
Doc. in., 7:83, 89.
- C. Reform on the islands.
 1. Number of Indians freed.
Doc. in., 1:374, 417, 421, 422, 436.
 2. Summary of agitation and reforms.
GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 290.

PART I

THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST

Chapter I

Mexico

- I. Missionaries in the train of Cortés. (1519-1524.)
BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, *Conquista de Nueva España*, 33.
GÓMARA, *Conquista de Méjico*.
MENDIETA, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*.
- II. Establishment of the Missions. (1524-1540.)
 1. Request of Cortés for missionaries.
Doc. in., 12:470.
 2. Bulls of Leo X and Adrian VI for Franciscans.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 192, 195.
 3. Appointment of first missionaries.
 - (a) Their selection.
MOTOLINÍA, *Historia de los Indios de Nueva España*, 156, 161.
 - (b) Instructions from the Minister General.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 200.
 4. Arrival of Fray Martín de Valencia and eleven companions.
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, 241, 242.
GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 404-405, 450.
 5. Preparation for their work.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 99-102.
VASQUEZ, *Cronica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesus de Guatemala* . . . , lib. 1, c. 11.

6. Assignment of missions.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 99, 100.
7. Obstacles to conversion.
MOTOLINÍA, 14-30, 140, 145, 209, 254.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 501.
8. Aids to conversion.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 26, 73, 135.
9. Work of the missionaries.
DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, *op. cit.*, 310-311.
GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 449-451.
 - i. Baptisms.
 - (a) Manner of instruction—the *doctrina*.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 27, 28, 164.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 496.
 - (b) Administration of Baptism.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 111.
 - (c) Children of chiefs baptized first.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 20.
BENAVIDES, Memorial of 1634.
 - (d) Number of Indians baptized.
MOTOLINÍA, 105-108.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 621.
 - (e) Controversy about ceremonies of Baptism.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 109-115.
 - ii. The other Sacraments.
 - (a) Confirmation.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 279, 280.
 - (b) Matrimony.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 125-128.
 - (c) Penance.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 116-125, 165.
 - (d) Holy Eucharist.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 65, 124.
 - (e) Sick calls.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 202, 203.
 - iii. Feasts and Processions.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 81, 178-184, 237, 247.
 - iv. Education.
GÓMARA, *Conquista de Méjico*, 453.
 - (a) Letters, etc.
MOTOLINÍA, 215.
PLANCHET, *La Cuestión Religiosa en Méjico*, 278.
 - (b) Music.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 213-215.
 - (c) Arts and crafts.
MENDIETA, *op. cit.*, 403-408.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 217-218.
BENAVIDES, Memorial of 1634, ms.
 - v. Literary and scientific work of the friars.
MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 2, 11, 97, 176, 181, 192, 200-209, 249-252; ix, xxii, xxvii.

- MENDIETA, xxvii, 550-552, 620.
 SAHAGÚN, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*,
 part ii, c. 1, 2.
- vi. Building of churches and convents.
 MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 81, 99, 178-180, 184, 237, 247.
- vii. Hospitals.
 MOTOLINÍA, 81, 82, 131, 132, 235, 247.
- viii. Exploration.
 MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 172-175.
Doc. in., 19:529.
- ix. Daily routine of the friars.
 MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 127.
 BENAVIDES, Memorial of 1634.
10. Difficulties of the friars with the Spanish colonists.
Doc. in., 10:451.
 TERNEAUX-COMPANS, *Voyages*, 16:94.
 MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 137, 161, 162, 166, 167.
11. Support of the missions.
 MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 71, 82.
12. Renewed supply of missionaries.
 (a) Franciscans.
 MOTOLINÍA, 148, 169-171, 136, 235.
 MENDIETA, 322.
 (b) Dominicans.
 GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 404.
13. Martyrs.
 GÓMARA, *op. cit.*, 450.
 MOTOLINÍA, 221-228.
14. Christian life of the Indians.
 MOTOLINÍA, *op. cit.*, 68, 128, 134, 135, 168, 169, 229-238,
 218, 221.

It will easily be seen from this bibliographical guide which he is preparing for this volume, that Father O'Hara has determined to treat the whole question of Spanish-American history thoroughly and impartially. It is earnestly to be hoped that his lectures at Notre Dame University will not cause any delay in the publication of his work.

A singular fatality seems to have been attached to the manuscript remains of Bishop Bruté, the first Bishop of Vincennes. Born in Nemur, France, in 1779, he was a youth during the Reign of Terror and witnessed many of the atrocities of that period. After graduating in medicine and practising a few months, he entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, and was ordained in 1808. He came to the United States in 1810. In 1814 he was President of St. Mary's Seminary and from 1818 until his consecration as the first Bishop of Vincennes was President of Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. He was consecrated October 28, 1834, in the Cathedral at St. Louis. While journeying from Vincennes to Baltimore in 1837, he contracted a severe cold which developed into tuberculosis, from which he died June 26, 1839.

It was the custom of Bruté to keep a Note Book into which he daily entered matters of occurrence, often illustrating them with sketches of memorable scenes. This he maintained until near his death. His Note Books, as well as his voluminous correspondence with Bishops England, Rosati, Flaget and Purcell, with Judge Gaston and other persons of prominence in ecclesiastical and civil life in the United States and Europe, as well as his Reports of his work in the new and undeveloped Diocese to the Leopoldian Association of Vienna, would have furnished the material for an extended biography of one of the most remarkable men who have graced the hierarchy in the United States, and would have added most interesting chapters to the history of the Church in this country. Bishop Bruté seems to have realized the value of his literary remains. It is said that he spent the last months of his life in arranging his papers for his literary executor, when failing strength made him unable to perform the active duties of pastor and bishop.

These papers he left to his successor, Bishop Hailandière, who was in Europe at the time of the death of Bruté. On the return of Bishop Hailandière the business of a See, now growing rapidly with the incoming Irish and German immigration, hindered any attention the successor might have desired to give to the papers of Bruté. Difficulties of administration induced Bishop Hailandière to resign his See in 1847 and he returned to France. While waiting in New York to sail, Bishop Hailandière prevailed upon Bishop Hughes of New York to prepare a Life of Bruté. The Bishop of New York had known Bruté intimately while a student at Mt. St. Mary's. In furtherance of his plan for the work, Hailandière had given orders to the priest in charge of Vincennes, to forward to New York the Bruté MS., and this was done. But the work of the New York Diocese was also pressing and the Life was not written. It being reported to Vincennes, after the death of Archbishop Hughes, that the MSS. were being scattered and in danger of loss, the authorities there, in 1864, requested the return of the papers. In the meantime Bishop Bayley, who at one time had been Secretary of Bishop Hughes, had prepared a small volume, *Memoirs of Bishop Bruté*, which was published by O'Shea in 1865. He had contemplated writing a Life of Bruté, but press of occupations did not permit him to carry out his design, and he contented himself with publishing as "Memoirs," the notes and reminiscences of the French Revolution, the diaries of Bruté and his accounts of his labors in the new Diocese, from his interesting Letters to the Leopoldine Association. The facts of his life and character are made up mainly from a Discourse of Dr. McCaffrey delivered after Bruté's death, and from notes in Bruté's handwriting.

Some of Mss. of the Bruté was returned to Vincennes after the appearance of Bayley's *Memoris of Bruté*. The latter book, though a mere scrap book hastily compiled, was a fortunate publication, for it saved from destruction some of the most valuable writings of Bruté. In 1870 a nephew of Bruté, the Rev. Paul Jansions, O.S.B., came from France to prepare a Life of his distinguished uncle. He had already published a small pamphlet containing a sketch of the great Bishop, and with such manuscripts as were then available from the collection returned from New York, and papers gathered in France, was prepar-

ing to write the Life of Bruté. While engaged in arranging his papers he was taken sick with typhoid fever, and died at Vincennes, September 7, 1870. All his papers, the gathering of several years, were boxed up and sent to the Benedictine Monastery of St. Meinrad, Ind., where they reposed undisturbed until consumed by the fire which destroyed the Abbey in 1887.

A young priest of the Diocese of Vincennes, Rev. Edmund J. Schmitt, who had unusual talent for historical research, began to gather material for a Life of Bruté, but he was obliged to go South for his health and died May 5, 1901. He left his manuscripts to Bishop Maes of Covington, but the latter was unable to undertake the work, and some months before his death sent the papers to the Bishop of Indianapolis. They are now in the possession of Notre Dame University. The writer of this does not know what Fr. Schmitt was able to collect. There must be extant many letters of Bruté scattered about the country, for he was a faithful correspondent in the days when familiar correspondence was still an art. But the materials which Bruté had himself arranged for an Autobiography or a Life are gone, except such as were fortunately printed in the *Memoirs of Bruté* by Bayley, and this book is now out of print.

What with diaries, Note Books and Sketches which he daily made, no man seems to have better prepared for his biography than Bruté. But with fine irony fate seems to have decreed otherwise, and the Life of one of the greatest men of the Church in the United States is, nearly eighty years after his death, still unwritten. But it is a tribute to his greatness, that so long a time after his death, the want of a Life of Bruté is still felt.

The Benedictines of New Subiaco Abbey, of New Subiaco, Ark., have very sensibly taken advantage of the Silver Jubilee of their first Abbot, the Rt. Rev. Ignatius Conrad, O.S.B., to issue a history of the Abbey for the past forty years (1878-1917)—*A Retrospect on the Occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Abbot Ignatius Conrad, O.S.B.* By Rev. Luke Hess, O.S.B. Subiaco, Ark., 1917, pp. 125. Father Luke Hess, the historian of the Community—the “walking chronicle,” as his brethren call him—has written a charming story of the success of the Abbey from its foundation. Numerous pictures of these early days, valuable also for the history of the Church in Arkansas, and several fine appendices are printed in the volume. The whole publication reflects credit on its author. Such works as these will be the authoritative sources for the history of religious life in the country.

We have received an artistic little volume, *Festschrift zum Silbernen Jubiläum (1892-1917) der Gemeinde Windthorst, Texas*, written by Rev. Frowin Koerdt, O.S.B., the pastor. It is unusually well written and reminds one of the fact that the Order to which Father Koerdt belongs has ever been foremost in all aspects of historical work.

A highly interesting, rare and instructive book (in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.) is the *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias en tres Cartas de un Sacerdote Religioso, Hijo del Real Convento de Predicadores de Valencia*.

(Valencia, 1794, 16mo, pp. 304.) This beautifully printed volume, as its title indicates, consists of three letters to a friend. The two first letters were written at San Miguel, a mission which was founded by the writer himself in 1787, was situated in northwestern Lower or Old California, and was the uppermost mission of the Dominicans in the peninsula, marking the line of division between their field of apostolic labors and that of the Franciscans, to whom belonged the care of the Indians of Upper or New California. The third and last document was probably begun at the same place, and continued during the author's journey to Europe. It was completed at San Miguel, in the Azores, whence it was forwarded to Valencia, Spain. The work is edited anonymously. None of the letters bear any date, but they were evidently written from 1787 to 1791-2. All of them have as signature simply "F. L. S." Historians, not without reason, have assigned them to the Dominican Father Luis Sales, whose name figures quite prominently in Lower California at this period. The first letter gives a description of the country and the character, manners and customs of the Indians through the peninsula and as far north as San Francisco. The second treats of the former Jesuit missions in Lower California, from their beginning in 1697, to their suppression in 1767, and the Franciscan charge of the Indians there from 1768 to 1773. The third gives an account of the succession of the Dominicans to the Franciscans, at the latter date, and of the progress made by the missions under the new regime until the time of Sales' departure. It is unfortunate that Father Sales' letters are in the nature of a descriptive history, rather than an attempt to present a connected historical narrative. It is, indeed, deeply to be regretted that he did not give the world a succinct history of Dominican missionary effort in Lower California during the years he was laboring there, for while we have good accounts of the Jesuit and Franciscan periods, scarcely anything authoritative has been written on that of the Dominicans. Father Sales was one of the first band of missionaries his Order sent to the peninsula, and the talent and keen observation shown in his letters, prove that he could have composed a splendid and authentic narrative of these friars' apostolic endeavors in that desolate portion of the globe. Had he done this, the lover of true history might have been spared much crude misrepresentation by Hubert Bancroft and others. However, Sales' letters afford much useful, interesting, and edifying information on the earnest exertions of these self-sacrificing missionaries, and show—as many claim they did—that they must have labored as effectually for the Indian, and accomplished as much good for religion, as either the Jesuits or the Franciscans. And these fruitful labors the friars of St. Dominic continued until they were deprived of all means of subsistence, and were forced to leave the country by the destructive secularization measures of the past century. There were many distinguished men among them. One of them, Father Cajetan Pallas, became Bishop of Nueva Segovia, in the Philippine Islands, in 1806. One of these days, perhaps, some patient and painstaking scholar will ransack Spanish archives for documents on this little known subject, and give the world another edifying chapter on what the Catholic Church has done for the welfare, both spiritual and temporal, of the American aborigines.

Again, American historical students are under a debt of gratitude to Miss Grace Gardner Griffin for her *Writings on American History for 1915*. Since 1906, these annual bibliographies have been published under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The series has been generously supported by a group of subscribers and friends. In those fields which are of particular interest to Catholic scholars—namely, religious history, education, fine arts, Latin America, etc., etc.—there is abundant material catalogued. There is hardly any work of a more practical nature being published at the present time than these annual catalogues, and they should be found in every Catholic college and university.

An interesting problem in the interdependence of sources was presented by Joaquín García Icazbalceta in his introduction to Mendieta's *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, which, though written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, was first printed by the Mexican scholar in 1870. Icazbalceta presented a table of comparisons to show that Torquemada's *Política Indiana*, written shortly after Mendieta's work, and immediately published, was very largely a verbatim copy of Mendieta's manuscript, with moralizing comments by the copyist. Icazbalceta recognized the dependence of Mendieta on earlier manuscripts, one of which, Motolinía's *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, written between the years 1536 and 1541, and published by Lord Kingsborough in 1848, Icazbalceta had already republished in the first volume of his *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*. Another of the sources recognized by Mendieta and noted by Icazbalceta is the work of Olmos on the *Antiquities of Mexico*, which was finished before the work of Motolinía. The dependence of Torquemada and others on the earlier work of Motolinía was emphasized by Luis García Pimentel, the son and literary heir of Icazbalceta, when he published, in 1903, an earlier work of Motolinía, the *Memoriales*, which appears to be a rough draft of the *Historia de los Indios*; and the dependence of both Torquemada and Mendieta on Motolinía is noted by Fr. Daniel Sánchez García, in a third issue of the *Historia de los Indios*, published at Barcelona in 1914.

Equally interesting bibliographical material could have been found by these scholarly editors if they had compared these earlier texts with the monumental work of Las Casas, the *Apologética Historia de Las Indias*, which, though written before 1555, remained in manuscript until 1909. In his treatment of Mexican antiquities in this work, Las Casas uses at least two previous sources, Olmos and Motolinía. He acknowledges the work of both of these authors, though in the case of Motolinía at least his acknowledgement is very sparing for the amount of textual similarity he displays. About one-half of his treatment of Mexico is taken from a source or sources other than Motolinía, and the fact that he acknowledges one section of it as coming from Olmos, leads us to hope that much more of the lost text of this writer may be reconstructed from his pages. Incidentally, this particular section, which is made up of a series of letters indicative of the culture of the Aztecs, is repeated in Mendieta without the acknowledgment of any source. There is still another interesting

point that was missed by Pimentel and his learned collaborators who edited the text of the *Memoriales*. It is certain, from textual identity, that Las Casas used the *Memoriales*, and not the *Historia*, of Motolinía, and yet the passage which he attributes to the latter, a description of the Corpus Christi processions at Tlaxcala, in 1538 (Las Casas says 1536), does not occur in the *Memoriales*, while a modified and more polished form of the narrative is given by Motolinía in the *Historia de los Indios*. The solution of this problem is offered by Motolinía himself. In part I, ch. 33, page 92, of the *Memoriales*, he promises to give the description of the Corpus Christi festivities in chapter 38; but in ch. 38 of the Pimentel edition, a new subject is introduced. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the manuscript used by Pimentel is defective in this particular. It is interesting to note that until now all contributions to this "bibliographical romance" have had reference to the work of the Franciscans, since Olmos, Motolinía, Mendieta and Torquemada were all sons of St. Francis. The introduction of the Dominican Las Casas into the problem should add greatly to its interest.

The necessity for thorough and impartial treatment of Las Casas, in English, already noted as a desideratum in the columns of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, is becoming more apparent every day. Francis Augustus MacNutt's *Bartholomew de las Casas* (New York, 1909) follows the Quintana ideal of hero-worship, while the article by Bandelier in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is probably too severe against the Defender of the Indians. The fairest, and doubtless the best, appreciation of Las Casas in English is the lengthy sketch in Vol. I of Thacher's *Columbus*. Fray Daniel Sánchez García, in his introduction to the reprint of Motolinía's *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* (Barcelona, 1914), has the following significant paragraph:

Someone has characterized the writings of Padre Las Casas as so many defamatory libels against Spain. Be this as it may, it appears indisputable that while there is much in them that is true, there is much more that is exaggerated, not to say false; and it is on these exaggerations or falsehoods that the enemies and detractors of Spain have based their charges of unheard-of cruelties that she never committed. Fortunately, the authority of Las Casas is daily losing ground, as the history of the conquest becomes better known, and its course weighed in the balance of historical criticism. Nevertheless, there are still among us those who accept the gratuitous assertions of Las Casas as Gospel truth, without regard to the testimony of the great Bishop Marroquín, of Bernal Díaz del Castillo and a thousand others, in particular of Padre Motolinía, at least as good a friend and enthusiastic a defender of the Indians as Las Casas could have been.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Las Casas, in copying Motolinía's description of the sacrifices to the gods of fire and water (Las Casas, *Apologética Historia de los Indios*, ch. 171; Motolinía, *Memoriales*, part I, ch. 19; *Historia de los Indios*, ch. 7), omits, certainly with deliberation, some passages of the original that tend to emphasize the cruelty of the Indians; and it may be said in passing that no credit is given by the copyist to the author of the original.

A collected story of the different efforts to establish French colonies in the United States still remains unwritten. That story stretches from Maine to Louisiana, and contains the early records of Kaskaskia and Cahokia in the Mississippi Valley, Vincennes, Detroit, Biloxi, the Acadian Exiles, the account of the French Republic at New Orleans in 1766, and a number of other attempts such as that at Gallipolis in 1791. Margry's six volumes on the *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique septentrionale* 1614-1754 (Paris, 1888) are a basic source for such a work. It is a sad story; for practically all these attempts were failures, and one of the most pathetic is that of Gallipolis, which we have already treated in these pages and which is fully described in the *Centennial of Gallipolis*, published by the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society (Columbus, 1895). *The Story of Some French Refugees and their Colony of Azilum* (1793-1800), by Louise Montgomery (Athens, Pa., 1903), has many human touches, and the fate of the colony, of which hardly a trace remains, adds but another melancholy page to this little known aspect of early colonization. Rosengarten, in his *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States* (Phila., 1907), has attempted to bind together the scattered threads of these projects, all of which have a place in the history of Catholicity in the United States; but the work needs to be done from the Catholic standpoint, if it is to be true to life.

The knowledge of the existence of a complete set of Stevens' *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America* (1773-1783) is of value to every scholar in the vicinity of the collection which contains the set. Stevens' plan to furnish facsimiles of American documents of importance from the Archives of England, France, Holland, and Spain, astonished historical scholars the world over by its audacity. His project embraced one hundred volumes, and recently through the great generosity of a friend, the Catholic University of America has received the twenty-five volumes which were published in 1889-98. These volumes are a storehouse to the American historian, and the foreign relations of our government during the Peace Negotiations can never be fully grasped until all these documents are analyzed. Benjamin Franklin Stevens had been a resident of London for many years, when he presented his plan to our Government in 1882, and again in 1884, of securing copies of the 80,000 documents relating to the War of Independence and the Peace Negotiations (1763-1783), from the Archives of England, Holland, Spain and France. His project was not accepted by the Government.

The Old Jesuit Mission in Council Bluffs, by Rev. Francis Cassilly, S.J., is an important chapter in the life of Father De Smet, S.J., the great "Black Robe" of the West. The source material for the history of the Council Bluffs Mission grows from year to year. Interest may yet be aroused to mark the site of the first church in Western Iowa by a suitable memorial to its great missionary. Father John O'Neill of Council Bluffs has won a place for himself in American Catholic historical work by his patriotic endeavor to resurrect the past of his locality.

An accomplished historian, Father Francis Betten, S.J., of St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, Ohio, writes to the Editor that the REVIEW deserves the general and generous support of all American Catholics, and offers the following striking suggestion:

"I wish to give expression to an idea which has long been in my mind, and which I think you can bring to realization. The REVIEW is too high for the ordinary reader. It is a *Fachzeitschrift* in the full sense and best sense of the word. The study of American Church history is not forced upon the Catholic, as is in some way the study of religion. If there is to be a class of professional historians in this country, it must have for its backing a numerous class of persons actively interested in history, of amateur historians if you wish. If such a class is created the learned masters will have an audience to whom they may communicate the result of their studies and researches. But nobody is interested in a thing of which he knows either nothing or very little. The instruction given in the schools is a good foundation, especially if based on a truly Catholic book. But it is not enough. Religious knowledge must constantly be rehearsed and complemented by sermons and books, etc. So it seems to me historical knowledge requires rehearsing and complementing after the schoolbook has been thrown aside—sometimes with many sighs of relief. Unfortunately our Catholic press is neglected; but it is a power all the same. It could be utilized for our purpose. The means is the *popular article* and still more, perhaps, the *short story*. Such papers do not necessarily require great knowledge, much less original researches. All they need is supervision and direction. A regular crusade of such contributions to our Catholic papers might be started. But the contributors must not expect much in the line of financial success for themselves. The papers will not pay as a rule. Don't you think the Catholic University could give out the watchword for this crusade and even organize it as far as possible? If, afterwards, other agencies would take it up and start similar movements in their respective spheres, so much the better—*Raum für alle hat die Erds*. The attention of those who have charge of college and high school papers might also be called to this point."

Father Betten gave a strong proof of his interest in historical work, when he undertook in 1915 to review West's *Ancient World*. The publishers, Allyn and Bacon, he says, have been most sympathetic, and all the alterations suggested by him have been adopted. Father Betten is now engaged on a revision of another volume by the same author.

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